July 31, 1944

Dr. A. D. Beittel
Guilford College
Guildford College, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Beittel:

Guy Johnson and I have been talking over some of the problems which you and I discussed and, your principle relationship with the Southern Regional Council. Within a few days you should hear from Guy Johnson on this subject. I do wish you would give it rather serious attention because both of us would be very pleased to have you consider, for a period of time, working with us in the field of human relations in the South.

My very best wishes for yourself and family.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha
c: Guy Johnson
Executive Director

August 4, 1944

Dr. A. D. Beittel
Guilford College
Guilford, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Beittel:

Dr. Reid and I have been discussing the possibility that you might be persuaded to work with us on the Southern Regional Council. I believe he wrote you a few days ago, and told you that I would be getting in touch with you.

Here is our situation at present. We are off to a good start, with a small staff which we hope to expand as soon as possible. The bulk of our financial support for the first few years will come from the General Education Board and the Rosenwald Fund, but we are very anxious to build up support within the South, so that we can be virtually independent of foundation grants. We feel that there are many people in the South who are willing to make substantial contributions to the budget of the Council, but who need to be approached personally and "sold" on the program and purpose of the Council. Therefore, we want someone who can talk to groups and to individuals and interest them in becoming members or supporters of the Council.

We should like to devote about 6 to 9 months of intensive work to this end in the hope that after the contacts are once established, it will not require very much field work to bring in a certain amount of regular contributions.

If we could obtain the services of a person with such splendid qualifications as you have, we could offer him a permanent position—that is, as permanent as any of us can expect in a voluntary social action organization like this—in other phases of our work as soon as the groundwork for Southern financial support has been solidly laid. For example, we need someone who can take over the editorial and publicity job. We also need someone who can prepare research and informational materials, and eventually, we shall need several people who will devote their time to promotional and field work with various affiliated and cooperating organizations. At present, we are all more or less "generalists" instead of specialists, and we are getting the jobs done as best we can.

Would you be interested in coming with the Council on either of the following bases? (1) Coming on leave from Guilford for 9 months, say, September, 1944 to June, 1945, or (2) coming with the intention of remaining with the Council and with the understanding that your work would gradually shift from the financial crusade to some other phase, preferably editorial or research work. If you are interested in either of these propositions, please let me know as soon as you can, and we will discuss salaries and other arrangements.

I look back with great pleasure to our Hazen Conference last summer, and particularly to the fine contribution which you made to the success of the Conference. Please give my best wishes to Mrs. Beittel.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

P. S. I am enclosing a copy of our pamphlet, "The Southern Regional Council - Its Origin and Purpose."

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER	X	NIGHT LETTER	
SPECIAL SERVICE		SHIP RADIOGRAM	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206-B

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Dean A. D. Beittel
Guilford College
North Carolina

September 7, 1944

CAN YOU MEET ME [redacted] AFTERNOON OF SEPTEMBER 14 IN ASHEVILLE IN OFFICE OF DON SHOEMAKER OF ASHEVILLE CITIZEN? COUNCIL WILL BEAR EXPENSE. WIRE REPLY COLLECT.

Guy B. Johnson

PAID
Charge to: Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building

September 8, 1944

Dean A. D. Beittel
Guilford College
Guilford College, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Beittel:

Thank you for your letter of September 4. I am terribly sorry that my letter was not duly forwarded to you. As you point out, metered mail has the disadvantage of not looking like first class mail.

I shall be in Gatlinburg, Tennessee on September 11 and 12, and I plan to go to Asheville to see Don Shoemaker, associate editor of the ASHEVILLE CITIZEN, on September 13. Since it is necessary for me to get back to Atlanta as soon as possible, I wired you yesterday asking whether you could meet me in Asheville on the 13th.

I am leaving Atlanta early Sunday morning. If you need to reach me at Gatlinburg, you can address me in care of the New Gatlinburg Inn.

I am looking forward to a good talk with you soon.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

P. S. Telegram from Mrs. Beittel has just come in saying you can be in Asheville on 13th unless you let me know otherwise. In case you need to wire me later, I'll be at Gatlinburg until late afternoon of September 12. Hope to get over to Asheville that night.

GBJ

GUILFORD COLLEGE
FOUNDED 1837
GUILFORD COLLEGE
NORTH CAROLINA

A. D. BEITTEL, DEAN

September 4, 1944.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I have just returned to Guilford College after a month's absence. During this time my first class mail was forwarded to me. Dr. Reid's letter came to me shortly after I left here early in August. Since that time I have been expecting a letter from you. Now that I have returned to Guilford College, I find that your letter of August 4th was held for me here along with second class mail. I am extremely sorry that this has occurred. I presume the mistake of the Postmaster can be attributed to your use of a postage meter. Your letter did not look like first class mail to him.

Since a whole month has gone by since you wrote to me, I presume that I need to be brought up to date on developments during that month. I am very much interested in your organization, and I should enjoy working with men like yourself, Dr. Reid, and others associated with you.

I need more information about your plans for the immediate future, the relation of the Southern Regional Council to other agencies in the South, and the specific contribution I might make to your program. In other words, I should like to talk with you or Dr. Reid soon about these matters. Will you be in this vicinity in the near future? Perhaps I could meet you in Chapel Hill or some other place which you may designate.

Mrs. Beittel joins me in sending you cordial greetings.

Sincerely yours,

A D Beittel

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

QA48

Q.MSA318 10=GREENSBORO NCAR 8 216P

DR GUY B JOHNSON=

1944 SEP 8 PM 1 40

710 STANDARD BLDG ATLA=

=UNLESS CONTRADICTED TOMORROW DAN WILL MEET YOU ASHEVILLE SEPTEMBER 13TH=

RUTH BEITTEL.

13 BEITTEL.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

GUILFORD COLLEGE
FOUNDED 1837
GUILFORD COLLEGE
NORTH CAROLINA

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

September 9, 1944.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

When your telegram came yesterday morning, I was attending an interracial conference of Congregational-Christian ministers at Franklinton, North Carolina. The main speaker at the conference was Charles Johnson.

As Ruth wired you yesterday, I shall plan to meet you Wednesday afternoon, September 13th, at the office of Don Shoemaker, Asheville'Citizens' Council.

Sincerely yours,

A. D. Beittel

A. D. Beittel

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM	X	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	
SPECIAL SERVICE		SHIP RADIOGRAM	

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WESTERN UNION

1206-B

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

September 12, 1944

Dean A. D. Beittel
Guilford College
Guilford College, North Carolina

OUR TELEGRAM APPARENTLY CONFUSED. DON SHOEMAKER ASSOCIATE EDITOR ASHEVILLE CITIZEN.

Jane Martin

PAID
Charge to:
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building

September 20, 1944

Dean A. D. Beittel
Guilford College
Guilford College, North Carolina

Dear Dan:

Thank you for your letter of September 14. I enjoyed our talk at Asheville very much, and I am terribly sorry that we did not get together on our negotiations much sooner so that you might have had a good chance to get a leave from Guilford College.

I am still hoping that things will develop so that you can work with us on the Southern Regional Council. I shall keep in touch with you.

I am enclosing a check to cover your expenses on the Asheville trip. Thanks a lot for taking the time and trouble to meet me at Asheville.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure
Check for $15.48

GUILFORD COLLEGE
FOUNDED 1837
GUILFORD COLLEGE
NORTH CAROLINA

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

September 14, 1944.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Guy:

It was good to see you yesterday and to have a little time to talk with you.

I am deeply interested in the projected plans of the Southern Regional Council. If the way should open I should be interested in working with you in an attempt to carry out some of these plans. As I suggested to you yesterday, with college opening next week, I am not free to leave my responsibilities at Guilford College on this short notice.

If I can do some part-time work for the Council on week-ends, I shall make every effort to do so. Or, in the development of your program, it is possible that I could fit into some opening at the beginning of our second semester (February 1st) or at the end of this academic year (June 1st). In any event, please keep me informed of what you are doing as your plans unfold.

My expenses on the trip to Asheville were as follows:

Railroad and Pullman	$12.15
Meals	2.58
Telegram	.75
Total	$15.48

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

A D Beittel (Dan)

A. D. Beittel

March 14, 1945

Dean A. D. Beittel
Guilford College
Guilford College
North Carolina

Dear Dan:

Please forgive me for this delay in replying to your letter of March 2. I have recently had in mind getting in touch with you, but have been away on a trip and I am behind with all my good intentions.

We are still in need of additional help, and I should like to make a proposition with the understanding that it is tentative and has to be cleared with our Executive Committee. The proposition is a bit different from the one which I made last summer, because our main need now is for administrative assistance and field contacts. This would mean, of course, that we would like for you to make headquarters in Atlanta. Could you get leave of absence so that you could give it a try without cutting your connections from Guilford College?

I had in mind that you might assist us in the following ways: share the burden of correspondence and other office matters, visit state and local organizations for making speeches and promoting programs, cultivate new members and contributors wherever possible, and do occasional writing for Southern Frontier. Sounds like a big order, doesn't it? Well, I can assure you it is. The salary which we can offer is $5000.

Let me have your reaction as soon as you can so that we can be making some definite plans at this end. What is the chance of your coming down to Atlanta some time soon? We can allow $10 toward travel, and can take care of your accommodations here.

We are as busy as a swarm of bees, and we have a lot of discouragements, but I feel that we are getting along pretty well.

Very best wishes from the Johnsons to all of you.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

GUILFORD COLLEGE
FOUNDED 1837
GUILFORD COLLEGE
NORTH CAROLINA

March 2, 1945.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Guy:

Recalling our pleasant conversation in Asheville in September, and thinking of my plans for this summer and for the fall, I am wondering whether there have been any new developments in your work with which I should be familiar.

I hope your plans are advancing steadily, and that you are having some rewarding experiences in the midst of obstacles and hard work.

Ruth and the boys join me in sending our best wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely yours,

Dan

A. D. Beittel

March 5, 1945

Dean A. D. Beittel
Guilford College
Guilford College
North Carolina

Dear Dean Beittel:

Thank you for your letter of March 2, 1945. Dr. Johnson is out of the city for most of this week, but I am sure he will write you as soon as possible after he returns.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

March 19, 1945

Dear Dan:

Thanks for your note of March 16. I am glad that you can come to Atlanta on Friday, March 30, and I shall hold that date open.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Dean A. D. Beittel
Guilford College
North Carolina

GUILFORD COLLEGE
FOUNDED 1837
GUILFORD COLLEGE
NORTH CAROLINA

March 16, 1945.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Guy:

Your letter of the fourteenth reached me today. I am interested in your proposition and hope that I shall have an opportunity to talk with you in Atlanta soon.

I can come to Atlanta for a conference on Friday, March 30th, without missing any of my classes. However, if this date is not convenient for you, or if you feel that I should come before that time, please let me know and I shall adjust my coming to your wishes.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A D Beittel

A. D. Beittel

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1201

(32)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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QA25

1945 MAR 27 PM 2 46

Q LG307 10=GREENSBORO NCAR 27 305P I

TU ATLANTA

DR GUY B JOHNSON=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST

TU ATLA=

MONDAY APRIL 2 MORE CONVENIENT FOR VISIT CAN YOU ARRANGE=

A D BEITTEL

2

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED

DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM	X	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

March 27, 1945

To:

Mr. A. D. Beittel
Gilford College
North Carolina

April 2 all right with me.

GUY B. JOHNSON

PAID

Charge to:

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue

April 17, 1945

Dear Dan:

It is a blow to us to find that we can not look forward to having you on our staff, but our loss is Talladega's gain. You do not need to be told you are entering a very challenging job. I can honestly say that I do not know of anyone whom I had rather see in the presidency of Talladega.

You and Ruth have our very best wishes as you undertake your new work. I hope that we shall have occasion to get together from time to time.

Cordially yours,

GBJ:m

Dean A. D. Beittel
Guilford College
Guilford College, N.C.

GUILFORD COLLEGE
FOUNDED 1837
GUILFORD COLLEGE
NORTH CAROLINA

A. D. BEITTEL, DEAN

April 9, 1945.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

After leaving you a week ago in Atlanta, Ruth and I spent two interesting days at Talladega College. When we left Talladega on Wednesday afternoon, I was President-elect of the College.

Whether or not we made the wise decision, only time will tell. A good impression was made on us by the equipment, the faculty, the board, and the endowment. I hope the arduous duties of a college president will not make me less human.

No announcement of my election has been made yet. The release is to be made this week at a time when the Negro press can make use of it to advantage.

The most disappointing factor in the situation is that I shall not have the pleasure of working closely with Guy Johnson, and the Beittels will not have the immediate opportunity of coming to know the Johnsons more intimately. I hope you will let me write to you for counsel from time to time, and stop to see you from time to time when I am in Atlanta. And always on your trips between Atlanta and Birmingham, whenever possible, include Talladega in your itinerary.

Since returning from Talladega, I have spent most of my time at the Institute of Human Relations at Chapel Hill. Yesterday morning I spoke at the Baptist Church and in the evening at the Methodist Church.

Cordially yours,

Dan

A. D. Beittel

September 15, 1945

Mr. A. D. Beittel, President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dan:

I really don't know very much about the Alabama Policy Committee except that it is a section of the National Policy Committee and has issued some splendid publications. My impression is that the people who ~~are~~ on the Committee are very solid citizens. I am acquainted with three of the persons listed at the top of page 61 of the pamphlet which we sent you. Roscoe C. Martin, of the University of Alabama is Director of the Bureau of Public Administration; Charles W. Edwards studied rural sociology at Chapel Hill some years ago, and is a fairly liveral person; Donald Comer is, of course, a wealthy textile man. All in all, I think the group is one which is well worth working with.

I am glad that you are comfortably settled at Talladega. I hope to get over your way some of these days, but right now we are preparing for committee meetings and for the annual meeting of the Council which takes place on October 10.

Best wishes to you and Ruth from Guion and me.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director.

GBJ:IBT

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

TALLADEGA COLLEGE

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

September 10, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Accept my thanks for the copy of the report of the Thirteenth Annual Policy Conference of the Alabama Policy Committee which was recently sent to me by your office.

Will you be good enough to write me a few lines giving me some information about the Alabama Policy Committee its personnel and what may be expected from it.

We moved to Talladega about the first of August and we are now comfortably settled in our new home. I hope you will find it possible to visit us when you can get away from Atlanta. I hope to drop into your office sometime when I am going through your city.

Ruth joins me in sending our best regards to Mrs. Johnson and to you.

Sincerely yours,

Dan

A. D. Beittel
President

AB:vr

September 28, 1945

Dr. A. D. Beittel, President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dan:

I would like nothing better than to pay a visit to Talladega and speak at your Sunday morning service, but I cannot possibly do this until after the annual meeting of the Council. The meeting was to have been held on October 10, but has been postponed to November 14. I shall be up to my ears until after that time.

I have just talked to George Mitchell, and he says he will be glad to be with you on Sunday, November 11, but cannot stay over for other engagements. If this is all right, I suggest that you write him confirming the engagement.

If you want me sometime later, I shall be delighted to come. I hope we can find a date on which Guion can come with me. Our automobile tire situation is improving and it may be that we could drive over to Talladega.

Best wishes from the Johnsons to you and Ruth.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

TALLADEGA COLLEGE

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

September 26, 1945

RECEIVED
SEP 28 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Guy:

Could you arrange to speak at a Sunday morning service for us some time this fall? When you are busy all week, I am sure you are not anxious to be involved with a speaking engagement over the week-end. However, you have something to contribute to us at Talladega, and we should be delighted to have you.

If it would not intrude too much on your time, we should be glad to have you stay over for an additional day or two to speak several times at assemblies. However, if you can come for Sunday only, we shall adjust to that.

Perhaps Guion could come with you. Ruth and I should be delighted to have you as guests in our home.

I am suggesting Sunday, November 11, as a possible date. If you cannot come on this date, perhaps you could come later in this quarter or, if you prefer, some time in the winter quarter.

If you cannot make this appointment, would Mr. Mitchell be able to do this for us?

Ruth joins me in sending our very best wishes to Guion and you.

Sincerely yours,

A D Beittel

President

ADB:ds

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

September 29, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
OCT 1 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dear Guy:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of September 28. I am writing to George Mitchell immediately, confirming the engagement for Sunday, November 11.

I am taking a raincheck on your visit to Talladega. I hope we can find a date sometime after the first of the year when Guion can come with you.

Sincerely yours,

Dan

President

December 19,1945

Dear Dan:

Thank you for your letter of December 13. I believe it will be possible for me to come to Talladega College on March 3. If Guion is not away on a trip at that time, I shall certainly bring her with me. I shall let you know definitely about that as the time approaches.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson

President A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

GBJ:m

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

TALLADEGA COLLEGE

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

RECEIVED
DEC 14 1945
Southern Regional Council

December 13, 1945

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

You will remember that I took a rain check on your proposed visit to Talladega College. I am writing now to inquire whether it might be possible for you to come to Talladega on February 24 or March 3. I hope it will be possible to find a time when Guyon can come with you. If these dates are not appropriate, we shall try to find another.

Sincerely yours,

Dan

ADB ds

A. D. Beittel

February 13, 1946

President A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dan:

Thanks for your letter. I shall come loaded with a full length sermon!

Can you take care of three Johnsons? Guion wants to come with me, which means that we would have to bring Edward, our twelve-year-old.

We plan to drive over on Saturday and we will have to come back to Atlanta Sunday afternoon because both Guion and I have very full schedules here the following week.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

TALLADEGA COLLEGE

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

RECEIVED
FEB 12 1946
Southern Regional Council

February 9, 1946

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

On March 3 we shall want a full length "sermon." That will mean, of course, 20 or 25 minutes, depending upon the inspiration of the spirit.

Will it be possible for Guion to come with you? I hope she can come. I presume you will drive from Atlanta, and I hope you will spend at least one night, preferably two, with us.

Let me know when we may expect you. Ruth joins me in sending our warm regards to Guion and you.

Sincerely yours,

Dan

ADB ds

A. D. Beittel

February 21, 1946

Dr. A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dan:

The topic of my talk can be listed as "Race Relations--a Challenge to Christians". I had hoped to select a scripture lesson, but I have simply not had the time to do it. Won't you please choose something appropriate.

We shall drive to Talladega on Saturday, arriving sometime in the afternoon. We will be obliged to leave there Sunday afternoon. I wish we could stay longer.

Best wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
FEB 16 1946

February 14, 1946

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

We shall be delighted to welcome the three Johnsons on Saturday, March 2. If you are pressed to return on Sunday afternoon, we shall agree to your plan. However, if it is possible for you to remain over until Monday morning, we should like to arrange an informal discussion group late Sunday afternoon or evening.

Please let me have a topic to announce for your Sunday morning address. If you have any scripture lesson that you would like to have read, please suggest it. We mimeograph a bulletin and would like to have the information as complete as possible.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Dan

A. D. Beittel

ADB ds
Enc.

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1946
Southern Regional Council

February 27, 1946

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

We shall have dinner Saturday evening about six o'clock. We hope you will be able to arrive sometime during the afternoon.

Sincerely yours,

Dan

ADB ds A. D. Beittel

December 3, 1947

Dr. A. D. Beittel, President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dr. Beittel:

It gives us much pleasure to advise you that by vote of the membership of the Southern Regional Council at the annual meeting of November 12, by-laws of the Council were so amended as to provide henceforth heads of State Divisions automatically become ex-officio members of the Board of Directors, with privileges and voting rights of regularly elected members.

We are very happy to welcome you to membership on the Board and shall look forward to seeing you at its meetings. There are two such meetings each year, one being on the day preceding the Annual membership meeting, the other on the same day as, and immediately following, the membership meeting. It has been customary for the Council to issue expense blanks on such occasions and to pay for travel and maintainence of Board members who attend these meetings.

For your further information, I am enclosing a copy of the by-laws, with paragraphs concerning the Board, especially marked. Please do not hesitate to write us if we can be of service.

With every good wish, I am

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

AM:ae

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

3- Beittel, A. D.

ALABAMA DIVISION

CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT A. D. BEITTEL

VICE-CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM
THE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
MONTGOMERY

SECRETARY
MRS. J. FLETCHER McLEOD
BRUNDIDGE

TREASURER
MR. ROBERT DURR
1602 - 6TH AVENUE, N.
BIRMINGHAM 3

Southern Re[redacted]

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, [redacted]

ALABAMA [redacted]VISION

TALLADEGA [redacted]LEGE
TALLADEGA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

PRESIDENT W. A. BELL
BIRMINGHAM

MRS. H. R. COGBURN
MOBILE

DEAN CHARLES G. GOMILLION
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

REVEREND WILLIAM H. MARMION
BIRMINGHAM

MR. J. E. PIERCE
MONTGOMERY

REVEREND THOMAS R. THRASHER
MONTGOMERY

REVEREND FRANK WADE
BIRMINGHAM

REVEREND DAN C. WHITSETT
SYLACAUGA

ADVISORY COUNCIL

DR. RUTH T. BRETT
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

MR. LOUIS E. BURNHAM
BIRMINGHAM

MRS. L. S. EVINS
BIRMINGHAM

DR. HALLIE FARMER
MONTEVALLO

ATTORNEY CHARLES V. HENDLEY
BIRMINGHAM

DR. D. V. JEMISON
SELMA

REVEREND CARL K. KLUGE
BIRMINGHAM

MR. WILLIAM MITCH
BIRMINGHAM

REVEREND J. B. NICHOLS
PRATTVILLE

PRESIDENT F. D. PATTERSON
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

MR. D. R. PRICE
BIRMINGHAM

REVEREND A. S. TURNIPSEED
MONTGOMERY

MR. J. K. WILLIAMS
BIRMINGHAM

June 28, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Immediately after talking with you this morning I had a conversation over the telephone with Mr. William H. Marmion of Birmingham. At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Alabama Division, held in Montgomery on May 25th, the Reverend Mr. Marmion was asked to convene the Birmingham group of SRC members.

I told Mr. Marmion of my conversation with you and of your deep concern over the situation in Birmingham. Mr. Marmion tells me that several meetings of ministers have been held and meetings have been held also with representatives of the girl scout group. I am glad as you will be to know that representatives of the Southern Regional Council in Birmingham are active in this critical situation.

At my suggestion Mr. Marmion agreed to write you a letter describing the activities of the SRC group in Birmingham and to send a copy of that letter to me. I am sure Mr. Marmion and the Birmingham group will welcome further suggestions from the Atlanta office.

Please keep me informed of any developments in Birmingham of which you may learn in Atlanta.

Cordially yours,

A D Beittel

A. D. Beittel, Chairman,
Alabama Division
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

ADB:neb

3 - Beittel, A. D.

August 5, 1948

Dr. A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dr. Beittel:

Thanks so much for the new memberships that you have been sending in. Mrs. Campfield, Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Shores, Miss Edyth Saylor, and Mr. King have been entered in our membership files and will receive a letter of welcome.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

ALABAMA DIVISION

CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT A. D. BEITTEL

VICE-CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM
THE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
MONTGOMERY

SECRETARY
MRS. J. FLETCHER McLEOD
BRUNDIDGE

TREASURER
MR. ROBERT DURR
1602 - 6TH AVENUE, N.
BIRMINGHAM 3

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ALABAMA DIVISION
TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA

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BIRMINGHAM

MR. WILLIAM MITCH
BIRMINGHAM

REVEREND J. B. NICHOLS
PRATTVILLE

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BIRMINGHAM

REVEREND A. S. TURNIPSEED
MONTGOMERY

MR. J. K. WILLIAMS
BIRMINGHAM

Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama
July 31, 1948

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing herewith applications for membership and membership dues as follows:

Mrs. I. K. Campfield, P.O. Box 303, Tuskegee Institute	$2.00	
Mr. & Mr. A. D. Shores, Birmingham, Ala.	3.00	1630-4th Ave N
Miss Edyth Saylor, Montevallo, Alabama	2.00	
Mr. W. Judson King, Athens, Alabama	2.00	

Sincerely yours,

A D Beittel

Chairman, Alabama Division

ADB/jo
Enclosures

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

3 - Beittel, A.D.

TALLADEGA COLLEGE

OFFICE OF COMPTROLLER

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

file

August 11, 1948

RECEIVED
Aug 13, 1948
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

In President Beittel's absence I am glad to acknowledge receipt of Mrs. Mc Koy's letter of August 3 and Dr. Mitchell's letter of August 4.

The Beittels are in Mexico on vacation but are expected back on the 26th and your letters will be referred to Dr. Beittel as soon as he returns.

Sincerely,

Gardner Lattimer
Comptroller

GL:1

3 - Beittel, A D

August 17, 1948

Dr. A. D. Beittel, President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dr. Beittel:

Here is a useful pamphlet of which we bought a few copies for distribution to division and committee officers.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:jdh
Enclosure-GOOD CITIZEN (3 copies)

3- Beittel, A.D -

TALLADEGA COLLEGE

OFFICE OF COMPTROLLER

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

RECEIVED
AUG 20 1948
Southern Regional Council

August 18, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I believe I explained to you in a previous letter that President Beittel is away from the campus on vacation and expects to return about August 26.

Your letter of August 13 will be referred to him as soon as he returns.

Sincerely,

Gardner Lattimer
Comptroller

GL:1

3 - Beittel, A. D.

September 8, 1948

Dr. A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dr. Beittel:

Thank you so much for your letters of August 30.

We are glad to have the clarification on Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Shores and the memberships of Messers Hunter, Shelton, and for President and Mrs. J. F. Drake. Their memberships have been entered and welcoming letters will go out within a few days.

With every good wish and our thanks again, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

SRC State Div.
Ala - Division

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

August 30, 1948

RECEIVED
SEP 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

On some membership cards received recently from your office appeared the name of Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Shores, Birmingham, Alabama. The initial "A" was changed to "R". The original form is correct. Please change your records to read Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Shores.

Cac.

Sincerely yours,

A D Beittel

President

ADB:jh

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

August 30, 1948

RECEIVED
SEP 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
SEP 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I am enclosing herewith application for membership of Duncan Hunter, Birmingham, Alabama together with Mr. Hunter's check for $2 and application for membership of Z. F. Shelton, Montgomery, Alabama together with my check for $2 covering his membership fee. I am also enclosing a check for $3 to cover membership fee of President and Mrs. J. F. Drake, Alabama A. & M. College, Normal, Alabama.

new

3.00 – Mr. + Mrs. Drake
2.00 Z. F. Shelton
2.00 Duncan Hunter
W.d.K.

Sincerely yours,

A D Beittel

President

ADB:jh

R-C
Copy

3- Beittel, A.D.

July 15, 1949

President A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr. Beittel:

For the files, I would like to have a list of the persons to whom you were kind enough to send the Collier's article

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

3 - Beittel, A D

August 10, 1949

Dr. A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dr. Beittel:

Mr. Shores very kindly sent on a useful contribution about the law in the matter of the juvenile case decided by Judge Wiley C. Hill, Jr., about which I wrote you July 26.

Mr. Shores sent no verification of the incident. If any is available to you, I would appreciate notification.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

Beittel

Ret to GSM

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

April 24, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

After having lunch with my wife in Atlanta on Saturday I returned to attend the afternoon session of the Board. I found the door to the building locked and the church doors also tightly locked. Since I am not a very good second story man I didn't succeed in breaking in.

I am enclosing another check for ten dollars this one from President W. A. Bell of Birmingham.

RECEIVED
APR 26 1950
Southern Regional

As I told you we have sent letters to all the members of the Alabama Division and we expect to hear from at least a few more of them in the next few days. We hope to have a meeting of our Executive Committee in Montgomery on Thursday afternoon, May 11. At that time we shall discuss the critical situation facing the Southern Regional Council and make further plans to be of assistance. We shall probably send out a follow-up letter to all members of the Alabama Division who have not responded financially and perhaps send out another letter to a selected list of non-members.

If you have a supply of the reprint from the Herald Tribune we should be glad to enclose copies of this reprint in our letters of solicitation. Can you send me a hundred and fifty copies?

Done 110

I think the meeting Saturday was a good one. If this critical situation results in a broadening of the state of support, both moral support and financial support, perhaps it will be a blessing in disguise.

With warm regards I am

Sincerely yours,

A D Beittel

Chairman, Alabama Division
Southern Regional Council

ADB:mtj

Enclosure - check

Battel

April 27, 1950

Mr. A. D. Beittel
President, Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr. Beittel:

It was very nice indeed of you to come over for the meeting on Saturday, and I am very grateful.

I don't know what Mr. Comer's trouble is; I think it probably small, and if I could ever get to see him, I think we could make him a closer friend of what we do.

This is to record and recall your expectation that at least $500 could be found in Alabama (including Mr. Comer's gift and the gifts which you brought with you) by June 1.

The Board meeting ended in a good deal of cheerfulness. The total sum pledged was $15,500, which is only $8,000 short of what we need to finish this year debt-free.

The Board continued us until June 15 as is, the next step to be decided by the Executive Committee in a meeting during the first half of June. Which really means, I think, that the future depends on how well this money comes in by June 1.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMier

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

April 20, 1950

Dr.George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of April 19. It is good to know that Donald Comer sent you $100 from Alabama.

I assure you Mr. Comer's permission was procured before his name was printed on our letterhead as a member of the Advisory Council. I agree that his name should be removed if he requests us to do so. I am glad you have taken it off before new letterheads are printed.

I shall hope to see you Saturday.

Cordially yours,

A D Beittel

Chairman, Alabama Division
Southern RegionalCouncil

ADB:mtj

RECEIVED
APR 22 1950
Southern Regional Council

Beittel, A. D.

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
MAY 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

April 28, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
The Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

It is probably in order that Donald Comer withdrew from the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council. I am enclosing a paid advertisement of yesterday's Birmingham Age Herald in which Mr. Comer repudiates the "Truman Democrats" and lines up with the "Dixiecrats".

The most threatening feature of the present political struggle in Alabama is that many businessmen because of their anti-Truman attitude will throw their enthusiastic support behind the dixiecrat movement because this movement is also anti-Truman.

I raise no objection to accepting a contribution of $100 from Mr. Comer. I shall gladly accept any more contributions he cares to send. However, I am afraid that we cannot expect any strong support in Alabama from Mr. Comer for the important issues in which the Southern Regional Council is interested.

Sincerely yours,

A D Beittel

Chairman, Alabama Division
SouthernRegional Council

ADB:mtj

Enclosure

A MESSAGE FROM DONALD COMER TO THE VOTERS OF ALABAMA

LISTER HILL, MARCH 20, 1948: "The situation in Alabama and the South today makes it clear that there cannot be Democratic unity with President Truman as the nominee."

JOHN SPARKMAN, MARCH 20, 1948: "President Truman should withdraw as a candidate for renomination in the interest of party unity. With Mr. Truman as the standard bearer, the party would be split to ribbons."

Early in December, 1948, the President boasted he did not want the Dixiecrat votes. That he had won the election without New York and without the Solid South and that he was proud of it.

"MR. TRUMAN HAS NOT CHANGED—OUR SENATORS HAVE"

DONALD COMER.

It seems almost incredible to have some of our leaders asking us to support the Truman Democratic Party because of what we owe to the other Democratic Party of days from the War Between the States through the New Deal. There is a very great difference. In thinking of the accomplishments of the Democratic Party in the years before we had Mr. Truman, we remember the establishment of the Federal Reserve Bank by Woodrow Wilson, and that he named an Alabama Democrat, W. P. G. Harding, as its first governor. We remember under Franklin Roosevelt the establishment of the guarantee of bank deposits, for which an Alabama Congressman, Henry Steagall, had devoted years of effort. We remember how Roosevelt gave industry and labor their first opportunity under the law to control ages, wages and hours of employment, and how the farmer heard for the first time the word "parity."

Alabama Democrats were proud of the National Democratic Party then. But today, contrasting with these fundamental opportunities for helping ourselves, we hear some of our leaders boasting only of hand-outs from Washington and warning that these will be withheld if we are not loyal to the Truman Party.

This hand-out money is either our own money which has diminished in its return to us from Washington through many hands, or it is somebody else's money. James F. Byrnes, our great Southern and National leader, has warned us to beware of men bearing gifts not their own.

Our Truman followers in Alabama have undertaken to read our States' Rights Democrats out of the National Party, accusing them of being either a splinter party or straight-out Republicans. But Gessner McCorvey has made it plain that he is seeking no alliance with Republicans — and Harold Stassen, the big Republican, made it as plain here last Saturday that he seeks no alliance

'Obviously if the Alabama Dixiecrats are adminstered a severe defeat by the Hill-Sparkman forces, their strategy will receive a set-back from which no recovery will be likely. The Hill-Sparkman camp has been helped by the adminstration decision to delay Senate debate on the civil rights issue—a fact which is doubtless not a coincidence. Even so, the Alabama Dixiecrats are putting on a tough, shrewd campaign and the outcome is still very much in doubt. And it is not inconceivable that the outcome of this apparently obscure Alabama contest could have far-reaching effect on the whole national political future.'

"There is no news in this to the people of Alabama.

"But it does emphasize one thing to us, and that is, it offers the opportunity of a lifetime for Alabama Democrats to show the nation how Alabama Democrats feel about states' rights, about federal interference in state affairs and voting rights, about home rule with regard to such things as segregation laws for the preservation of peace and good order, about the Truman creeping paralysis of socialism which is designed to reduce self-reliant men to parasites dependent upon federal doles and pap.

"There is no question about the way we all feel on these subjects, and there is no question but what Alabama Democrats will go on record against federalism gone mad and Trumanism on the rampage if they get the chance.

"The talk of party unity at this time is deceptive, disingenuous and misleading. As Senator Lister Hill said on March 20, 1948: 'The situation in Alabama and the South today makes it clear that there cannot be Democratic unity with President Truman as the nominee.'

"Or as Senator John Sparkman said on the same day: 'President Truman should withdraw as a candidate for renomination in the interest of party unity. With Mr. Truman as the standard bearer, the party would split to ribbons.'

"That was the situation two years ago. It is even more pointedly the situation today. Truman has not changed. He is more anti-South, more socialistic, more meddling now than then. It is others who have changed, including our senators.

"Defeat of States' Rights candidates in Alabama on May 2 would be hailed all over the nation as a tremendous Truman victory. It would be blazoned as repudiation of the sound and constitutional doctrine of states' rights. It would be a triumph for the forward march of socialism on all fronts.

Alabama Democrats were proud of the National Democratic Party then. But today, contrasting with these fundamental opportunities for helping ourselves, we hear some of our leaders boasting only of hand-outs from Washington and warning that these will be withheld if we are not loyal to the Truman Party.

This hand-out money is either our own money which has diminished in its return to us from Washington through many hands, or it is somebody else's money. James F. Byrnes, our great Southern and National leader, has warned us to beware of men bearing gifts not their own.

Our Truman followers in Alabama have undertaken to read our States' Rights Democrats out of the National Party, accusing them of being either a splinter party or straight-out Republicans. But Gessner McCorvey has made it plain that he is seeking no alliance with Republicans — and Harold Stassen, the big Republican, made it as plain here last Saturday that he seeks no alliance with States' Righters. If any Democrat can be accused of conniving with Republicans it is Mr. Truman, who has made plain his hope to force FEPC on the South with the help of Republicans. He knows he has not enough Truman-Humphrey Democrats to pass this bill.

Truman Democrats in Alabama emphasize party loyalty for the sake of prestige in Washington, but Franklin Roosevelt, Jr., when denied the Tammany Democratic nomination, won a seat in Congress as a nominee of another—a splinter party. News items tell of a dispute between Congressman Roosevelt and Congressman Powell over the honor of introducing FEPC legislation in the House, so Mr. Roosevelt seems to be secure in the Truman Democratic ranks.

So-called Dixiecrat Senators Eastland and Stennis of Mississippi retain their ranking committee positions and Senator Hill has given them credit for having bottled up various civil rights bills in their respective committees. None of these seem to have lost any prestige.

We are told that Alabama Democrats should fight for their rights under Mr. Truman as leader when it is his own FEPC platform which is aimed at our way of life. If Alabama Democrats have to fight against this kind of legislation, some had rather fight it out in the open against Republicans.

In 1952 there must be either a platform recognizing the South's long loyalty to the party and giving due consideration to our problems under a sympathetic leader, or permanent separation.

Meanwhile Alabama citizens are in agreement on many things, even to certain conditions; in disagreement on others and on methods. The immediate dispute should be argued with consideration and tolerance, and we won't let Mr. Truman separate us forever. The latest Gallup poll shows Mr. Truman's national popularity, which was 57% last Summer, has dropped to 37% now. There'll be other problems in the future, and in due time we'll all be paddling together again, as I believe the majority of us will be in the election of a State Democratic Executive Committee next Tuesday.

I hope all our people will read what Editor C. M. Stanley wrote in The Alabama Journal last week in an editorial called "Alabama's Opportunity." I quote extracts below:

"In their weekend article published in hundreds of daily newspapers all over the United States, Joseph and Stewart Alsop wrote that Alabama's Democratic primary election of May 2 'may well have a decisive effect on the whole national political balance of power.'

"This primary, according to these national political correspondents, will decide whether the whole Dixiecrat movement is likely to collapse, or whether it may become an extremely important national political factor in 1952. They reach the following conclusion:

"There is no question about the way we all feel on these subjects, and there is no question but what Alabama Democrats will go on record against federalism gone mad and Trumanism on the rampage if they get the chance.

"The talk of party unity at this time is deceptive, disingenuous and misleading. As Senator Lister Hill said on March 20, 1948: 'The situation in Alabama and the South today makes it clear that there cannot be Democratic unity with President Truman as the nominee.'

"Or as Senator John Sparkman said on the same day: 'President Truman should withdraw as a candidate for renomination in the interest of party unity. With Mr. Truman as the standard bearer, the party would split to ribbons.'

"That was the situation two years ago. It is even more pointedly the situation today. Truman has not changed. He is more anti-South, more socialistic, more meddling now than then. It is others who have changed, including our senators.

"Defeat of States' Rights candidates in Alabama on May 2 would be hailed all over the nation as a tremendous Truman victory. It would be blazoned as repudiation of the sound and constitutional doctrine of states' rights. It would be a triumph for the forward march of socialism on all fronts.

"It is a challenge which the Democrats of Alabama will be glad to accept. With the nation watching us, it is an epochal opportunity to tell the world of the soundness and solidity and dependability of our citizenship; to tell investors that we believe in private enterprise in Alabama; to tell manufacturers that we believe in the rights of business men to run their own business without persistent harassment by spendthrift politicians.

"How can there be unity when basic principles are in conflict? How can there be party peace when there is no peace? How can you graft Alabama's healthy and sound democracy to the rotten and decaying limb of Truman democracy?

"Let's tell them so in resounding voice on May 2 by electing State Committee Democrats who will keep the faith and remain loyal to Alabama democracy."

Governor Frank Dixon terms the coming primary as "of greater importance than any held since Governor Houston was chosen to rid our state of carpetbaggers." He points out that both Senators Hill and Sparkman opposed Truman in the 1948 convention.

John Temple Graves says: "Not since the War Between the States has the South had such political importance and chance. Bound or free—that is the clear issue. It may be the tide which is running now against Trumanism will let other men, more sympathetic with the South, more sensitive to American principle, inherit the National Democratic Party. But it may be that the party will continue in its present controls, and that there will be chaos in the South. In so vast an uncertainty, in a time of such flux and confusion, with such immense things at stake, what fools we would be to vote ourselves into the hands of a Trumanite State Committee that could and would hold us bound in 1952 to the very things we most hate and fear."

Congressman Sam Hobbs says: "As much as I love our Alabama senators personally, I cannot go along with them in their contention that we profit more by junking our principles. Our parents and the Democrats of Alabama have fought for these states' rights principles since the creation of our party. The support of those principles in the national party made the 'Solid South' solid until the new leaders of the party sold out for votes."

Mr. Tom Abernathy makes the promise we need: "The pledge of the States' Rights Democratic candidates for the State Committee is crystal clear. Every man of us has signed it and every man of us will stand to it. On our sacred honor we pledge you a free primary and a Democratic decision in 1952 when the U. S. again elects a President. Elector candidates who somehow can bring themselves to favor allegiance with the Trumanite Party will be free to run. We pledge you that."

There are eight members of the State Democratic Executive Committee from each of our nine Congressional districts. There will be two slates to choose from. One for Truman Democratic Party and one for the Alabama States' Rights Democratic Party. I urge you to support the latter group—vote for eight or your vote will not count. These eight men from the Ninth District are: Sid Smyer, Dr. Jas. R. Garber, H. M. Abercrombie, Jess Edwards, Earl J. Ellis, Roger Snyder, Walter J. Mims and Clewis Trucks.

The eight men from the Second District are: Robert Albritton, Tully Goodwin, James T. Beeland, John T. Britton, L. W. Brannan, Jr., Dr. H. C. Fountain, F. B. Lloyd and Frank Mizelle.

The eight men from the First District are: Gessner T. McCorvey, Ben N. Glover, William E. Johnston, J. Edward Thornton, Jesse L. Jordan, Vernon Lowery, B. H. Matthews and Eugene T. Means.

Signed,

DONALD COMER.

PD. POL. ADV. BY DONALD COMER, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

wpD: note & return to BR

A. D. Beittel

July 5, 1950

Mr. A. D. Beittel, President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr. Beittel:

I wrote Bishop Purcell a week or so ago, reminding him that his dues were long delinquent, and had the attached reply from him.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Encl.

CLARE PURCELL
RESIDENT BISHOP

THE METHODIST CHURCH

BIRMINGHAM AREA
824-825 COMER BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

MRS. HELEN N. CLARK
SECRETARY

July 3, 1950

Mr. George S.Mitchell
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter dated June 28 has been received. I note your statement about my membership dues in the Council. If my memory does not betray me, I am sure that I notified the Council some years ago that I could not continue my membership. I have found that there are so many groups which I would like to belong to but I cannot attend their meetings. I have, therefore, adopted a policy of holding membership in no committee or group where I cannot be active in attendance and in the preparation of releases to the public. For that reason I discontinued my membership.

My best wishes.

Faithfully yours,

Clare Purcell

Clare Purcell

bc

RECEIVED
JUL 3 1950
Southern Regional Counc

June 28, 1950

Bishop Clare Purcell
2020 Roswell Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

My dear Bishop Purcell:

In point of steadiness as a payer of your Council dues, your record is letter perfect from as far back as 1944 through April, 1948. Since then, according to our records, all is a blank.

To make you current through April 1951 would cost the whole sum of $9.00. I think that is probably steep for one with so many good causes pushing at him.

But we value you as a member and would be happy to make you current for whatever check you might find it possible to send in.

There is more to do than ever, and less to do it with.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

B. Beittel

September 11, 1950

Dr. A. D. Beittel, President
Talladega College
Talladega, Ala.

Dear Dr. Beittel:

The best I can do is to suggest a few possible sources that might help in the preparation of your speech.

I am sure you have already drawn on Myrdal's An American Dilemma, which should be the single most valuable source. I might suggest in addition Charles Johnson's Patterns of Negro Segregation (Harper's, 1943).

The May 1950 issue of The Survey, published by Survey Associates, carried an interesting article titled "The Colleges for Negroes" by Alonzo F. Myers, which should be pertinent in the field of higher education.

You have probably read the booklet "Segregation: A Challenge to Democracy" by Margaret C. McCulloch, recently published by the AMA Race Relations Department at Fisk. While it is a generalized treatise, some of its points might tie in with your subject.

These are sketchy suggestions, I know. If I knew more specifically what you plan to cover in your speech, perhaps I could be of more help.

With kindest regards to you and Mrs. Beittel,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Informatio

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

September 5, 1950

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I find myself under the necessity of preparing a speech on the subject "Psychological Limitations of Separate But Equal Doctrine of Education".

Can you send any material or suggest any bibliography that will be helpful in this undertaking.

With good wishes I am

Cordially yours,

A D Beittel

President

/j

RECEIVED
SEP 7 1950
Southern Regional Council

October 6, 1950

Mr. A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr. Beittel:

Many thanks for your note. We are so glad that the "professional" issue was useful.

I will be in Talladega well before eleven on Sunday morning. This time there are no airplane journeys to interfere. I wish I could bring Alice with me, but the problem of getting the children off to school the next morning in her absence is insuperable.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

gsm

Act 12

September 18, 1950

Mr. A. D. Beittel, President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr. Beittel:

That is all in order and will be managed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

September 13, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

It is good to know that you will be with us at our Sunday morning chapel service on October 15 and that you will be able to stay over until some time Monday.

I think it would be helpful if you would discuss something of the background and organization of the Southern Regional Council and give some statement of the kind of work it is doing. This I think should be done at the Monday noon chapel if it meets with your approval.

In the classes that you may attend you will probably be discussing more specific issues and at this noon chapel on Monday I shall be glad if you would feel free to present something of an all-over picture of the Southern Regional Council.

We shall do our best to keep you from feeling too uncomfortable in the role of a begowned preacher.

Cordially yours,

A D Beittel

President

ADB:mtj

RECEIVED
SEP 15 1950
Southern Regional Council

September 12, 1950

Mr. A. D. Beittel, President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr. Beittel:

Many thanks for your letter. I will be happy to appear at chapel Sunday morning, October 15, and to be around for whatever you wish to make of me Monday morning, the 16th.

My guess is that if I have spoken at chapel on the Sunday and talked to a couple of classes Monday morning, I don't have much fresh to say at a Monday chapel. Anyway, I do best in classes.

'Tis quite an exercise for me, as you know, to parade begowned and appear as a preacher.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

September 4, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

How would Sunday morning, October 15, suit you for your chapel appearance at Talladega College? If your schedule would permit we should be happy to have you remain over to speak at a noon chapel on Monday, October 16, and perhaps to appear informally in a couple of our classes Monday morning. However, if this is making too much demand upon your time we shall content ourselves with your coming on Sunday.

If the October 15 date is not convenient for you would October 29 or November 12 be appropriate?

I shall look forward to hearing from you soon.

Cordially yours,

A D Beittel

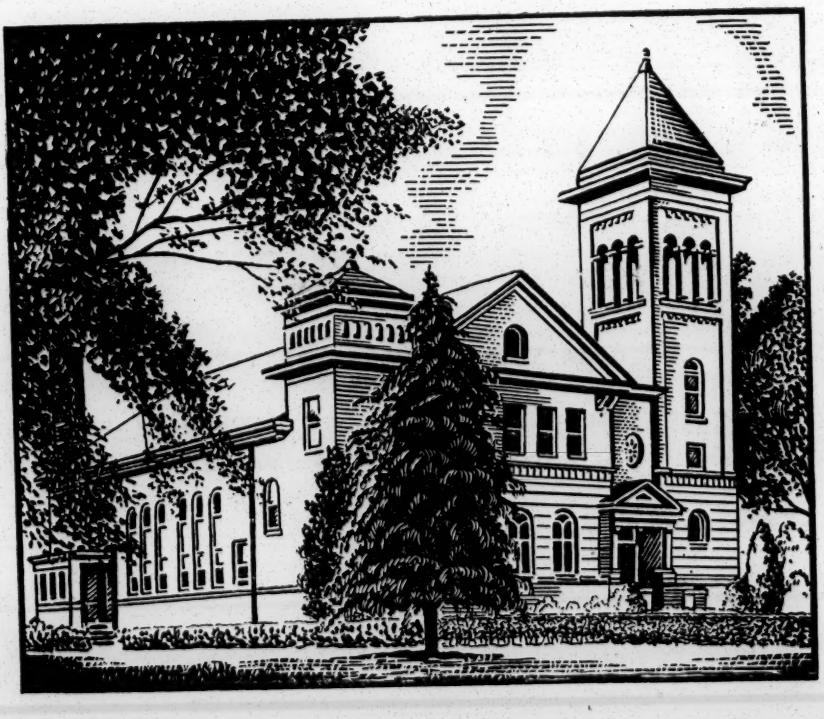
President

ADB:mtj

RECEIVED
SEP 6 1950
Southern Regional Council

Talladega College

Talladega, Alabama



DeForest Chapel

O R D E R O F W O R S H I P

October 15, 1950

Organ Prelude — Mendelssohn
"Allegro Moderato" (1st Sonata)

*Processional Hymn No. 142
"All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name"

*Call to Worship

*Invocation

*The Lord's Prayer

Responsive Reading No. 603
"The Citizen of Zion"

Anthem — Tertius Noble
"Fierce Was The Wild Billow"

The Scripture Lesson — 1st Corinthians
(a free translation)

Versicles No. 531

M. The Lord be with you
C. And with thy spirit
M. Let us pray:
O Lord, show thy mercy upon us
C. And grant us thy salvation
M. O God, make clean our hearts within us
C. And take not thy Holy Spirit from us

The Morning Prayer

Choral Response

Spiritual "In Bright Mansions Above"

Offering for The Highlander Folk School

Offertory "Meditation" Klein

*Ascription and Prayer

Hymn No. 140
"Where Cross the Crowded Ways of Life

Sermon Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Atlanta

Nunc Dimittis No. 543

*Recessional Hymn No. 321
"Hail the Glorious Golden City

*Benediction

Postlude Bach
On the Chorale "Thou Lamb of God"

Our minister next Sunday will be Rev. Samuel L. Gandy, Chaplain, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia.

THE AMISTAD

October 17, 1950

Mr. A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr. Beittel:

All the Mitchell family that got to Talladega thanks you and Mrs. Beittel and Talladega College for a most enjoyable visit.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director.

GSM:er

January 22, 1952

Dr. A. D. Beittel
Office of the President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dr. Beittel:

Dr. Mitchell has asked that we send you the full name and address of the Mr. Yancey whom he suggested to you as apeaker for the annual meeting of the Alabama Division. He is

Henry A. Yancey
City Manager
City Hall, Charlotte, North Carolina

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Stoney

October 4, 1951

Mr. A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Ala.

Dear Mr. Beittel:

Harold Fleming will be glad to come to Montgomery for the meeting of the Executive Committee October 16. His is the advice we would both need most anyhow on the matter of a pamphlet. I would be much in favor of the Division's doing something of that kind.

Good news about Talladega's police.

Fleming is assuming the meeting will begin at two o'clock in Trumholm's office. If not, let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Beittel

February 8, 1951

Mr. A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr. Beittel:

Galen Weaver of the Congregationalists has written that they would like to get some more exploration of Birmingham matters. One thing he suggested was that Mrs. Tilly explore it. He did not know when he wrote that you had gone over the matter, and I have since advised his office of your findings and our recommendations. It seems to me that it can do no harm for Mrs. Tilly to go, and might turn up some devices for further local action. As all of your forces will be in Montgomery on Tuesday, I am getting Mrs. Tilly to go by Montgomery that day and be at the meeting. She will go on up to Birmingham late that afternoon and spend Wednesday in Birmingham.

I wanted you to know the purpose of her presence at Montgomery and of her trip to Birmingham, but I think it ought not to be generally discussed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

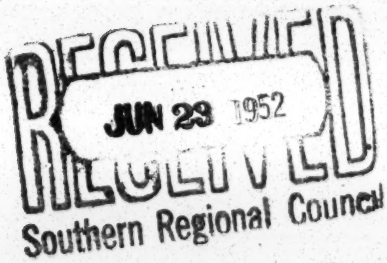
GSM:er

Beittel

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

June
19
1952



Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of June 18 has been received during President Beittel's absence from the campus. It will be called to his attention when he returns on July 3.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth A. Bingham

Elizabeth A. Bingham
Secretary to President Beittel

b

Beittel

June 18, 1952

Mr. A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Ala.

Dear Mr. Beittel:

Devotion, courage, persistence, loyalty to principle. Above all else, the South needs more of those. And here we get a guy that's got them, and we grind him down.

The warm affection of the Mitchells, past present, future.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

Beittel

RECEIVED
JUL 10 1952
Southern Regional Council

July 8 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Your kind note of June 18 arrived at my office when Mrs. Beittel and I were on a motor trip to the West Coast. We visited the Grand Canyon, the Petrified Forest, Sequoia and Yosemite National Parks, Lake Tahoe and spent a week at the biennial sessions of the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches at Claremont, California. We returned to Talladega on the evening of July 4.

I am enclosing a printed statement released by the Board of Trustees of Talladega College following the meeting in New York on June 2. It will give you a little insight into the situation at Talladega. You will be interested in knowing that the evidence for my poor racial attitude was found in my cooperation with the Southern Regional Council.

Ruth and I expect to spend several months in Europe this fall beyond which our plans are now indefinite.

Ruth joins me in sending our very best wishes to you and your family and for the growing success of the work of the Southern Regional Council.

With warm regards, I am

Cordially yours,

A D Beittel

-b

President

the Talladegan

-TO KEEP YOU IN TOUCH-

TRUSTEE EDITION

JUNE 2, 1952

Introductory Statement

It has always been the policy and the practice of this Board to listen patiently and freely to any one connected with the College who desires to be heard concerning matters before it for decision. This policy and practice and also the results from them have received the commendation of responsible campus opinion. As late as May, 1951, twenty-seven members of the faculty over their signatures made the following statement in a communication addressed to the Board:

> "We have long felt that the relationship of the Board and the Faculty at Talladega was unique in that it reflected a sense of mutual regard and respect for the purposes and desires of both groups. We have been particularly cognizant of the fact that *the Board has always made every effort to arrive at just decisions in its conduct of the affairs of the College.*"

The "effort to arrive at just decisions" mentioned by the twenty-seven signers of that statement has consisted of a full hearing, where necessary or requested, followed by a conscientious conclusion based upon facts. Coupled with this procedure has been the recognition that differences of opinion are inevitable; that when they occur every reasonable effort should be made to reconcile them; *but that upon the failure of such reconciliation the opinion and judgment of those charged with ultimate responsibility must prevail.*

The Trustees are aware of the unhappy conditions existing on the campus. They have been aware of these conditions for the last several years, and have tried to compose the conflicts that are the basic causes of the same.

The Board has given a fair and full opportunity to be heard to all members of the College family and to alumni who have requested it and has considered the many communications, protests and memoranda submitted. The decisions reached represent the judgment of the Board as to what the welfare of the College requires.

It remains to be added that it is hoped that sober second thought will bring the realization that acceptance of the decisions of those charged with responsibility for them is essential to any settlement of irreconcilable differences. Certainly it is fair to assume that every one genuinely interested in Talladega College will put its welfare above the personal fortunes of any individual connected with it.

The unfortunate conditions which have almost entirely absorbed the energies and interests of the College family during the past year revolve around three members of the College staff. These three members are a professor, a dean and the president. The case of the professor involves the failure of the Board to appoint him as a permanent member of the faculty. The case of the dean involves the exercise of the option of the Board to retire him at his first retirement age under his contract. The case of the president of the College presents for the judgment of the Board certain charges made against his administrative integrity and efficiency. Certain other actions of the Trustees are corollary to their disposal of these main issues.

The petitions and protests received by the Trustees seek (a) the reversal of the decision against permanent tenure for the professor in question; (b) the continuation of the dean in active service; (c) the summary dismissal of the president of the College.

Many groups are involved in the successful operation of a college. The Trustees, the Administrative officers, the Faculty, the Service staff, Students and Alumni have their contribution to make to the welfare of the institution. They must work harmoniously within their own groups and in cooperation with each other if the aims of the college are to be achieved. The basic problem at Talladega is that these harmonious relationships have broken down within each group and between the groups. The primary task before the Trustees is to create a new situation in which all these groups may again unite in a common effort to make Talladega College function effectively.

There follow here the actions of the Board of Trustees in respect to these and related matters, and a statement of its reasons therefor.

Concerning Permanent Tenure for Dr. Fritz Pappenheim

It is practically the universal custom of institutions for higher education in this country to have an established policy concerning the tenure of their teaching personnel. Such policy usually defines, among other things, the procedure for appointment and termination; the period of employment; and the privileges appertaining to each tenure classification. Ordinarily there are three classes: (1) Short term appointments which terminate at the end of the contract period; (2) Probationary tenure which automatically

terminates at the end of the probationary period unless a permanent appointment is made; and (3) Permanent tenure which terminates at specified ages for retirement. This College has, and for a number of years has had, a tenure policy along these lines.

The case of Dr. Fritz Pappenheim involves employment under the tenure policy in effect at the time of his appointment. A probationary appointment carries neither a commitment nor an obligation, legal or moral, that the appointee shall be retained beyond the trial period. While it is true that, other things being equal, a probationary appointee is justified in a reasonable expectation that he will be permanently appointed, that expectation is subject to the right of the Trustees to decide whether a permanent appointment should be made.

The probationer at the time he accepts employment knows that a failure to receive permanent appointment is a possible result and takes this calculated risk. The unfavorable judgment of the appointing power is not subject to a veto by his natural disappointment. In making up their minds the Trustees are obligated to nothing beyond an honest and conscientious judgment. They are under no duty to furnish a bill of particulars. It is enough if there is a general conviction that a risk of unsatisfactory service is involved in a permanent appointment. This procedure is a part of the contract of employment.

Dr. Fritz Pappenheim has served this College under contracts for the usual probationary period which ended with the college year of 1950-1951, and for an additional year which ends with the present college year.

At the regular Fall meeting of the Trustees held on October 9, 1950, the following votes were passed:

> *Voted* that action by the Board of Trustees concerning permanent tenure for Prof. Fritz Pappenheim be postponed until the regular Fall meeting of the Board in 1951, subject to the agreement of Prof. Pappenheim evidenced by his written communication to the President of the College on or before November 1, 1950.
>
> *Voted further* that if Prof. Pappenheim does not so agree to such postponement of action by this Board, his services as professor of the College automatically cease at the end of the present college year.

These votes postponed a final decision on permanent tenure for Dr. Pappenheim for one year. In order not to complicate the matter by any claims arising out of a holdover beyond the expiration of his contract, consent of Dr. Pappenheim to the postponement of a decision was required and given, as indicated. However, at the Annual Meeting of the Board on March 30, 1951, upon urgent requests that the matter be taken up at that time instead of the Fall meeting of 1951, as previously voted, a motion that Dr. Pappenheim be given permanent tenure was defeated. This adverse decision, however, did not affect the employment of Dr. Pappenheim for the additional year beyond his contracted period. That additional employment still had a year to run. However, at the regular Fall meeting of the Trustees on November 19, 1951, the matter was again before them as a result of two petitions requesting a reversal of the previous adverse action of the Board. After a thorough consideration of the entire subject, the following motion was passed:

> *Voted* that the Board sees no reason to change its action on the question of permanent tenure for Dr. Pappenheim.

Later at the same meeting the Board declined to reconsider this vote. Thus, and previous to the present meeting of the Board, it has voted four times on this matter. Once it voted to postpone action, and three times it voted against granting permanent tenure. For the fifth time the subject was considered by the Board at its present meeting. It was again before the Board on petitions to reverse the three previous actions mentioned. Again the matter was considered at length, and the following action was taken:

> WHEREAS various petitions for a reversal of the previous actions of the Board unfavorable to granting permanent tenure to Dr. Fritz Pappenheim, having been presented and carefully considered,
>
> AND WHEREAS Dr. Pappenheim and all others desiring it have been fully heard in respect thereto;
>
> AND WHEREAS no new or pertinent reasons have been advanced which warrant a change in these previous actions taken by the Board;
>
> *Voted* that in the judgment of the Board the best interests of the College require adherence to said previous actions.

Concerning the Retirement of Dean J. T. Cater

All teaching and administrative personnel of the College have contracts of employment. Those contracts are not unique. They contain the provisions usually found in similar contracts. Among these usual provisions are certain agreements between the contracting parties for the retirement of the employee at certain specified ages. Retirement legislation may be changed from time to time, but later changes can not be made retroactive without mutual consent. That means that the retirement provisions in effect at the date of the contract of employment, or, if already employed, at the date of acceptance of same, are the provisions that fix the retirement age of the employee.

This College has had a retirement plan for some years. It is the American Missionary Association Retirement Plan under the Retirement Plan for Lay Workers created by the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States. Through the co-sponsorship and joint guarantees of their Boards of Trustees, membership in the plan is made possible to lay workers of all American Missionary Association schools and colleges who accept its provisions. With membership in the plan its provisions become an integral part of the contract of employment. Dean Cater became a member of the retirement plan under the provisions of the same in effect October 1, 1931. Among those provisions are the following.

> "(a) The minimum retirement age shall be sixty-two, at the discretion of the Association, and sixty-five at the discretion of the member.
>
> (b) The maximum retirement age shall be sixty-eight."

As already stated, there are numerous cases every academic year where distinguished teachers and administrators in the colleges of the country reach the retirement age and terminate their active duties. Sometimes there are strong sentimental objections to the application of the rule in particular cases. However, the exceptional cases must be subject to the same rule as the average cases to prevent the complete breakdown of the system.

Dean J. T. Cater reached the age of 62 during the present fiscal year. That age under the retirement provisions of his contract is the age at which the employer has the option to retire him from active service.

After careful consideration of all relevant factors, this Board passed the following vote at its adjourned Annual Meeting on June 2, 1952:

> "That the Trustees hold Dean James T. Cater in highest regard. They record here their appreciation of his long and distinguished services first as a professor and now for many years as Dean of Talladega College. They must, however, place before all personal consideration what they believe to be the best interest of the college under the present troubled circumstances. They therefore regretfully vote that: Dean James T. Cater be and he is hereby relieved of all his duties and responsibilities as Dean and that he be employed by the College in the position of Professor of Education at his present salary. Voted further, that Professor James T. Cater be on leave of absence from his duties at the College for two years from August 31, 1952 to August 31, 1954, and perform such duties as shall be approved by the Board of Trustees. At the end of said period, August 31, 1954, Professor James T. Cater's services with Talladega shall be automatically terminated by retirement."

Concerning the Charges Against President Beittel

The Board has received a number of communications making various charges against the president of the College. These charges may be summarized as follows:

1. That the President has taken an ambiguous attitude on racial discrimination and racial segregation.
2. That he lacked administrative integrity and efficiency in his relations with the faculty and the Board.
3. That he has failed to give the leadership and does not possess the competency required by a College of the standing and prestige of Talladega.
4. That he has made financial matters the paramount consideration in every aspect of his administration.

The Board of Trustees sets forth here its judgment on these charges. They will be taken up in order.

First, as to the charge that Dr. Beittel has straddled on the question of race discrimination and segregation. This is by far the most serious charge made. Education without caste has long stood as the statement of the traditional policy of this College. It not only means that its doors are open to all races, but also that the College is unalterably opposed to racial discrimination and segregation. Anything less than a clear and unequivocal attitude of the president on these questions would be inconsistent with the historical commitments of this institution and of its founders. Recognizing the importance of this issue, therefore, let the record speak.

There are two infallible tests by which a man's real attitude on a vital question may be determined. One is by what he says and the other is by what he does. What has Dr. Beittel said on this matter? Here is his attitude as tested by his own words: On December 7, 1950, at Richmond, Virginia, he delivered an address before the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes. That address was published in The Journal of Negro Education — the outstanding periodical in the field of Negro Education — in its Spring Issue of 1951. The following excerpts are fairly representative of the whole speech both in tenor and content:

> "One important argument against segregated schools is that they educate one part of the population with the feeling of superiority and another part of the population with the feeling of inferiority. This would be permissible in a society with a rigid class system, but it is out of place in a society dedicated to the implementation of democratic principles.
> "The segregated school is a symbol of the Negro's inferior status in American society."
>
> * * * * *
>
> "The food served behind the curtain in the diner may be just as good or bad as the food served on the other side of the curtain, but it is too highly seasoned with the condiment of inferiority. Even though Car S-1 in its physical appointments may be as good as Car S-3, it will continue to be objectionable as long as men and women are directed to occupy Car S-1 because of skin pigmentation.
> "Segregation is established on the assumption of inferiority, and it is therefore contrary to the democratic and religious ideals to which we are committed in the United States."
>
> * * * * *
>
> "Segregated education not only violates the American democratic ideal, but it violates the basic teaching of the Christian religion."
>
> * * * * *
>
> "In these days when the United States has become concerned about and involved in conditions across the world as it has never been before, when for our own safety we need to win the cooperation of colored peoples all over the world, segregated education is a great obstacle making it difficult for us to convince the world that we know how to make democracy work. In these days of world crisis, 'separate but equal' education, with its ill effects on both those who segregate and those who are segregated, is an outworn luxury that we can no longer afford."

Previously this same organization of Negro Secondary Schools and Colleges had sought full membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools which for twenty years had been and still is the accrediting

agency for Negro Colleges in this area. Testifying to their confidence in Dr. Beittel, this Negro organization chose him for the delicate mission of presenting their petition for membership. He appeared before the Southern Association at its meeting in Houston, Texas, November 30, 1949, and presented the case for the petitioners. In the course of his speech he said:

> "The leaders of the Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes face the same problems which are faced by members of this Association — and some others besides. They want the opportunity to sit down with you and discuss together the educational problems of the South."

It would require a disregard of the truth to read anything ambiguous in the position taken in these quotations. So much for words.

What about the other test — the test of deeds? The first and obvious sample of relevant conduct by Dr. Beittel on this issue was educating his younger son in this College. Here he followed the example of its first president whose elder son, Dr. Lee DeForest, received his High School training on this campus. Young Beittel was socially acceptable to his fellow students and participated freely in student affairs. He received the B.A. degree in the Class of 1950. How thoroughly he was integrated into the student life is indicated by the fact that he was initiated and received into the local chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, November 20, 1948. A white man who is dubious on the question of racial discrimination and segregation is not apt to send his son to Talladega College. Again, the Beittel residence has been a continuing open house for all members of the College family with never so much as a hint of racial distinctions.

Another charge challenges the quality and competency of the leadership of Dr. Beittel as President of the College. Competency is a matter of judgment. From the vantage point of intimate knowledge of the inner workings of the administrative machinery of this College, the Board of Trustees do not share the poor appraisal of the leadership and efficiency of Dr. Beittel. There are varying degrees of ability before the point of disqualification is reached. It is easy for hostile critics to demand romantic standards. There is no pretense that the president has not made mistakes.

The final charge made against the president is that he is preoccupied with the financial problems of the College to the exclusion of other important matters. This charge is untenable. The answer to the objection to his "intruding budgetary questions into every aspect of the operation of the College." In the face of budget deficits and with rising costs increasing the financial problems of the College, budgetary questions must be raised regarding all phases of the College operation. However no member of the staff can claim that he lives in an atmosphere of insecurity by virtue of the budget problems of the College. All actions regarding Talladega's budget have been taken after full consideration with faculty and staff. There have been open hearings with invitation to anyone on the staff to appear before the Budget Committee prior to the adoption of the final budget.

The Board of Trustees finds that the foregoing charges made against Dr. Beittel are not sustained!

We could wish the matter might be permitted to rest with that statement. Unfortunately, a conscientious discharge of its responsibilities requires that the Board go farther. The members of this body believe that Dr. Beittel has been wronged both by the charges made against him and by the methods resorted to by those who have attacked him. The Board cannot, however, ignore the fact that circumstances have arisen which make it impossible for him successfully to carry on as President of the College. While the Board does not and will not condone the injustice done Dr. Beittel, it does not follow that his personal vindication need take a form which may be disastrous to the College. Exoneration from the charges made against him, accompanied by such changes as will make it possible for a new President to succeed, is a result dictated both by the logic of the situation and by the duty of the Trustees to guard the best interests of the institution at all events. Impelled by these considerations, and as one with the other steps decided upon by the Board, it is regretfully

> *Voted* that Dr. A. D. Beittel be requested to submit his resignation as President of the College, effective August 31, 1952.
>
> *Voted further* that the salary of Dr. Beittel, at the present rate, be continued for one year from the effective date of his indicated resignation.

Concerning the Dean of Women

In order that there shall be a completely new administration the Board voted that Dean Hilda Andrea Davis be and is hereby relieved of her duties as Dean of Women effective August 31, 1952 and that she continue to serve the College as Professor of English at the same salary.

Replacement Policy in the Present Situation

> *Voted* that the vacancies in the College, resulting from withdrawals or resignations which are in any way connected with the recent difficulties on the campus, shall not be filled by the appointment to them of persons presently in the employ of the College.

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

September 18, 1957

Mr. Richard K. Bennett
Phoebe Waterman Foundation, Inc.
1701 Arch Street, Rm. 422
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

Dear Dick:

Delighted to hear from you and even more delighted that you are coming South. Several of us here have just returned from a meeting of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation in Washington, where we were with a goodly representation from the AFSC. I am sending this air mail special in the hope that it will reach you before you leave.

Of course, we will want to see you and spend as much time and discussion as you will find useful. I will be in the office on the morning of the 26th and will be looking for you. Meanwhile, I will be giving some thought to other people in the Atlanta area whose views would be helpful to you.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PHOEBE WATERMAN FOUNDATION, INC.
1701 ARCH STREET, ROOM 422
PHILADELPHIA 3, PENNSYLVANIA

September 13, 1957

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Harold Fleming:

Since leaving the Community Relations program of The American Friends Service Committee last year, I havd been working part time for this foundation. Unfortunately, it has no current interest in race relations but I keep my interest active by various consulting roles with other groups. I also remain very close to AFSC.

To do these latter things well I need to be closer to what is going on in the South. I keep fairly well posted but the wisdom and advice of some of you who are in the thick of things would be a great help. It would help me to advise others on what they should do and (occasionally) on how they should spend their money.

I will shortly be taking a trip South and will be in Atlanta on the 26th and 27th of this month. I'll arrive the night of the 25th and will leave the night of the 27th. I would appreciate a chance to talk to you and some of your associates - perhaps at the beginning of that visit. I would also appreciate your advice at that time as to what other persons in Atlanta might be helpful. Could I come by your office on the morning of the 26th?

What I am looking for are creative and new projects which deserve support in the South. Periodically, I may be able to promote such projects with foundations in the North. I also have a few ideas about projects on which the judgment of experienced Southern workers would be most welcome.

Will you or others on your staff be available? I'd appreciate some brief word sent to me at the above address before I leave here on the 20th.

Cordially,

Dick Bennett

Richard K. Bennett

P.S. As is obvious I am temporarily without a secretary and I hope you will forgive the feeble efforts of two fingers.

RKB

September 25, 1957

Mr. Richard Bennett
Star Route
Ambler, Pennsylvania

Dear Dick:

I am deeply sorry to hear about your father's death.

The postponement of your trip will not inconvenience us at all. I expect to be in the office next week and will look forward to seeing you than.

You have our sympathy and warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED SEP 23 1957

Star Route
Ambler, Pa.
Sept. 21, 1957

Dear Harold,

I was just packing for the trip when word came of the death of my father. I'm sure you'll understand my postponing everything for one week.

Instead of being in Atlanta for the 26th and 27th, I'll be there for Oct. 3rd and 4th. Arriving the night of the second will make it possible for me to be at your office early on the third. Hope you and/or others will be around.

Thanks for your kind letter. I hope I haven't upset your plans but I'm sure you understand

Cordially,
Dick Bennett

Encls: Highlander School Propaganda Sheet
Horton Statement
Directory of Coop. Agencies
Congressional Record - 1/26/57

October 10, 1957

Mr. Richard K. Bennett
Phoebe Waterman Foundation, Inc.
Room 422
1701 Arch Street
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

Dear Dick:

We enjoyed having you in our midst last week.

Enclosed is a copy of the sheet on the Highlander meeting, prepared by the Georgia Education Commission. To balance things off, I am also enclosing Myles Horton's answer and one of our "defense" documents prepared earlier. It also seems to me that I promised to send you a directory of Southern agency personnel concerned with human relations. Herewith.

I expect to be stopping over with Frank Loescher Sunday night, October 20th on my way to New York. If you have any words of wisdom for me, you could use Frank as a message center.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR QUOTATION WITHOUT PERMISSION.

August 31, 1956

TO: Mr. Harold Fleming, executive director, Southern Regional Council

RE: Summary of Floyd County Interviews and Findings about Negro Participation in Politics

FROM: Dean B. R. Brazeal, Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

I. The Voting Pattern for Negroes: Floyd County, of which Rome is the county-seat, is located in the northwest section of Georgia. There are approximately 56,141 persons in Floyd County with whites outnumbering Negroes about 3 to 1. Of this number 41,330 are eighteen years or over, with 6,046 or 14.6% being Negro and 35,284 or 85.4% white. In 1956, 31,071 persons in Floyd County were registered. Of this number 2,730 or 9% were Negro and 28,341 or 91% were white. On a percentage basis 45% of the eligible Negro persons are registered and 72% of the eligible whites. This relatively high percentage of Negro registrants is an interesting phenomenon and corresponds with the finding that Negroes are likely to become more articulate politically as the industralized population increases.

It was in 1946 that Negroes began registering in appreciable numbers in Floyd County. This action followed the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals on March 6, 1946 which upheld Judge Hoyt T. Davis' decision in the Chapman V. King case (more familiarly known as the Primus E. King case) in which the white primary was legally outlawed. Incidentally, any legal hope the supporters of the white primary had to the effect that it would be legally sustained in Georgia was shattered on April 1, 1946 when the United States Supreme Court refused to review the case. As Negroes in Floyd County continued to increase their number of registrants some were challenged and attempts were made to purge their names from the registration list. A prominent, elderly white lawyer voluntarily came to their defense and in view of the threatened contempt proceeding the registrars ended their purge efforts.

Now, the registrars welcome potential Negro registrants and even let it be known that more should register. At the request of Negro leaders in the Floyd County Civic and Political League (now inactive) the registrars arranged at one time to decentralize the registration places by "carrying the books" around to different schools for Negroes, thus making it more convenient for them to register. Recently a Non-Partisan Voters League was organized to supplant the Floyd County Civic and Political League whose effectiveness had been diluted by strife, charges and counter charges of dishonesty on the part of two or three of its leaders. Although the Non-Partisan Voters League is trying to increase Negro registration, its main problem is to get Negro registrants to vote in representative numbers. For some reason "they won't vote in large numbers like we desire" said one of the leaders. Another said, after commenting on the ease with which Negroes in Floyd County may register, "the trouble comes in trying to get them to vote". It is estimated that only about 700 Negroes voted in the last election. In an effort to offset this apathy the Non-Partisan Voters League is sponsoring rotating citizenship meetings every two weeks in churches for Negroes. About 30 to 40 persons hear talks on the value and benefits of registering and voting. It is thought that the attendance at these meetings will increase as the fall elections draw near.

Negro voters have to use a segregated ballot box and entrance to the Court House. Ballots were counted on a racial basis during the first one or two elections in which Negroes voted. Now, when the ballots are being counted they are mixed with others and not counted on a racial basis. Some Negroes help man the polls where Negroes vote.

In 1952, a year before Dr. Rufus E. Clement successfully ran for election as a member of the Atlanta Board of Education, an elderly Negro qualified to run for a similar post in Rome, Georgia. He was about 72 years of age and had formerly taught school when the requirements were not rigid (it was thought that he had not gone beyond the 7th or 8th grade in school). He was the operator of a hand laundry when he qualified as a candidate. Some of the Negro political leaders thought he was not qualified for the post and thus refused to support him. As a matter of fact, he was spoken against in open mass meetings by some Negroes who also contended that the time was not ripe for a Negro to seek such a position in Floyd County. They thought that the "whites should appoint a liaison person" who could present their views to the City Board of Education. Some Negro voters contended that there was no need to vote for the Negro candidate "because the white folks are going to run things anyway". If Negro voters had supported him on a comparable percentage basis as the white voters did he probably would have been elected.

II. Socio-Economic Factors: Floyd County is becoming increasingly industralized. Rome, its county-seat, is a bristling, expanding city, with only a few vestiges of its former dominant agricultural background. Negroes and whites continue to migrate to Rome in search of employment and the comforts which are usually afforded in an industralized community. Employment for Negroes conforms to the stereotype pattern which is characteristic of a segregated economy. Nevertheless, they still find relatively better employment outlets than they had in the predominantly agricultural areas. Their economic position would be much more secure if they could find semi-skilled and skilled employment in the factories and textile mills. Basically, this keeps them out of labor unions which have gained a sizeable footing in this county, in spite of some vigorous support for anti-union measures. A few Negroes in menial factory jobs have membership in unions, but not many. In some instances white skilled unionists in the building trades have walked off their jobs when skilled Negro building tradesmen appeared to do the work they had contracted to do. These Negro tradesmen work largely on an individual basis "and never get into any of the big jobs". In one case some white painters actually started boycotting a white painting firm because it was using Negro painters. They cancelled an order for paint with a demand that the Negro painters be discharged. The owner of the concern is alleged to have said "to hell with them, I am running my business". There are no Negro clerks or carriers in the United States Post Office in Rome,

In spite of these factors, Negro workers within the range of their restrictive employment are making some progress. They are helping to create the economic basis for the growth of a Negro middle-class which will be able to offer more political and civic leadership for the masses. Already this trend is evident. Four insurance companies have branch offices in Rome. Except for the teaching profession, they offer more white collar employment for Negroes than any other area. There are two Negro dentists and one physician in Floyd County. There are no Negro lawyers. The physician has access to the city hospital and meets regularly with the staff as a participating member. He hopes that his experience in this respect will result in attracting other Negro physicians to Rome.

Most of the Negro ministers who have churches in Rome live there. This

enables them to give leadership during the week as well as on Sunday. Some take advantage of this opportunity although "the training of the ministers is somewhat limited". A few have been criticized because they have solicited support for their churches from persons in politics, thus obligating themselves. In Rome, Negro and white ministers meet together without any distinction on the first Monday in each month as the Interdenominational-Interracial Ministers' Alliance. A Negro minister is the vice-president. Sometime they discuss political issues. However, one critic of the group asserted that less than one-third of the city's white ministers belong to the organization and "Negro members are largely onlookers". The members will "touch" on political matters; oppose having a representative of the United States at the Vatican; move against the sale of beer in Floyd County which is dry, "but they will politely stay off interracial situations". Despite these reactions this is the only direct, organizational line of communication I have discovered among white and Negro ministers in Georgia. There are those who feel that as they get to know each other better the areas of interracial cooperation will widen.

Since Negroes have been voting in Floyd County, police brutality (which was once intense and rampant) has subsided. Earlier, one of the Negro leaders appeared before the City Council to make complaints about police brutality. In commenting on his activities in this regard he said: "I just mean business, I don't have but one time to die". Two Negro policemen have been appointed since Negroes began voting. Others are expected to be appointed before the fall elections. The sheriff of Floyd County is regarded as being a fine person "and a Mason". He and other office holders have attended meetings and talked to Negro voters.

The N.A.A.C.P. has been inactive for several years. This seems to be due more to a lack of leadership and interest than to any type of pressure. This inactivity was a factor before the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision on public schools.

Negro residents in Rome are pressing for more school facilities. This is one of their areas of need, although some progress has been made along this line. Rome surpasses most Georgia cities its size in paving its streets and laying sewage. Negroes (a large number as home owners) live in all areas of the city, and whites and Negroes live in block units on the same paved streets in all parts of the city. One or two Negro leaders contend that the present street paving program is "just a sign of growth". A few others contend that there is also a recognition of the political value in such a program of community development.

III. Efforts to Increase Registration and Voting: Negro political leaders are seeking to create a unity through the instrumentality of the newly created Non-Partisan Voters League. They hope to offset the forces of disunity which virtually destroyed the Floyd County Civic and Political League and by this technique regain more of their followers. This is a vital step. Next, they are sponsoring rotating citizenship clinics in churches every two weeks on Friday night. During these meetings, talks are made on the value, benefits and responsibilities of registering and voting. Later, the current candidates for office will be invited to speak during these meetings and it is believed that this will generate more interest in voting in the fall elections. Plans also will be worked out to create an automobile pool to transport voters to and from the polls. Negro high school students are taken to register when they reach eighteen years of age.

IV. Prospects: As the Floyd County Negro becomes more urbanized he will develop a keener appreciation of the use of the ballot as a technique of survival.

With the continuous development of a substantial middle-class with a reasonable degree of economic independency, there should emerge a Negro political leadership which is more intelligently articulate and forthright. These factors will become more pronounced as the public educational base expands and reaches more of the Negro people. Later, it will probably occur to organized labor that it could have an ally in the Negro voter. Therefore, some labor leaders are likely to establish discreetly, yet effectively, a line of communication between these two important segments of the population. These two groups, aided by Church support, could more effectively help to curb police brutality which in Rome has been accused of being anti-union, as well as anti-racial. As this is done the Negro will be more willing to extend the frontiers of political action as a participant and will not be "too satisfied with things as they are".

* * *

May 27, 1959

To: Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Re: Some Facts Involved in the Political Status of Negro Residents in Baker County, Georgia.

From: Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Academic Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

A Few Background Facts: Baker County is located in southwest Georgia in an area which is often referred to as the "Blackbelt" because of its large Negro population. This county, the sixty-first in Georgia, was named after Colonel John Baker, a noted Revolutionary leader who was a member of the 1775 Provincial Congress in Savannah. Another Revolutionary War hero, Sergeant John Newton, who in 1779 rescued some prisoners of war in the outskirts of Savannah, was the person for whom the present county-seat, Newton, was named. This town is twenty-two miles southwest of Albany in Dougherty County, which was originally a part of Baker County. Its proximity to Albany is important in so far as this study is concerned, as developments will reveal.

Baker County is still one of the most highly agricultural areas in Georgia and depends upon peanuts, pecans and cotton for approximately two-thirds of its annual income. Three large plantations cover a large portion of Baker County. Pineland is owned by the Mellons of Pennsylvania. Ichaway is owned by Robert Woodruff of Atlanta. Blacketts, the third one, is owned by another northern family whose name it bears and who lives on it. These plantations are big businesses and have adapted themselves to the employment and racial mores of this section. Individually owned farms decreased

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from 1,502 in 1920 to 751 in 1954. In 1957 the population of Baker County was estimated at 5,200 with four-fifths of these people living on farms. This population figure is about 700 less than it was in 1950. Divided on the basis of race, there are 1,900 whites and 3,300 Negroes.* This racially one-sided division of this county's population has generated "fears" on the part of the whites who have constructed their voting system so that Negroes "can't take over." Industrialization and urbanization, which tend to alter provincial customs, are largely absent. The dominant "mentality" of the county is rural, with a completely Old South motif.

Voter Registration: Baker County registration figures, which are available in Secretary of State Ben Fortson's office, reveal that eighty-eight per cent or 1,670 out of the white population of 1,900 are registered to vote. Only twelve per cent of the white population are not registered to vote. According to the simple mathematics which is involved, there can be only 230 white persons under the voting age of eighteen in Baker County. Yet, during the school year 1957-58 there were 137 white children enrolled in Baker County High School and 239 in elementary school for a total of 440. By the deductive process, after again considering the mathematics involved, it is logical to conclude that the white registration records of Baker County are padded.

Although Negroes comprise sixty-three per cent of the total population, not one of the 3,300 is registered to vote. A few years ago, following the

*Some of the historical facts about Baker County were obtained from an article "Know Your County" which appeared in The Atlanta Constitution, September 24, 1958.

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Primus E. King decision in 1946, approximately 475 Negroes were registered. However, they were purged from the registration lists so that the political power-structure could be retained by the followers of Eugene Talmadge. Now, considering Georgia's county-unit system of voting, 836 white voters in Baker County as a simple majority, out of a total county population of 5,200, control the two county-unit votes. These two county-units votes, when added to those of the other 120 two-unit vote counties, are a formidable factor which forms the basic political strength for most of the successful Georgia politicians in State and federal elections. These 121 two-unit vote counties have a total of 242 unit votes, as compared to 120 unit votes for the 30 four-unit vote counties and 48 unit votes for 8 of the most populous counties.

Under the county-unit system, Baker County, with its padded roll of 836 voter controlled two-unit votes, has one-third as much political strength as Fulton County with its 133,291 registered voters and six-unit votes. Since a bare majority of voters in each county in Georgia controls its total number of unit-votes, it takes 418 voters in Baker County to build up one-unit vote as compared to 11,108 voters in Fulton County. This example, in principle, can be duplicated many times in Georgia's county-unit system of voting. Thus, Georgia's political ideology, being rural centered and controlled, is at variance with national and international political trends and interests. Isolationist and anti-racial sentiment is very strong in Georgia. This deadens the average Baker County white man's interest in how improved race relations will help gain allies for the United States among the uncommitted colored peoples of the world. Further, this attitude interferes with an extension of political, religious, cultural and racial tol-

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erance which in its totality will help strengthen the position of the United States in a delicately balanced international cold war atmosphere. One of his chief interests is how to help keep political control in Georgia from shifting to the cities, and how to continue to disfranchise the Negro. Baker County, as well as others like it under the county-unit system, helps to perpetuate a dual system of political disfranchisement which is directed against the Negro per se and urban dwellers, most of whom are white.

More people are beginning to realize that there is a political bondage in Georgia that transcends race. Several months ago, Mayor William B. Hartsfield of Atlanta brought suit against the county-unit system in a federal court. On Wednesday, April 1, 1959 Senator Herman Talmadge stated that the county-unit system "probably" would be modified. Senator Richard Russell has given support to this statement. Both men believe that urban areas should be given more political representation in keeping with their population growth. At the moment, the motives of these long time supporters of the county-unit system are not fully known. However, there are some persons who say that these senators wish to reform the county-unit system before the United States Supreme Court can hand down a decision involving it. Whatever the reason is, it is logical to conclude that it is just as unconstitutional to reduce the effectiveness of a person's vote under the county-unit system as it is to deny him the right to register and vote.

When qualified voters are sealed off by racial, as well as county-unit restrictions, they should not be counted constitutionally as part of the population basis of political representation. Politically, they are not present anymore than if they had migrated out of the State, or had died or had

not been born. In the future, effective civil rights legislation should provide for a reduction in representation in the United States House of Representatives to the degree that qualified Negroes are not permitted to register and vote in all elections, state and federal. If the life of the Civil Rights Commission is continued, it could help unearth the numerical extent of racial disfranchisement in several Southern states as based on its authority "to investigate denials of voting."

In the meantime, the disfranchised Negroes in Baker County may seek relief under the decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals which on March 6, 1946 upheld Judge Hoyt T. Davis' ruling in the Primus E. King "White Primary Case." Since this date, potential contempt of court charges have not caused the Board of Registrars in Baker County to relax their racial voting restrictions. If disfranchised Negro litigants do not bring suit, then the next logical step will be for the Department of Justice to intercede in their behalf. This would be done by the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice which has the authority under the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1957 to file an injunctive petition in a Federal District Court. By initiating such action the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice would seek to bring the constituted Board of Registrars under contempt of court charges with orders not to continue to disfranchise qualified Negro residents.

The first such intervening action was initiated against the Terrell County, Georgia Board of Registrars on September 4, 1958 under the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 by W. Wilson White, the head of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Five Negro college graduates

had been denied the privilege of registering. Only 48 Negroes were registered although there were 5,036 Negroes in Terrell County who were of voting age. On April 16, 1959, United States District Judge T. Hoyt Davis dismissed the suit against the Terrell County Board of Registrars, most of whom are an integral part of the real political power structure in the State of Georgia, by declaring unconstitutional the section of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 under which the suit was filed. This decision has been appealed by the Department of Justice directly to the United States Supreme Court.

Socio-Economic Factors: In the processes of social change there are always areas of resistance that are created by forces which cling to the past. For instance, peonage was substituted for slavery by some of those persons who were opposed to freeing the slaves. Then, racial segregation was resorted to as a structural societal instrument to keep Negroes from moving too far away from a peonage position.. Baker County is an unusually outstanding practicing exponent of this racially restrictive way of life. Most of its Negroes work as farm laborers for three to four dollars a day, and as domestic servants. To aid in maintaining a "ready supply of labor" its welfare administrators are slow in putting aged Negroes on their rolls. When they do get on they are paid thirty-five dollars a month although aged whites usually qualify for fifty dollars a month. "A Negro is just about dead when he gets fifty dollars a month." Generally, good housing is at a premium in Baker County. Shacks abound in Negro neighborhoods. Only about seven Negro homes in the county have bathrooms and septic tanks, except for one small housing project built for Negroes in Newton, the county seat. Most of the few white collar jobs in Baker County are available to white

persons, except for about thirty-five teaching jobs that are open to Negroes. Several Negroes own their own farms which are reasonably large and profitable. For racial and invidious reasons they have to operate carefully within the context of racial restrictions that apply to the masses of Negroes. Further, they want to keep their credit open and their taxes from being arbitrarily increased as a punitive measure.

One effective way to suppress people is to deprive them of the right to obtain an education. For years, Baker County, along with many other counties in Georgia, failed to provide Negro children with high school facilities. In most instances, they had to depend on one-teacher elementary schools which often operated in a Negro lodge hall or church. If a Negro boy or girl wanted to go to high school he had to go to the expense of leaving Baker County and maintaining himself in some other place. White youths did not have to do this since generation after generation attended the local white high school. And many of them went off to college. Very few Negro residents ever got to go to high school and fewer ever got to go to college. This meant that the Negro was not able to form an educated nucleus on which he could depend for leadership.

In 1941 the Negroes, themselves, started a high school in an old house. Several years later, largely as a result of pressure from decisions of the United States Supreme Court, the educational picture for Negro children in Baker County began to change. The West Baker Elementary School now has eleven teachers. In 1956 the East Baker High and Elementary School was built and now has twenty-four teachers. Unlike the long established Baker County High School for white children, this Negro high school does not have

a gymnasium. However, Negro taxpayers have helped to pay off a bond issue of $80,000 which financed the construction of a gymnasium for the white high school. Trades are not offered in either the white or Negro high school. Each school has an agriculture teacher. However, white students can go to one of their area trade schools which is located in nearby Americus, Georgia. There is no area trade school, as such, for Negro students anywhere in the state of Georgia.

In concluding this section, it is obvious that Negro residents in Baker County have not had much of an opportunity to develop a formally educated nucleus which could help provide leadership for the masses, politically or otherwise. This author's studies, involving racial aspects of registration and voting in several counties in Georgia, revealed that there is a definite correlation between increased educational opportunities and increased voter registration.

Church leadership among Negroes in Baker County is a week-end affair. None of the Negro preachers live in this county. Except for emergencies, they come in only for the week-end and when they are through with their services on Sunday they leave. Several of the most outstanding churches for Negroes have been given token building and/or maintenance contributions by the owners or managers of the three large plantations to which reference has been made. These relatively small gifts and those that are anticipated are one of the reasons why the Negro preachers do not provide a citizenship program which also involves registration and voting. Then, too, some of the Negro preachers are limited in the knowledge of what their leadership roles should be. One of my informants said, "I am going to tell you the truth

about these preachers here in Baker County--no preacher will tell us about voting--they are scared." Voter registration meetings in churches for Negroes rarely occur in this county because most of their influential churches are obligated to those forces that are interested in maintaining the status quo. Churches for Negroes are not alone in this equation of societal control as it operates in Baker County and elsewhere.

The overseers of the three large plantations are constant supporters of a rigid system of segregation and exploitation of labor, white and colored. "These hunting reserves mainly for northerners" help in substantial ways to maintain the status quo in race relations and otherwise. Further, a strong Citizens Council, which is just one cooperating unit in a net-work of citizens Councils in Southwest Georgia, helps to police Negroes and whites, too, who attempt to deviate in the least from the normally accepted pattern of racial behavior.

The white ministers and the Negro ministers of Baker County do not have connections, religious or otherwise. The white ministers have been silenced by the Citizens Council and the general milieu in which they have to work, live and preach. "Once there was a white minister here," I was told, "who would speak in Negro churches and show some brotherly concern, but they got rid of him. In view of this situation, a newcomer possibly would be puzzled after reading a sign on Georgia Highway 91 as he travels out of Albany in the direction of Newton, the county seat. The message on the sign is as follows: "Eternity! Where? Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and spend it in Heaven." In spite of this publicly expressed concern about the future abode of human beings, there is an almost complete lack of concern by the white churches for the personality and dignity of Negroes in their earthly existence in Baker County.

There is no adequate, intelligent, equalitarian communication between the two racial groups in other areas. White and Negro veterans do not contact each other. The League of Women Voters does not cooperate with Negro women to help improve their communities. White and Negro teachers do not talk together about their common problems and aims in education. Some Negroes get in touch with whites who wish to learn surreptiously what other Negroes are thinking about. There is a reluctance on the part of Negroes to communicate with each other about civil rights unless they are reasonably sure that what they say will not be communicated to the whites.

Under present conditions in Baker County, Negro teachers dare not assert any leadership in extending their civil rights and expect to hold their jobs. They do not openly discuss having Negroes register and vote, nor do they seek this privilege for themselves. They fear the loss of their jobs and possible physical violence. This reaction is not theoretical because already two Negro teachers and a bus driver have been fired because they are relatives of two Negro men who were interested in registering and voting. Subsequent discussions will reveal the reality of the Negro teachers' fears about suffering possible physical violence.

A visiting teacher in Baker County for thirty years decided "under pressure" that she had better seek employment elsewhere because she was caught unwittingly in the cross-fire of a local political campaign. This took place almost three years ago when the incumbent school superintendent, H. E. Hall, was running for reelection against William Geer, the principal of Baker County High School. Geer geared his campaign to appeal to Citizens Council members and their supporters. He attacked the Negro woman, who is regarded as a person of integrity, dignity and culture, because her name was listed among the names of other school officials on the official stationery

which was used by the Board of Education. This was the crux of the campaign and the main issue which was involved. Geer's slogan over the radio and in public political meetings was that when he was elected he was going to remove "that black nigger woman's name from your stationery that has been paid for by your tax money." Some white women resented this type of campaign. Geer was not elected. The visiting teacher left her job and her home in which she had lived for many years. In the midst of this type of racial atmosphere, Negro teachers are quiet in so far as all aspects of civil rights are concerned.

Efforts of Negro Residents to Register: Now, there is not a single Negro person registered to vote in Baker County. This fact was among those factors which prompted the selection of this county to be studied. By what techniques have all Negroes been kept from registering? If they can't register, then not a single Negro person can vote in Baker County. Is it that Negro residents do not desire to register and vote? What are the components of this pattern of total exclusion from the exercise of a fundamental right which is so essential in a system of Democracy? Shortly after the Civil Rights Act became law on September 9, 1957, four substantial tax-paying Negro residents of Baker County decided to sponsor a mass meeting in Newton to discuss registering and give instructions about how to answer questions that prospective registrants are asked under the Georgia voters' law. Later, a registration rally barbecue was given by one of the leaders. Sheriff Warren Johnson of Baker County drove nearby the barbecue site, stopped for a while and blew his sirens. He wanted the participants to know that he knew that they were there. The sheriff is said to have stated that this barbecue get-to-gether was an NAACP meeting. After blowing his sirens, Johnson left and nothing else happened except that the leaders knew that the sheriff was

opposed to Negroes registering and "doesn't even want them to come into the court house."

In spite of this warning, the Negro leaders continued their efforts with some assistance from one or two Negro civic leaders from nearby Albany. They recalled the time, following the Primus E. King decision in 1946, when approximately 475 Negroes registered in Baker County. Later, these registrants were purged from the rolls by the followers of Eugene Talmadge. Subsequent efforts of Negroes to register in Baker County have been unsuccessful. Members of the Board of Registrars have resorted to familiar evasive devices, such as taking the would-be registrants' names under the pretense of registering them and having them find out later that they were not actually registered; and closing the books and/or office when Negroes sought to register. Occasionally a few Negroes have attempted to register after paying their taxes "just like some of the whites have done." However, their efforts were not successful.

After the Civil Rights Act was enacted into law in the fall of 1957, one of the Negro leaders in Baker County paid his taxes and asked about registering. He was told he would have to see the Board of Registrars. "Who is the Board?" he asked. One white registrar with whom he talked said he was not the chairman. This Negro, like other Negroes who wanted to register, had difficulty in pin-pointing the white person whom he should approach. Later, he discovered that Will West was the chairman of the Board of Registrars. Instead of having someone talk with the chairman as an individual, several Negro leaders decided to organize a voters' league and this led to some disastrous consequences.

Before this development occurred, the tax collector is said to have advised some Negroes to attempt to register as a group "since it was easier to

turn them down one by one." Later, when one of the Negro leaders took a group of twenty-five to thirty Negroes to register, one of the registrars told him to bring them back after banking hours. When they went back after banking hours the registrars' office was closed.

A strategem to deter Negroes from registering is to have well-placed white persons advise them against doing so. The Negro leader, who sought to have the group register, was later approached by a white man who said to him: "I know you are a good nigger - just leave that thing off; go up later." Another white man who had known him for many years said, "You are one of the best niggers in Baker County and I advise you not to bother with this business (of registering and voting)."

Another evasive device is to keep outside Negroes out of Baker County "if they are stirring up trouble." As stated, one or two Negroes of the Voters League in Albany were encouraging Baker County Negroes to seek to register and vote. This further convinced law enforcement officers that they should discourage some of the Albany Negroes from making visits to Baker County. As a result, their actions were crystalized in the fall of 1957 when Scott Johnson, an Albany Negro, had a picnic (a social affair) in Baker County and invited a number of Negroes from Albany to attend. On their way back to Albany, virtually all of them were arrested for "speeding and drinking" and each fined from thirty-five to one-hundred dollars for a total of about $1,400. The highway through the county has long been known as a speed trap although this method of raising revenue has been curtailed in recent times due largely to outside pressure and unfavorable publicity. However, even now drivers must be careful and this carefulness must be compounded if the drivers happen to be well-dressed Negroes.

Some Albany Negroes characterize Baker County as being "one step down from hell." One Albany Negro siad: "I stay out of Baker County because I

wear a tie." To the uninitiated in race relations, this would appear to be a casual, flippant remark, but it is not. In rural areas, the wearing of a tie (except on Saturday afternoon, Sundays and holidays) or not wearing work clothes by Negroes is regarded as revealing a desire and ability to break away from the customary pattern of racial behavior and this is resented by most whites in subtle and overt ways. Actually, it may not be the Negro's dress that is involved but his car, his house or his manner of speaking or his desire to register and vote.

For some time, the Voters League in Albany has been considering methods of helping to open up registration lists for Negroes in several nearby southwest Georgia counties. They feel that "if we can break through in Baker County, the others will follow." They are aware that strong leadership against the extension of civil rights in southwest Georgia is centered in Albany which is headquarters for Citizens Council activities that are tied in with similar activities in Baker County and elsewhere in this region.

Albany Negroes list the editor of The Albany Herald, James H. Gray, as being a key Citizens Council leader. He is labelled as "a real reactionary" and is "far worse than some southerners". Gray is a Dartmouth College graduate, a native of Springfield, Massachusetts, and has just been in Albany since World War II. His paper has a rather wide circulation in adjoining counties. The Albany Herald is known as an anti-Negro paper although every Saturday it carries a page of "News of the Colored People of Southwest Georgia". This news deals largely with marriages, deaths, illnesses, trips, social affairs, club and school activities. No news is carried on this Negro page about militant efforts to extend the Negro's civil rights. It is interesting that The Albany Herald would have much circulation among Negroes, in view of its avowed anti-Negro policies. In the October 4, 1958 issue, in which there was almost a full page of so-called Negro news, there appeared a derogatory letter in the

People's Forum. It was supposed to have been sent to the editor from Pelham, Georgia by a person who signed his name as Plowhand. It portrayed a friendly white man and a conversation he had with a Negro named Jake, who was ill. "Jake is a nigger that owns a farm next to mine. I went in to find Jake in bed." Jake said he had worked himself down trying to get more money to send to the NAACP. The white man then recounted that "the white folks" had helped Jake build his house after it had burned down, sat up with his wife when she was ill, and helped gather his crops when he broke his leg. "Did the NAACP help? They don't even know you, Jake." Jake acknowledged all this, "De white folks hepped me wid all them things, Mr. Plowhand. De NAACP ain't hepped ner sent me nothing 'cepting a reeminder dat my dues wuz beehind." Then the white man asked Jake when were "the Southern niggers" going to wake up to realize that they were tools of the NAACP who insisted that "white hates black". Jake was warned against continuing to send dues to power-mad "fools as what sets in a air-conditioned offis and drinks reel likker wid your money while you haff to work in a hot cotton patch and drink cane-skimming likker." "Jake," said he in conclusion, "when is the nigger going to strike out on his own?"

Although many Negroes in this area resent this type of insult, they are more concerned about a network of opposition which appears set to "pick-off" progressive Negro leaders in southwest Georgia. The editor of The Albany Herald was among those white persons who brought pressure on Dr. Aaron Brown, then president of Albany State College (for Negroes) during the school year 1953-54, which culminated in his being "ousted" by the State Board of Regents. Dr. Brown was accused of aiding and abetting the program of the NAACP because he sat on the platform in the city auditorium when Attorney A. T. Walden, a noted NAACP lawyer from Atlanta, spoke at a public meeting in Albany. Later, Dr. Brown was called to the hotel room of Governor Herman Talmadge and talked

with about his activities. Then, he was summoned to appear before the State Board of Regents which did not vote to renew his contract as president of Albany State College. Most of his difficulty really started when some of his faculty members and students decided to quietly boycott some businesses in Albany which advertised in The Albany Herald until they would be treated with more courtesy and respect. Behind most of the maneuvers against Dr. Brown was the late Dr. J. W. Holley, the retired president of Albany State College, who had "the ear" of many prominent white persons, including Herman Talmadge. These developments resulted in neutralizing any civil rights activities that were emanating from Albany State College (for Negroes) and served as a warning to other Negro leaders in southwest Georgia.

Fear and Violence: It is frequently contended that race relations have worsened since the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision involving segregation in the public schools. Actually, what has happened in a number of instances is that many brutal aspects of bad race relations that have existed for a long time are being publicly revealed. This is why white photographers, newscasters, and newsmen have been assaulted by whites in many places where racial trouble has flared up. These people represent a threat to the network of silence which the perpetrators of racial violence have developed as a protective device in maintaining a system of segregation. Many instances of arbitrary arrests, beatings, and even killings of Negroes, which now shock the nation and even the world when they are publicized, have been common-place happenings for years. Virtually every county in Georgia has had historic instances of racial violence which continue as an ominous threat to those persons who would seek to enlarge the area of civil rights for Negro citizens.

Baker County has dramatically undergirded its opposition to even a fractional extension of civil rights to its Negro residents. Brutality stemming from the sheriff's office, including the sheriff himself, has been constantly

directed against Negroes for years. It was highly dramatized in 1943 by a public lynching in which the encumbent Sheriff Claude Screws was the main leader and instigator. The drama began to unfold when Bobby Hall, a Negro and a highly skilled mechanic, had his pistol, which he had a permit to carry, taken from his car's pocket by Sheriff Screws, who had arrested him for allegedly stealing an automobile tube. Hall sought in vain to have his pistol returned to him. Finally, he wrote a letter about this matter to a judge in nearby Camilla, Georgia. The judge showed the letter to Screws, who became infuriated. He and other whites took Hall out and proceeded to lynch him. At first they beat him. Then they tied him to the back of a car and dragged him around in the small town of Newton. They poured some acid on him and beat him again before they put him in jail. Apparently startled and frightened by the results of their cruelty, they called a Negro undertaker in Albany, 22 miles away, to send an ambulance to take Hall to a hospital in Albany, where he died. This heinous crime might have gone unpublicized had it not been for the ingenuity of two or three Negroes in Albany. They had pictures made of the victim "just as he was" and sent the negatives to Jacksonville, Florida to be developed. Next, they wired the FBI office in Macon, Georgia, and some agents came in. After this crime was committed, Screws drove to Albany and parked in front of the office of the Negro editor of the Southwest Georgian, a weekly newspaper that is printed by the Scott Newspaper Syndicate of Atlanta, with his sirens "wide open". This was considered a warning to the editor not to print anything about the crime. However, this strategem did not work.

Screws was indicted and tried in federal courts. During the trial, the prosecuting attorney had to repeatedly challenge the presiding judge who kept referring to Hall, the victim, as a nigger. Screws finally got out of this difficulty. During the last state elections in 1958, Screws was elected to the State Senate as the "Senator from Newton", the county-seat of Baker County.

No attempt is being made here to discuss the Screws' case in all of its ramifications. However, it is still uppermost in the minds of those who think of obtaining the franchise for Negroes in Baker County.

The successor to Screws, Sheriff Warren Johnson of Baker County, "can hardly read his name.". He had at sometime worked under Screws and seems content to carry on his tradition in meting out brutality to Negroes. Not only is he opposed to Negroes voting; he is also opposed to their coming into the court house unless they are to be tried for crimes that they are accused of committing. He, too, has killed a Negro. One night Sheriff Johnson walked up to a car which was parked in a Negro neighborhood and threw a flashlight in the face of an occupant who was a Negro. The Negro said, "Who in the hell got that flashlight in my eyes?" These were his last words, because Johnson without any discussion whatever "whipped out his gun and killed the Negro on the spot." He contended that he acted in line of duty and nothing was ever done about this killing.

These instances of violence, which have been discussed in this section, stand out in a broad context of violence which mutures it as a basis of preserving the system of segregation. These types of brutality reveal why Negro voters center their attention on the candidates for the sheriff's office. In many counties in Georgia candidates for the sheriff's office consider it politically helpful to have it made known that they are hard on Negroes. Thus Negro voters by prudent use of their ballots often seek to neutralize the brutality which stems from the sheriff's office. By this process, they feel more secure in extending their efforts to register and vote. And by registering and voting in larger numbers they help create an atmosphere which reduces brutality even though its threat very often remains as a reminder of what was and what could be again.

Not even the potential threat of federal intervention in behalf of Negro

residents caused Baker County whites to concede that qualified Negroes should have the right to register and vote. After the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was passed by Congress, and signed by the President into law, four substantial Negro taxpayers decided that they would attempt to have qualified Negroes register and would register themselves. Actually, some of them had already been registered before the Talmadge purge. Therefore, they were not quite prepared for the violence which erupted following their efforts to become registered voters in Baker County, in the fall of 1957. On December 12, 1957 three separate bombings of properties belonging to three of the four Negroes who were attempting to register took place. Josh Williams' front porch was bombed; cars belonging to Ike King and Carl Broadway were bombed. Because of these bombings and other factors, Negroes in Baker County find it increasingly difficult to get liability insurance on their cars. Although the bombings made a lot of noise in the silence of night, no whites came to see what had happened. This caused those Negroes who were the victims of these bombings to conclude that most of the white people in and around Newton knew in advance what was going to happen. They said that curiosity about what was happening ordinarily would have caused some whites to be attracted to the scene of the bombings. Negroes showed up at the site of each bombing. A white man showed up at one of the bombing sites the next morning. One of the victims who had lived all of his life in Baker County and thought he had some white friends said, "No white man has said a word to me about danger." This reaction on the part of the whites caused these Negro victims to be sorely disillusioned because all of them thought they had some white friends who would befriend them.

Not only did whites fail to show up after the bombings, they have also "clammed up" since then. They did not cooperate with FBI agents who investigated the bombings. The bombing victims think that those persons who set off the blasts were not after hurting anyone. They just "wanted to bluff us out--

scare us." However, the suspense of not knowing what would happen next has caused the victims' families to suffer acute mental anguish. One victim's wife had to be sent away because she was losing a lot of weight over worrying about what the whites would do next. While she was away she continued to lose ground because she was then worrying about what was likely to happen to the members of her family whom she had left behind. She finally returned to be with her family, although her fears and those of others involved have not fully subsided. Carl Broadway's daughter, who was a school teacher, was "fired" from her job. The Negro bus driver, who was Broadway's brother-in-law, lost his job and his school teacher daughter suffered the same fate as Broadway's daughter.

Following these bombings, some whites spread the word that they were not the handiwork of "white folks"; instead "the NAACP was trying to start something." No white persons in Baker County have publicly condemned what has happened. Nor have any of them spoken out in behalf of maintaining law and order. They are risking the extension of approved lawlessness as a means of "keeping the Negro in his place." Such lawlessness, if left unchecked, will eventually recoil and strike those who tacitly or otherwise agreed to its original use. Some Negroes in Baker County bemoan the fact that the more genteel, aristocratic type of white people, who used to occasionally extend the touch of human kindness to individual Negroes, have either died out, left or have been submerged by "the mean Cracker element."

What happened to the fourth Negro, Tee Kunney, who was seeking the right to register and vote? He was arrested for having illicit liquor on his properties and sentenced to jail, although he finally got out of this difficulty. Most persons with whom I talked declare that Kunney was framed. Such a development started when Sheriff Johnson and some of his deputies went to Kunney's house and questioned him about some illicit liquor which was said to be on his

property. Kunney insisted that he knew nothing about the whiskey when the sheriff demanded that he go get it. The sheriff then walked with Kunney down a path leading from the house and pointed out a half-pint of whiskey which he asked Kunney to pick up. Kunney would not pick up the bottle because he said that he did not know anything about it and was not responsible for its being on his property. At this point he was arrested.

Following the dynamitings, which allegedly had the sanction of law enforcement officers, FBI agents came into Baker County to investigate. After several days of questioning the victims and others, the FBI agents left. Undoubtedly, they failed to unearth information or evidence to support any indictments or reveal that a federal law had been violated. There are two types of reactions to this FBI investigation. Two of the victims felt that the FBI agents were "on the up and up" but "some Negroes would not talk" and the "good white people hold their peace too much"; and it was felt that "the FBI had the Crackers scared." Some outspoken Negroes in nearby Albany condemned the failure of the FBI to piece together what was considered as an obvious violation of the civil rights of Negroes. They stated that the FBI "seemingly worked in cahoots with the whites." Finally, they insisted that the "FBI man in Albany is a spy for the whites". When FBI agents entered Baker County following the bombings, some whites sent word to the Negroes that they could register but none have dared attempt to do so yet.

Racial violence in neighboring Terrell County during the spring of 1958 also served as further warning to Baker County Negroes and others in southwest Georgia not to continue to press their plans to register and vote. Cataclysmic violence meted out by policemen in Dawson, Georgia, the county seat of Terrell County, resulted in the deaths of two Negroes, Willie Countryman and James Brazier. A third Negro, Willie D. Latimer, was shot and wounded, and two other Negroes, Willie Gerald Flagg and Eugene Renfroe, were beaten with black-

jacks. A Federal grand jury of the middle district of Georgia in August, 1958 refused to indict police officers Weyman B. Cherry, Randolph E. McDonald and Edwin H. Jones as the perpetrators of these acts of violence.

Before these incidents of violence, Terrell County had been in the news during the winter because five Negroes, four of whom were college graduates, were complainants in the first voting suit against a Board of Registrars ever to be filed under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 by the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Only 48 Negroes out of a total of 8,400 in Terrell County are registered, whereas 2,810 whites out of a total of 4,600 are registered. As soon as this suit was filed, one Negro teacher in Terrell County was fired. Eleven other Negro teachers were not issued contracts at the end of the 1957-58 term and others were employed in their places.

Prospects: Baker County is but one political and geographical unit in a system of counties in central and southwest Georgia which have decreed that the Negro shall not have the privilege of registering and voting at all or beyond a token number which will serve as a safety-valve against Federal intervention. Population and registration statistics, as compiled in the Secretary of State's office for fifteen southwest counties which cluster in proximity to Baker County, validate this statement. These counties are counting on a pattern of sporadic and potential violence to keep civic-minded Negroes from attempting to register and vote and by their example stimulate other Negroes to do the same. Dramatic violence is usually reserved for those Negro citizens who will not heed the warning signals and evasions which are designed as an initial line of defense for the whites. Long before Negroes cross this line, the opposition seeks to detect idealogical leanings which indicate that stern warnings are necessary such as: "It's all right for you to go ahead and register but we advise you not to do so." Negroes are pressing for the vote in Baker

County	Population White	Registration White	% White	Population Negro	Registration Negro	% Negro	Population % Negro
Mitchell	11,300	7,298	65	11,100	375	3.4	50
Miller	6,100	3,357	55	2,400	6	0.25	28
Seminole	4,700	3,172	67	2,900	29	1.0	38
Early	7,600	4,335	57	9,200	226	2.5	55
Randolph	4,400	2,585	59	7,800	493	6.3	63
Terrell	4,600	2,810	61	8,400	48	0.57	65
Lee	1,900	1,281	67	4,200	29	0.69	68
Turner	6,300	3,[illegible]	62	4,100	474	12	39
Worth	9,100	5,[illegible]	64	9,300	296	3.2	43
Colquitt	26,700	13,000	49	8,500	965	11	24
Thomas	21,800	8,[illegible]22	39	14,300	1,579	11	40
Grady	12,200	5,076	42	6,500	831	13	35
Decatur	13,500	7,530	56	11,400	960	8.4	46
Brooks	8,800	4,321	49	8,200	695	8.4	48
Baker	1,900	1,670	88	3,300	0	0	63

County state emphatically that "the white folks watch us like a hawk watches a chicken." And these Negroes watch Negro informants who "carry information to the white folks."

Economic reprisals have been applied on a limited scale. However, they indicate what might take place if some Negro residents continue to press for their civil rights. "If you owe money on a place white men will block you," said one Negro who had felt this kind of economic pressure. They think, too, of the Negro school teachers who have been fired. Some Baker County Negroes don't do business in Newton and the local merchants are feeling the effects. If a

Negro has been somewhat forthright in his insistence on more civil rights, he is likely not to be qualified for welfare benefits or old age assistance.

Considering these factors, plus others which have already been discussed, there is little likelihood that Negroes in Baker County will initiate any united effort to register and vote in the reasonably near future. For quite a while, it seems unlikely that any formally, well-educated Negro litigants will create the basis of a federal suit such as was done in nearby Terrell County. This was due to two primary reasons. A number of Negro teachers have not established voting residency in Baker County. Then, too, they will be fired, or not rehired, and thus will have to leave Baker County if they wish to obtain "white collar" employment. There is a complete dearth of Negro professional and business personnel in Baker County which would have a reasonable degree of independence which would enable them to help in leadership roles. Our studies about the political status of Negroes in several other Georgia counties reveal that political leadership for Negroes varies directly with the number of Negro professional, business and religious leaders who live and serve in the county. And, too, the higher the level of education which is acquired, the more positive will be the response to appeals to register and vote.

Under the circumstances, the next most logical step would be for the federal government to initiate legal action against the Baker County Board of Registrars under the auspices of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. It would seek to restrain the Board of Registrars and their successors from denying would-be Negro registrants an opportunity to establish that they are or are not qualified to register and vote. This procedure would save money that Negro litigants would have to spend if they themselves brought suit against the Board of Registrars. Then, too, federal intervention would provide a degree of protective insulation for the would-be Negro registrants against the hostility of local power-structure people and their supporters.

Federal injunctive authority, when obtained, should be permanent so that the potentiality of federal intervention will give Negro residents some assurance of continuing protection. An an NAACP leader in Albany stated it, "we must pressure the federal government for protection because we will not get it from local law enforcement authorities." Unless there is adequate and constant federal intervention, which goes beyond local authority in support of civil rights, it will be a long time before Negroes will be able to vote in many counties in Georgia with a reasonable degree of personal safety. And Baker County is included in this number.

* * *

Enclosure: Washington Post Article, Sept. 19, 1959
"Why Only Whites Vote in Newton," Bob Baker

September 30, 1959

Dr. B. R. Brazeal
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dean Brazeal:

The Washington Post finally ran the enclosed story by Robert Baker concerning disfranchisement in Baker County. Obviously the story was an outgrowth of your field report, which Robert Baker read in the original before deciding to do the story and making a quick visit of his own to Baker County.

The piece as it appeared is disappointingly brief and superficial. Even so, I understand that, right after its publication, one Congressman publicly demanded that the Department of Justice investigate and take necessary action.

I am convinced that as a result of your survey we will see further discussion and action on Baker County.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

Voting

WASHINGTON POST
SEP 19 1960

Why Only Whites Vote in Newton

By Robert E. Baker

NEWTON, Ga.—Feudal overtones and overbearing weight of customs are enough to keep most Baker County Negroes from attempting to register and vote. Intimidation and violence take care of the others.

These are the factors that place this Georgia blackbelt county among the 29 counties in the South which have no registered Negro voters. The white people have made it clear that they do not want Negroes to register, much less vote. The Negroes have gotten the message.

Thus, out of 1900 whites in this southwest Georgia county, 1670 are registered to vote—88 per cent. The 3300 Negroes have scored a zero in that department.

This is Deep South country. Peanuts, pecans and cotton keep the county alive. Four out of five persons work on the land. It is a liquor oasis, the nearest wet county to many dry ones, and therefore boasts six whisky stores. Much wealth lies in few and distant hands: the plantations. Baker County has four of them.

BUT FOR MOST people here, there is not much wealth and living is hard. Newton, the county seat, is barely a crossroads with a few stores and a dilapidated courthouse. The way—and facts—of life keep most Negroes in line.

Most are poor and uneducated. They are domestics, or they work on the land for $3 to $4 a day. They have no leadership. There are no Negro businesses or professionals, other than the 35 Negro teachers. No Negro ministers live in the county; they come to the churches for services, then leave. Interracial groups of any kind are unknown.

In 1943—but still seared in the minds of Negroes here—Bobby Hall, a Negro mechanic, was beaten to death after he had been arrested on a tire theft charge and had complained to a nearby judge. Sheriff Claude Screws was indicted in the case, cleared and last year the white voters sent him to the State Senate.

A dozen years ago, some 475 Negroes were on the voter registration books. But they were successfully purged by the followers of Eugene Talmadge.

In the fall of 1957, members of the Voters League (Negro) of Albany, 22 miles away in Dougherty County, began encouraging Negroes in Baker County to register. When the visiting Negroes were returning home after a rally, they were systematically arrested for speeding and drinking and fined a total of $1400.

ENCOURAGED by passage of the 1957 Civil Rights Act, four Baker County Negroes attempted to register and persuade others to. On the night of Dec. 12, the cars of two of them were bombed; the front porch of a third was blown up. The FBI investigated, but the blasters were never caught. The daughter of one of the Negroes lost her teaching job; his brother-in-law lost his school bus driver's job, and the brother-in-law's daughter lost her teaching job.

Negro teachers, perhaps the best qualified in the Negro community for voting, don't even talk about civil rights in Baker County.

In nearby Terrell County, 45 miles north of here, events last year were a warning for all Deep South Negroes. On one hand, a Federal grand jury declined to indict police officers in the shooting deaths of two Negroes, the wounding of a third and the beating of two others.

On the other hand, the Terrill County board of registrars refused to register five Negroes, four of them college graduates. The Justice Department's Civil Rights Division filed suit under the 1957 Civil Rights Act, but Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis declared the applicable section unconstitutional. The Justice Department has appealed.

Chief registrar for Baker County is Kent E. Jones, Farm Bureau insurance man and former member of the General Assembly. He is a thoughtful, hospitable man who talked frankly about the shutout of Negro registrations. "The white people don't want the Negroes to vote and the Negroes know it."

"And if the Negroes are on the public payroll, they know what to expect. I feel it necessary to tell my Negro friends that, when they ever come to me and mention registering."

Jones told of Georgia's system of registration, involving an application of intent to register, an appearance before the county board of registrars for testing of applicant's understanding of the principles of the republican form of government and his moral fitness. "That moral fitness part," said Jones, "that eliminates 98 per cent of the Negroes here."

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

Enclosed in this folder are reports on studies of the registration and voting status of Negro residents in eight counties in Georgia and one county in South Carolina, along with a summary. Although some of these studies are at least four years old, they are just as valid now as they were when they were first written. These studies were done under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council and have been used as part of the background material for two pamphlets on Negro registration and voting which this organization has prepared. The second pamphlet is titled "The Negro and the Ballot in the South" and was prepared by Margaret Price and printed in 1959 by the Council.

The enclosed studies do not cover counties in which Georgia's larger cities are located because registration and voting by Negroes in these counties are not stifled as they are in most of the rural and small town counties in Georgia which form the backbone of political control in Georgia's county-unit system of politics. However, these studies do reveal typical techniques and facts that are prevalent in Georgia counties where Negro residents are restricted in registering and in the use of ballot. Seven of the eight Georgia reports were submitted to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights when it held a hearing on housing in Atlanta on April 10, 1959. Subsequently, they were published in the 1959 proceedings covering hearings before the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights on Housing, pp. 593-610.

Brailsford R. Brazeal
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

June 6, 1960

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Interviews and Findings About Negro Participation in Politics in 8 Georgia Counties.

A. Baker
B. Early
C. Floyd
D. Laurens
E. McIntosh
F. Peach
G. Spaulding
H. Walton

II. Conclusions Based on Studies of Political Status of Negro Residents in 8 Counties in Georgia.

III. Investigation of Registration and Voting Status of Negroes in McCormick County, South Carolina.

CONFIDENTIAL

May 1960

TO: Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

FROM: B. R. Brazeal, Academic Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

RE: Conclusions Based on Studies of Political Status of Negro Residents in Eight Counties in Georgia

Registration and Voting Indifference: Admittedly, there is some indifference among Negro residents even when they have unimpeded access to the franchise. This reaction is not "a racial characteristic" in spite of beliefs to the contrary in some quarters. It should be emphasized that indifference on the part of Negroes about registering and voting in erstwhile restricted areas is usually not an isolated phenomenon. It is compounded in nature and is due to a composite of economic reprisals, implied and actual; threats and fear of physical violence; inertia by some Negroes who have difficulty in reversing their thinking inasmuch as they were deprived of the franchise for many years and had to be content to "let the whites run things because they are going to do so anyway;" lack of leadership and educational opportunities and an unwillingness to challenge the political basis of segregation because of fear of losing other privileges in an already racially restricted societal system. Racial segregation has stifled the initiative and civic interests of many Negroes and keeps them out of power-structure areas that are controlled by whites. As a result, some Negroes contend that there is no need for them to register and vote because their votes won't count anyway. They reason that if "the white folks" vote dead people and ones who have moved away, they will throw out the "colored votes" if they need to do so from their point of view. When whites have to modify their restrictive pattern against Negroes' voting, they seek to do so within the prescribed limits of the system of racial segregation. Thus they usually provide for racially separate registration and voting places. In one county which was investigated, the segregated ballot box which Negroes used was painted black! These restricted concessions are regarded as reminders to Negroes not to seek further citizenship privileges.

Network of Evasions: Whites who do not want Negroes to register and vote resort to a number of devices to keep them from doing so. Their techniques of evasion are not vicarious. A network of evasions is formed. They rely greatly on a pervasive ideological atmosphere which is designed to help cause Negroes not to want to vote. When this negative approach is not successful, then Negro residents who break through this psychological curtain are flatly denied the right to register. The reasoning at this point is simple and to the effect that if Negroes can't register then they can't qualify to vote. This is one of the first lines of "defense." As Negroes have sought to register in some places they have had to establish the fact that they were direct taxpayers and were not in debt. Some who had been divorced and had legally remarried were declared to be living in adultery and as a result were not eligible to register. Misdemeanor charges have been cited as reasons why others could not register. Other evasive techniques have been as follows: boards of registrars have decreed that a majority of their members had to be present to certify to the registration of Negro residents who could never find more than one or two registrars at the same time; would-be Negro registrants had to secure white character references but often found it difficult to find

any or to get the requisite number at any one time; often the registrar's office was closed when it was scheduled to be open or the registration books would be closed even when the office was open; at times Negroes seeking to register had to wait several hours before they were talked with, and there have been instances when they were told that they would have to report on another day. When Negroes were required to take educational tests, the registrars usually required more of them than they did of the whites who wanted to register. In some instances, registrars have permitted Negroes seeking to register to sign their names then required them to return later to establish their right to register when, in fact, they thought they were already registered.

Another technique of evasion is to permit Negroes to actually register and then purge the list before an important election in which Negro voters' strength would prove to be a formidable factor. Negro registrants would be summoned to report usually to the Court House, which in itself was a symbol of persecution to many Negroes, to validate their qualifications for being registered voters. White registrants were not required to report. Very often after the Negro registrants had taken time off from their jobs they were required to return again to the Court House because only a very few would be questioned during the course of a day. Although they were usually summoned in alphabetical order, the registrars would skip down the line alphabetically thus overlooking many of the persons who had reported. Discouraged and dejected, some of the registrants would not return again and their names were then stricken from the lists of qualified registered voters. Those who did not report when summoned had their names automatically purged from the list of registrants.

Still another technique of evasion is to permit a token number of Negroes to register but not "permit" them to vote. Some Negroes have said that they were told they could register but could not vote. By this step the board of registrars exonerates itself from legal responsibility for not permitting Negroes to register. Maneuvers to keep Negroes from voting are sometimes vague and indirect. Shortly before an election, a Negro or a group of Negroes may be arrested on routine charges. One of them may be beaten up or shot for attempting to escape, assaulting an officer or resisting arrest. Often the person or persons involved are among those who are registered to vote. They and other Negro registrants read between the lines. Usually there are Negroes who do not seem to understand this type of message. Then there are times when crosses are burned in or near some Negro rigistrants' yards and white men ride "evil looking" through Negro neighborhoods and park their cars for a while in front of Negro homes. These harassments usually ease up after the elections. They are more effective in small towns and rural areas, the backbone of county unit strength in Georgia, where individuals can be readily singled out for reprisals. Very often law enforcement authorities cooperate or acquiese in these maneuvers against Negro registrants and voters who, too often, find themselves alone and unprotected in their efforts to exercise their franchise rights.

More respectable devices to keep the registered Negroes from voting are to get employers to let one or two of the registrants out of their jobs without revealing the real reason why; have Negro registrants work overtime on election days; send messages to Negro registrants by white and Negro people that they had better not attempt to vote.

The practice of separating ballots on a racial basis is an indirect technique of disfranchising some Negro registrants who are not willing to take a chance of having "white people" discover how they voted. They take the position that "we've got to live here with these people after the elections are over!" Segregation of ballot boxes is a means of voter discrimination and should not be approved any more than if the separation were worked out on a denominational basis.

In the event the strategems listed above do not succeed in deterring Negroes from attempting to register and vote, then violence is likely to erupt. The Negroes' participation in politics in many counties in Georgia and some other Southern states is usually fraught with danger. Those who resort to violence do not always wait until all the other devices of evasion have been resorted to. However, in most instances violence is used as a last resort. Usually, this violence results from white residents taking matters into their own hands as they move against Negroes "who want to get out of their place." Law enforcement officers usually acquiesce in this violence. At least they seldom arrest anyone for the acts of violence. Nor do they give real meaningful protection to the victims of the acts of violence. As a matter of fact, in many instances, they augment the acts of violence with police brutality, as directed against Negroes who seek to enlarge their civil rights.

There are those whites who would risk having law and order break down if this will result in keeping the Negro firmly within the walls of segregation.

As Negro registration and voting increase in spite of a pattern of violence and police brutality, there is usually a decrease in violence and police brutality as directed against Negroes. As police brutality decreases, there is usually an increase in political activity and leadership among Negroes generally. As Negro political leaders emerge they feel uneasy and insecure because they know that most law enforcement officers and their supporters are avowedly against what they are doing. Further, they know that it is difficult to have a jury selected that will convict any of its "white brethren" who move violently against Negroes "who get out of their places." These are some of the reasons why Negro political leaders readily seek to influence the election of the sheriff, the solicitor general, and the mayor who often appoints the chief of police. By this process, they seek to reduce the force of police brutality and thus increase the area in which they and their racial followers can find more personal, physical security. As this happens, their minds are relieved somewhat and they forge on with their leadership. However, there are those Negro leaders here and there who continue to face danger as they insist on expanding their citizenship rights by means of the franchise.

Leadership: Negro political leaders very often resort to the organization of voters' leagues which often meet in churches for Negroes. At times a rotation system is used so as to engage the interest, participation and support of several demonimations and factions. Registration and voting clinics are often sponsored so that Negroes may learn how to answer questions that are asked them by the registrars. Arrangements are often made during these meetings for transportation of registrants to and from the registration headquarters -- and later to and from voting places. This technique works more effectively in large cities and towns than it does in rural areas where pressures against Negroes registering and voting are formidable. In these places the NAACP does not operate citizenship schools, because it is non-existent in many of these places as a result of intense opposition. In many cities and

good-sized towns, Negro principals and teachers sponsor the registration of eighteen-year-old Negro students. This has become an annual event in some places where registration is rather unrestricted.

In some places, some reliance is placed on the use of leaflets, newspapers and radio announcements.. In other places, information about Negro political meetings is passed on secretly.

Our studies about the Negroes' political status have established that response to appeals to register and vote is more pronounced as the level of education in a county increases. Where educational opportunities and facilities have been greatly limited, one finds an inept response to citizenship appeals and/or clinics.

Negro leadership becomes more pronounced and effective as its economic welfare becomes increasingly dependent on the Negro masses and independent of whites. This gives them a degree of independence which they would not have if they were dependent largely on whites. Although many Negroes will not openly articulate their racial grievances in their communities, they will often silently display their gratitude by giving further support to outspoken leaders. Although this strategem does not work in every instance, its general reliability has been established. Studies in several counties in Georgia reveal that Negro political leaders have come from the following categories: doctors, dentists, dry-cleaners, filling station, grocery store and restaurant operators, insurance agents with companies owned and operated by Negroes, lawyers (confined mostly to large cities), undertakers, taxi-cab operators, land-owning farmers, real estate operators, a few teachers and some retired postal employees. Where there is a dearth of most or all of these types of leadership personnel there is little or no leadership. In some places efforts are made to neutralize this leadership by frightening it off, obligating it financially or otherwise, and by economic reprisals. As an example of the latter, some white farmers in a southwest Georgia county passed down word that a certain "nigger undertaker" was not to handle any more "nigger bodies" from their farms. The undertaker had been active in helping to secure a new school and encouraging Negroes to register and vote.

Political Benefits: The easing of police brutality is one of the factors that has high priority as a political payoff after Negro residents begin to register and vote. They seek relief from its potential and explosive nature which is an effective technique of preserving the status quo. Where the mayor, chief of police and sheriff are politically indebted to Negro voters, they are not likely to encourage or acquiesce in having other whites manhandle Negroes seeking to register and vote. More Negro voters are increasingly realizing that they will get more sewage, paved streets, schools, street lights, traffic lights, playgrounds and swimming pools, parks, et cetera, as they register and vote in larger numbers. They get more recognition as citizens when white office seekers or holders appeal for Negro votes, openly or secretly. Negroes are also beginning to realize that voter participation in government enables them to help make decisions that involve municipal growth beyond considerations of race -- and they too benefit by this growth.

Conclusions: Increased political participation by Negroes usually follows urbanized growth and development of cities and towns. An increase in

urban population usually takes some of the pressure off the individual Negro who becomes more anonymous as a political participant.

Negroes are usually more active politically as leaders as their economic status becomes more secure and reasonably independent of the economic dictates of some white people who wield substantial economic power. Negro political leaders are usually the ones whose economic security and progress depend in large measure on racial good will and support.

Very often racial incidents involving political participation and otherwise, have their effect in adjacent counties to the extent that some Negro political leaders observe the warning and lessen their political activities, at least for a while.

Generally, when the Negro population in a county is larger than that of the whites, there is more intense opposition to Negroes registering and voting. Usually when an exception is made it is because of compelling Federal Court rulings or because the politicians in office decide to permit a controlled number of Negroes to register and vote if such action will aid the persons in office. There has been a break-through in the solidarity of some of the so-called "Black Belt" counties in Georgia where Negroes outnumber whites. One of the reasons for this variation has been the potential and actual force of the intervention of court decisions. Otherwise, no current local factors or combination of these factors were likely to result in Negroes being afforded an opportunity to participate in political affairs. This is one reason why "court cases" are dreaded by many of the whites and why they move with violence if necessary, against Negroes (or anybody else for that matter) who seem to be the type who will go to court to press their claims.

As organized labor penetrates more of the counties in Georgia, it could well have a formidable ally in Negro voters on many political issues. However, as it stands there is not much, if any, line of communication between organized labor and Negro voters in counties where organized labor is reasonably strong. Negro voters will have to further entrench themselves before organized labor will cooperate with them on a formal basis. Aside from shedding some of their prejudices, labor union members do not now want to turn a single line of employer and community resistance into two lines of resistance, with the second developing because of an alliance with Negro voters. However, there are some labor leaders who feel that the strength gained by this alliance will more than balance the increased opposition.

There is no definitive line of communication between white and Negro voters by means of which they can clarify issues, appraise candidates and their platforms, and then vote in such a way as to enhance the meaning and practice of good government. Usually the Negroes' political status is further vulnerable in that they are not an integral part of the political power structure.

In most instances Negroes who have had some access to educational opportunities are the ones who furnish most of the political leadership for their racial group. This is especially true if they also have an opportunity to achieve a reasonable degree of economic independence. Almost invariably, the counties which have furnished meager educational opportunities to Negroes

are also the ones which have succeeded in keeping them subjugated politically as well as otherwise. Their dictum has been that a Negro who wants an education and is given an opportunity to get it is likely to want other things. As one white person stated it: "If a Negro gets in by the window, he will try next to get in through the door" to an enlarged area of citizenship.

Finally, it should be emphasized that increased political participation is a must if Negroes are to succeed in protecting and expanding other areas of their progress. The protective strength of entrenched, intelligent political action will augment and actively support the multiple technique approach involving legal, civic, educational, economic, interracial and intercultural processes as a means of furthering civil rights and strengthening democracy.

CONFIDENTIAL

April 18, 1960

TO: Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

FROM: B. R. Brazeal, Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

RE: Investigation of Registration and Voting Status of Negroes in McCormick County, South Carolina

Official registration statistics for McCormick County reveal that there are no Negroes at all recorded on the voters' registration lists. In this county, there is a total population of 10,859 with 3,867 being white and 6,992 being Negro. White registrants number 1,399; Negro -- zero. This has been the case since 1948 when seven or eight Negro registrants "requested" that their names be withdrawn from the voter registration lists. These few Negroes had registered in the wake of federal court decisions that legally outlawed the white primary in South Carolina and elsewhere in the South. Following the impact of these decisions, a number of counties in states where Negroes were disfranchised permitted token registration. Later, various strategems were resorted to in order to purge the names of Negro registrants from the registration books. This was done on an increasingly wider scale after it appeared that there was a reduced likelihood of federal intervention in support of the constitutional right of qualified citizens to register and vote without local interference.

In McCormick County the Negro registrants were given "the silent treatment" and it was made known to them that they could not expect to continue to do business with whites on the same basis as they had in the past. For instance, one of the Negro registrants made a buying trip to McCormick, the county seat, to a place where he was well known and had always been greeted in a friendly yet conventional manner. He was amazed and puzzled when none of the white men in the store spoke to him upon his arrival. Finally, one of the white men in the store spoke to him and told him that they knew he was one of the Negroes who had registered and they were displeased about this matter. The Negro is reported to have said that he did not have any idea that they felt as they did. He insisted that he appreciated their friendship and good will and if it would make them any happier and restore old relationships then he would take his name off the registration list -- and he did so.

Other Negro registrants did the same under varying degrees of persuasive techniques. However, one Negro registrant persisted in keeping his name on the registration list and "it is still rumored in some places" that he fled from his home under a threat of violence and "stayed out in the woods a couple of nights." Later, he moved out of the county to Abbeville, where he still resides.

Since all the names of the previously registered Negroes were removed from the registration list, the question now arises as to whether or not there are any Negroes in McCormick County who are desirous of registering and voting. In the last ten years or so there have not been any determined efforts on the part of Negroes to register. One or two have ventured into the registrar's office to discuss the possibility of registering to vote. They were told in "a friendly way" that the "books won't be closed on you, but I advise you not to get mixed up in this sort of thing." Following this advice the Negroes left the registrar's office without insisting specifically that they wanted to register. If they had insisted on registering, then the registrar would have had to permit them to do so or for some reason he would have refused them the right to register. Since this "show-down" did not take place, Negroes in McCormick County cannot legally contend that they will be or are being denied the right to register.

Several of them acknowledged that this is the situation and they understand that they must be flatly denied the right to register -- in face of obvious qualifications for doing so. By this process they will evoke an answer to the following question: Are Negroes in McCormick County, South Carolina prohibited from registering and voting? In July 1960 three Negroes went to the "county lawyer" who is one of the political spokesmen for McCormick County and sought his advice about their registering. The lawyer is stated to have said in substance that he would not advise them to register or not to register. Nevertheless, he warned that the first Negro person who registers was going "to catch the devil."

As a few Negroes in this county think now about registering, they feel that if only two or three go to register "something will happen to them." Whereas, if a sizeable group -- about twelve or fifteen -- go, then "nothing will happen." This is the procedural strategy that a few are thinking about following whenever they consider it an opportune time. There seems to be some logic in this procedure because as I have talked to several Negro residents in McCormick County about why they were not registered, each replied: "I don't want to be the first Negro to register." When each one was asked why he did not want to be the first Negro to register he said he didn't know exactly why but he couldn't be sure what the reactions of the white people would be. Although there seem not to have been any recent dramatic instances of violence in McCormick County, there seems to be a general fear among some Negroes that there might be an explosion of violence at any time if too strenuous efforts are made by them to break the established pattern of segregation. They have "heard" about cross-burnings elsewhere and they realize that the White Citizens' Councils support these and other anti-Negro activities in this county and in the state of South Carolina. They know about the usual pattern of beneath-the-surface violence which is always a factor in support of the status quo in race relations in a segregated community. They have had to adapt themselves to a "peasant-planter" relationship in order for a majority of them to survive as renters -- and as producers of pulpwood. A few above average landowners are among the Negro population in McCormick. Still, a few more of them are now finding jobs in nearby places such as Hartwell Dam, the Chemstrand plant in Greenwood, American Can in Augusta, Georgia, and with the Atomic Energy Project in Aiken, South Carolina. It is thought that potential registrants are among those who are in the last two groups referred to above plus one or two who are owners of small businesses.

There is at present no doubt at all about the fact that there are no Negro registrants in this county. This state of affairs logically leads to another question: are all Negroes in McCormick unqualified to register and vote? Admittedly, the educational background of a sizeable number of Negroes in this county is limited. A high school education for them was not available until 1948 and even then it was on a restricted basis. A new high school for Negroes was built in 1954 but it has not as yet had time to make itself felt in turning out graduates who will form a nucleus in registering and voting. In keeping with a pattern which is general in counties where Negroes face stiff opposition as they seek to use the franchise, Negro teachers are not registering and voting in response to their citizenship obligations. There are approximately fifty Negro elementary and high school teachers in McCormick County. Some of the teachers commute to their jobs and a few of them are registered in nearby counties where they live. Approximately ten of these teachers are natives of McCormick and about four have adopted it as their home since they are working in its schools. Why are these teachers reluctant about registering and voting? They know that the pattern of opposition varies and they undoubtedly have sized up their situation as being one in which they fear the loss of their jobs and possible physical violence. It is general knowledge that a number of Negro teachers in South Carolina have been fired because of their avowed espousal of civil rights, including their having membership in the NAACP. About three years ago in Ellaree, South Carolina, all of the Negro teachers were dismissed because they would not sign affidavits to the effect that they were not members of the NAACP or would not join it if they were not then members. In Abbeville, just about two years ago, a Negro minister had "to flee for his life" to New York City because of his NAACP activities. Although he has since returned to his home, the reason for his leaving is still fresh in the minds of those Negroes who are likely to be interested in registering and voting in McCormick County. There is no NAACP group in this county. Word has been spread to the effect that the NAACP will not be tolerated here or elsewhere in the state. * Negro ministers, whose duties are usually confined to once-a-month weekend visits, do not encourage their members to register and vote. Finally, it should be stated that the whites seem to have an efficient information service among some Negroes who keep them informed about what some of their racial brethren are talking and thinking. One person with whom I talked said: "I am more afraid of my own people than I am of the white folks." This is one of the factors that accounts for a total lack of organization among the Negroes to stress citizenship matters insofar as they are concerned. This matter of not knowing whom to trust further complicates registration efforts by Negroes in McCormick County, South Carolina.

Contact Person: There is a young Negro veteran who is a logical contact person if he is willing to serve in this capacity. He is an undertaker and his wife is a school teacher on maternity leave. This man has some qualms about being the "first" Negro to register. However, he does seem willing to attempt to register along with a dozen or more other Negro residents. His name is H. W. Walker, Jr., and his address is McCormick, South Carolina.

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* For more background information on this matter which is statewide, see Chapter 17 (Section on South Carolina pp. 369-72) titled "Some Problems in the Desegregation of Higher Education in the 'Hard Core States'" by B. R. Brazeal in Yearbook Issue No. 27, The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 27, Summer 1958.

May 27, 1959

To: Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Re: Some Facts Involved in the Political Status of Negro Residents in Baker County, Georgia.

From: Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Academic Dean and Professor of Economics, Morehouse College, Investigator

A Few Background Facts: Baker County is located in southwest Georgia in an area which is often referred to as the "Blackbelt" because of its large Negro population. This county, the sixty-first in Georgia, was named after Colonel John Baker, a noted Revolutionary leader who was a member of the 1775 Provincial Congress in Savannah. Another Revolutionary War hero, Sergeant John Newton, who in 1779 rescued some prisoners of war in the outskirts of Savannah, was the person for whom the present county-seat, Newton, was named. This town is twenty-two miles southwest of Albany in Dougherty County, which was originally a part of Baker County. Its proximity to Albany is important in so far as this study is concerned, as developments will reveal.

Baker County is still one of the most highly agricultural areas in Georgia and depends upon peanuts, pecans and cotton for approximately two-thirds of its annual income. Three large plantations cover a large portion of Baker County. Pineland is owned by the Mellons of Pennsylvania. Ichaway is owned by Robert Woodruff of Atlanta. Blacketts, the third one, is owned by another northern family whose name it bears and who lives on it. These plantations are big businesses and have adapted themselves to the employment and racial mores of this section. Individually owned farms decreased

from 1,502 in 1920 to 751 in 1954. In 1957 the population of Baker County was estimated at 5,200 with four-fifths of these people living on farms. This population figure is about 700 less than it was in 1950. Divided on the basis of race, there are 1,900 whites and 3,300 Negroes.* This racially one-sided division of this county's population has generated "fears" on the part of the whites who have constructed their voting system so that Negroes "can't take over." Industrialization and urbanization, which tend to alter provincial customs, are largely absent. The dominant "mentality" of the county is rural, with a completely Old South motif.

Voter Registration: Baker County registration figures, which are available in Secretary of State Ben Fortson's office, reveal that eighty-eight per cent or 1,670 out of the white population of 1,900 are registered to vote. Only twelve per cent of the white population are not registered to vote. According to the simple mathematics which is involved, there can be only 230 white persons under the voting age of eighteen in Baker County. Yet, during the school year 1957-58 there were 137 white children enrolled in Baker County High School and 239 in elementary school for a total of 440. By the deductive process, after again considering the mathematics involved, it is logical to conclude that the white registration records of Baker County are padded.

Although Negroes comprise sixty-three per cent of the total population, not one of the 3,300 is registered to vote. A few years ago, following the

*Some of the historical facts about Baker County were obtained from an article "Know Your County" which appeared in The Atlanta Constitution, September 24, 1958.

Primus E. King decision in 1946, approximately 475 Negroes were registered. However, they were purged from the registration lists so that the political power-structure could be retained by the followers of Eugene Talmadge. Now, considering Georgia's county-unit system of voting, 836 white voters in Baker County as a simple majority, out of a total county population of 5,200, control the two county-unit votes. These two county-units votes, when added to those of the other 120 two-unit vote counties, are a formidable factor which forms the basic political strength for most of the successful Georgia politicians in State and federal elections. These 121 two-unit vote counties have a total of 242 unit votes, as compared to 120 unit votes for the 30 four-unit vote counties and 48 unit votes for 8 of the most populous counties.

Under the county-unit system, Baker County, with its padded roll of 836 voter controlled two-unit votes, has one-third as much political strength as Fulton County with its 133,291 registered voters and six-unit votes. Since a bare majority of voters in each county in Georgia controls its total number of unit-votes, it takes 418 voters in Baker County to build up one-unit vote as compared to 11,108 voters in Fulton County. This example, in principle, can be duplicated many times in Georgia's county-unit system of voting. Thus, Georgia's political ideology, being rural centered and controlled, is at variance with national and international political trends and interests. Isolationist and anti-racial sentiment is very strong in Georgia. This deadens the average Baker County white man's interest in how improved race relations will help gain allies for the United States among the uncommitted colored peoples of the world. Further, this attitude interferes with an extension of political, religious, cultural and racial tol-

erance which in its totality will help strengthen the position of the United States in a delicately balanced international cold war atmosphere. One of his chief interests is how to help keep political control in Georgia from shifting to the cities, and how to continue to disfranchise the Negro. Baker County, as well as others like it under the county-unit system, helps to perpetuate a dual system of political disfranchisement which is directed against the Negro per se and urban dwellers, most of whom are white.

More people are beginning to realize that there is a political bondage in Georgia that transcends race. Several months ago, Mayor William B. Hartsfield of Atlanta brought suit against the county-unit system in a federal court. On Wednesday, April 1, 1959 Senator Herman Talmadge stated that the county-unit system "probably" would be modified. Senator Richard Russell has given support to this statement. Both men believe that urban areas should be given more political representation in keeping with their population growth. At the moment, the motives of these long time supporters of the county-unit system are not fully known. However, there are some persons who say that these senators wish to reform the county-unit system before the United States Supreme Court can hand down a decision involving it. Whatever the reason is, it is logical to conclude that it is just as unconstitutional to reduce the effectiveness of a person's vote under the county-unit system as it is to deny him the right to register and vote.

When qualified voters are sealed off by racial, as well as county-unit restrictions, they should not be counted constitutionally as part of the population basis of political representation. Politically, they are not present anymore than if they had migrated out of the State, or had died or had

not been born. In the future, effective civil rights legislation should provide for a reduction in representation in the United States House of Representatives to the degree that qualified Negroes are not permitted to register and vote in all elections, state and federal. If the life of the Civil Rights Commission is continued, it could help unearth the numerical extent of racial disfranchisement in several Southern states as based on its authority "to investigate denials of voting."

In the meantime, the disfranchised Negroes in Baker County may seek relief under the decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals which on March 6, 1946 upheld Judge Hoyt T. Davis' ruling in the Primus E. King "White Primary Case." Since this date, potential contempt of court charges have not caused the Board of Registrars in Baker County to relax their racial voting restrictions. If disfranchised Negro litigants do not bring suit, then the next logical step will be for the Department of Justice to intercede in their behalf. This would be done by the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice which has the authority under the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1957 to file an injunctive petition in a Federal District Court. By initiating such action the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice would seek to bring the constituted Board of Registrars under contempt of court charges with orders not to continue to disfranchise qualified Negro residents.

The first such intervening action was initiated against the Terrell County, Georgia Board of Registrars on September 4, 1958 under the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 by W. Wilson White, the head of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Five Negro college graduates

had been denied the privilege of registering. Only 48 Negroes were registered although there were 5,036 Negroes in Terrell County who were of voting age. On April 16, 1959, United States District Judge T. Hoyt Davis dismissed the suit against the Terrell County Board of Registrars, most of whom are an integral part of the real political power structure in the State of Georgia, by declaring unconstitutional the section of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 under which the suit was filed. This decision has been appealed by the Department of Justice directly to the United States Supreme Court.

Socio-Economic Factors: In the processes of social change there are always areas of resistance that are created by forces which cling to the past. For instance, peonage was substituted for slavery by some of those persons who were opposed to freeing the slaves. Then, racial segregation was resorted to as a structural societal instrument to keep Negroes from moving too far away from a peonage position.. Baker County is an unusually outstanding practicing exponent of this racially restrictive way of life. Most of its Negroes work as farm laborers for three to four dollars a day, and as domestic servants. To aid in maintaining a "ready supply of labor" its welfare administrators are slow in putting aged Negroes on their rolls. When they do get on they are paid thirty-five dollars a month although aged whites usually qualify for fifty dollars a month. "A Negro is just about dead when he gets fifty dollars a month." Generally, good housing is at a premium in Baker County. Shacks abound in Negro neighborhoods. Only about seven Negro homes in the county have bathrooms and septic tanks, except for one small housing project built for Negroes in Newton, the county seat. Most of the few white collar jobs in Baker County are available to white

persons, except for about thirty-five teaching jobs that are open to Negroes. Several Negroes own their own farms which are reasonably large and profitable. For racial and invidious reasons they have to operate carefully within the context of racial restrictions that apply to the masses of Negroes. Further, they want to keep their credit open and their taxes from being arbitrarily increased as a punitive measure.

One effective way to suppress people is to deprive them of the right to obtain an education. For years, Baker County, along with many other counties in Georgia, failed to provide Negro children with high school facilities. In most instances, they had to depend on one-teacher elementary schools which often operated in a Negro lodge hall or church. If a Negro boy or girl wanted to go to high school he had to go to the expense of leaving Baker County and maintaining himself in some other place. White youths did not have to do this since generation after generation attended the local white high school. And many of them went off to college. Very few Negro residents ever got to go to high school and fewer ever got to go to college. This meant that the Negro was not able to form an educated nucleus on which he could depend for leadership.

In 1941 the Negroes, themselves, started a high school in an old house. Several years later, largely as a result of pressure from decisions of the United States Supreme Court, the educational picture for Negro children in Baker County began to change. The West Baker Elementary School now has eleven teachers. In 1956 the East Baker High and Elementary School was built and now has twenty-four teachers. Unlike the long established Baker County High School for white children, this Negro high school does not have

a gymnasium. However, Negro taxpayers have helped to pay off a bond issue of $80,000 which financed the construction of a gymnasium for the white high school. Trades are not offered in either the white or Negro high school. Each school has an agriculture teacher. However, white students can go to one of their area trade schools which is located in nearby Americus, Georgia. There is no area trade school, as such, for Negro students anywhere in the state of Georgia.

In concluding this section, it is obvious that Negro residents in Baker County have not had much of an opportunity to develop a formally educated nucleus which could help provide leadership for the masses, politically or otherwise. This author's studies, involving racial aspects of registration and voting in several counties in Georgia, revealed that there is a definite correlation between increased educational opportunities and increased voter registration.

Church leadership among Negroes in Baker County is a week-end affair. None of the Negro preachers live in this county. Except for emergencies, they come in only for the week-end and when they are through with their services on Sunday they leave. Several of the most outstanding churches for Negroes have been given token building and/or maintenance contributions by the owners or managers of the three large plantations to which reference has been made. These relatively small gifts and those that are anticipated are one of the reasons why the Negro preachers do not provide a citizenship program which also involves registration and voting. Then, too, some of the Negro preachers are limited in the knowledge of what their leadership roles should be. One of my informants said, "I am going to tell you the truth

about these preachers here in Baker County--no preacher will tell us about voting--they are scared." Voter registration meetings in churches for Negroes rarely occur in this county because most of their influential churches are obligated to those forces that are interested in maintaining the status quo. Churches for Negroes are not alone in this equation of societal control as it operates in Baker County and elsewhere.

The overseers of the three large plantations are constant supporters of a rigid system of segregation and exploitation of labor, white and colored. "These hunting reserves mainly for northerners" help in substantial ways to maintain the status quo in race relations and otherwise. Further, a strong Citizens Council, which is just one cooperating unit in a net-work of citizens Councils in Southwest Georgia, helps to police Negroes and whites, too, who attempt to deviate in the least from the normally accepted pattern of racial behavior.

The white ministers and the Negro ministers of Baker County do not have connections, religious or otherwise. The white ministers have been silenced by the Citizens Council and the general milieu in which they have to work, live and preach. "Once there was a white minister here," I was told, "who would speak in Negro churches and show some brotherly concern, but they got rid of him. In view of this situation, a newcomer possibly would be puzzled after reading a sign on Georgia Highway 91 as he travels out of Albany in the direction of Newton, the county seat. The message on the sign is as follows: "Eternity! Where? Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and spend it in Heaven." In spite of this publicly expressed concern about the future abode of human beings, there is an almost complete lack of concern by the white churches for the personality and dignity of Negroes in their earthly existence in Baker County.

There is no adequate, intelligent, equalitarian communication between the two racial groups in other areas. White and Negro veterans do not contact each other. The League of Women Voters does not cooperate with Negro women to help improve their communities. White and Negro teachers do not talk together about their common problems and aims in education. Some Negroes get in touch with whites who wish to learn surreptiously what other Negroes are thinking about. There is a reluctance on the part of Negroes to communicate with each other about civil rights unless they are reasonably sure that what they say will not be communicated to the whites.

Under present conditions in Baker County, Negro teachers dare not assert any leadership in extending their civil rights and expect to hold their jobs. They do not openly discuss having Negroes register and vote, nor do they seek this privilege for themselves. They fear the loss of their jobs and possible physical violence. This reaction is not theoretical because already two Negro teachers and a bus driver have been fired because they are relatives of two Negro men who were interested in registering and voting. Subsequent discussions will reveal the reality of the Negro teachers' fears about suffering possible physical violence.

A visiting teacher in Baker County for thirty years decided "under pressure" that she had better seek employment elsewhere because she was caught unwittingly in the cross-fire of a local political campaign. This took place almost three years ago when the incumbent school superintendent, H. E. Hall, was running for reelection against William Geer, the principal of Baker County High School. Geer geared his campaign to appeal to Citizens Council members and their supporters. He attacked the Negro woman, who is regarded as a person of integrity, dignity and culture, because her name was listed among the names of other school officials on the official stationery

which was used by the Board of Education. This was the crux of the campaign and the main issue which was involved. Geer's slogan over the radio and in public political meetings was that when he was elected he was going to remove "that black nigger woman's name from your stationery that has been paid for by your tax money." Some white women resented this type of campaign. Geer was not elected. The visiting teacher left her job and her home in which she had lived for many years. In the midst of this type of racial atmosphere, Negro teachers are quiet in so far as all aspects of civil rights are concerned.

Efforts of Negro Residents to Register: Now, there is not a single Negro person registered to vote in Baker County. This fact was among those factors which prompted the selection of this county to be studied. By what techniques have all Negroes been kept from registering? If they can't register, then not a single Negro person can vote in Baker County. Is it that Negro residents do not desire to register and vote? What are the components of this pattern of total exclusion from the exercise of a fundamental right which is so essential in a system of Democracy? Shortly after the Civil Rights Act became law on September 9, 1957, four substantial tax-paying Negro residents of Baker County decided to sponsor a mass meeting in Newton to discuss registering and give instructions about how to answer questions that prospective registrants are asked under the Georgia voters' law. Later, a registration rally barbecue was given by one of the leaders. Sheriff Warren Johnson of Baker County drove nearby the barbecue site, stopped for a while and blew his sirens. He wanted the participants to know that he knew that they were there. The sheriff is said to have stated that this barbecue get-to-gether was an NAACP meeting. After blowing his sirens, Johnson left and nothing else happened except that the leaders knew that the sheriff was

opposed to Negroes registering and "doesn't even want them to come into the court house."

In spite of this warning, the Negro leaders continued their efforts with some assistance from one or two Negro civic leaders from nearby Albany. They recalled the time, following the Primus E. King decision in 1946, when approximately 475 Negroes registered in Baker County. Later, these registrants were purged from the rolls by the followers of Eugene Talmadge. Subsequent efforts of Negroes to register in Baker County have been unsuccessful. Members of the Board of Registrars have resorted to familiar evasive devices, such as taking the would-be registrants' names under the pretense of registering them and having them find out later that they were not actually registered; and closing the books and/or office when Negroes sought to register. Occasionally a few Negroes have attempted to register after paying their taxes "just like some of the whites have done." However, their efforts were not successful.

After the Civil Rights Act was enacted into law in the fall of 1957, one of the Negro leaders in Baker County paid his taxes and asked about registering. He was told he would have to see the Board of Registrars. "Who is the Board?" he asked. One white registrar with whom he talked said he was not the chairman. This Negro, like other Negroes who wanted to register, had difficulty in pin-pointing the white person whom he should approach. Later, he discovered that Will West was the chairman of the Board of Registrars. Instead of having someone talk with the chairman as an individual, several Negro leaders decided to organize a voters' league and this led to some disastrous consequences.

Before this development occurred, the tax collector is said to have advised some Negroes to attempt to register as a group "since it was easier to

turn them down one by one." Later, when one of the Negro leaders took a group of twenty-five to thirty Negroes to register, one of the registrars told him to bring them back after banking hours. When they went back after banking hours the registrars' office was closed.

A strategem to deter Negroes from registering is to have well-placed white persons advise them against doing so. The Negro leader, who sought to have the group register, was later approached by a white man who said to him: "I know you are a good nigger - just leave that thing off; go up later." Another white man who had known him for many years said, "You are one of the best niggers in Baker County and I advise you not to bother with this business (of registering and voting)."

Another evasive device is to keep outside Negroes out of Baker County "if they are stirring up trouble." As stated, one or two Negroes of the Voters League in Albany were encouraging Baker County Negroes to seek to register and vote. This further convinced law enforcement officers that they should discourage some of the Albany Negroes from making visits to Baker County. As a result, their actions were crystalized in the fall of 1957 when Scott Johnson, an Albany Negro, had a picnic (a social affair) in Baker County and invited a number of Negroes from Albany to attend. On their way back to Albany, virtually all of them were arrested for "speeding and drinking" and each fined from thirty-five to one-hundred dollars for a total of about $1,400. The highway through the county has long been known as a speed trap although this method of raising revenue has been curtailed in recent times due largely to outside pressure and unfavorable publicity. However, even now drivers must be careful and this carefulness must be compounded if the drivers happen to be well-dressed Negroes.

Some Albany Negroes characterize Baker County as being "one step down from hell." One Albany Negro siad: "I stay out of Baker County because I

wear a tie." To the uninitiated in race relations, this would appear to be a casual, flippant remark, but it is not. In rural areas, the wearing of a tie (except on Saturday afternoon, Sundays and holidays) or not wearing work clothes by Negroes is regarded as revealing a desire and ability to break away from the customary pattern of racial behavior and this is resented by most whites in subtle and overt ways. Actually, it may not be the Negro's dress that is involved but his car, his house or his manner of speaking or his desire to register and vote.

For some time, the Voters League in Albany has been considering methods of helping to open up registration lists for Negroes in several nearby southwest Georgia counties. They feel that "if we can break through in Baker County, the others will follow." They are aware that strong leadership against the extension of civil rights in southwest Georgia is centered in Albany which is headquarters for Citizens Council activities that are tied in with similar activities in Baker County and elsewhere in this region.

Albany Negroes list the editor of The Albany Herald, James H. Gray, as being a key Citizens Council leader. He is labelled as "a real reactionary" and is "far worse than some southerners". Gray is a Dartmouth College graduate, a native of Springfield, Massachusetts, and has just been in Albany since World War II. His paper has a rather wide circulation in adjoining counties. The Albany Herald is known as an anti-Negro paper although every Saturday it carries a page of "News of the Colored People of Southwest Georgia". This news deals largely with marriages, deaths, illnesses, trips, social affairs, club and school activities. No news is carried on this Negro page about militant efforts to extend the Negro's civil rights. It is interesting that The Albany Herald would have much circulation among Negroes, in view of its avowed anti-Negro policies. In the October 4, 1958 issue, in which there was almost a full page of so-called Negro news, there appeared a derogatory letter in the

People's Forum. It was supposed to have been sent to the editor from Pelham, Georgia by a person who signed his name as Plowhand. It portrayed a friendly white man and a conversation he had with a Negro named Jake, who was ill. "Jake is a nigger that owns a farm next to mine. I went in to find Jake in bed." Jake said he had worked himself down trying to get more money to send to the NAACP. The white man then recounted that "the white folks" had helped Jake build his house after it had burned down, sat up with his wife when she was ill, and helped gather his crops when he broke his leg. "Did the NAACP help? They don't even know you, Jake." Jake acknowledged all this, "De white folks hepped me wid all them things, Mr. Plowhand. De NAACP ain't hepped ner sent me nothing 'cepting a reeminder dat my dues wuz beehind." Then the white man asked Jake when were "the Southern niggers" going to wake up to realize that they were tools of the NAACP who insisted that "white hates black". Jake was warned against continuing to send dues to power-mad "fools as what sets in a air-conditioned offis and drinks reel likker wid your money while you haff to work in a hot cotton patch and drink cane-skimming likker." "Jake," said he in conclusion, "when is the nigger going to strike out on his own?"

Although many Negroes in this area resent this type of insult, they are more concerned about a network of opposition which appears set to "pick-off" progressive Negro leaders in southwest Georgia. The editor of The Albany Herald was among those white persons who brought pressure on Dr. Aaron Brown, then president of Albany State College (for Negroes) during the school year 1953-54, which culminated in his being "ousted" by the State Board of Regents. Dr. Brown was accused of aiding and abetting the program of the NAACP because he sat on the platform in the city auditorium when Attorney A. T. Walden, a noted NAACP lawyer from Atlanta, spoke at a public meeting in Albany. Later, Dr. Brown was called to the hotel room of Governor Herman Talmadge and talked

with about his activities. Then, he was summoned to appear before the State Board of Regents which did not vote to renew his contract as president of Albany State College. Most of his difficulty really started when some of his faculty members and students decided to quietly boycott some businesses in Albany which advertised in The Albany Herald until they would be treated with more courtesy and respect. Behind most of the maneuvers against Dr. Brown was the late Dr. J. W. Holley, the retired president of Albany State College, who had "the ear" of many prominent white persons, including Herman Talmadge. These developments resulted in neutralizing any civil rights activities that were emanating from Albany State College (for Negroes) and served as a warning to other Negro leaders in southwest Georgia.

Fear and Violence: It is frequently contended that race relations have worsened since the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision involving segregation in the public schools. Actually, what has happened in a number of instances is that many brutal aspects of bad race relations that have existed for a long time are being publicly revealed. This is why white photographers, newscasters, and newsmen have been assaulted by whites in many places where racial trouble has flared up. These people represent a threat to the network of silence which the perpetrators of racial violence have developed as a protective device in maintaining a system of segregation. Many instances of arbitrary arrests, beatings, and even killings of Negroes, which now shock the nation and even the world when they are publicized, have been common-place happenings for years. Virtually every county in Georgia has had historic instances of racial violence which continue as an ominous threat to those persons who would seek to enlarge the area of civil rights for Negro citizens.

Baker County has dramatically undergirded its opposition to even a fractional extension of civil rights to its Negro residents. Brutality stemming from the sheriff's office, including the sheriff himself, has been constantly

directed against Negroes for years. It was highly dramatized in 1943 by a public lynching in which the encumbent Sheriff Claude Screws was the main leader and instigator. The drama began to unfold when Bobby Hall, a Negro and a highly skilled mechanic, had his pistol, which he had a permit to carry, taken from his car's pocket by Sheriff Screws, who had arrested him for allegedly stealing an automobile tube. Hall sought in vain to have his pistol returned to him. Finally, he wrote a letter about this matter to a judge in nearby Camilla, Georgia. The judge showed the letter to Screws, who became infuriated. He and other whites took Hall out and proceeded to lynch him. At first they beat him. Then they tied him to the back of a car and dragged him around in the small town of Newton. They poured some acid on him and beat him again before they put him in jail. Apparently startled and frightened by the results of their cruelty, they called a Negro undertaker in Albany, 22 miles away, to send an ambulance to take Hall to a hospital in Albany, where he died. This heinous crime might have gone unpublicized had it not been for the ingenuity of two or three Negroes in Albany. They had pictures made of the victim "just as he was" and sent the negatives to Jacksonville, Florida to be developed. Next, they wired the FBI office in Macon, Georgia, and some agents came in. After this crime was committed, Screws drove to Albany and parked in front of the office of the Negro editor of the Southwest Georgian, a weekly newspaper that is printed by the Scott Newspaper Syndicate of Atlanta, with his sirens "wide open". This was considered a warning to the editor not to print anything about the crime. However, this strategem did not work.

Screws was indicted and tried in federal courts. During the trial, the prosecuting attorney had to repeatedly challenge the presiding judge who kept referring to Hall, the victim, as a nigger. Screws finally got out of this difficulty. During the last state elections in 1958, Screws was elected to the State Senate as the "Senator from Newton", the county-seat of Baker County.

No attempt is being made here to discuss the Screws' case in all of its ramifications. However, it is still uppermost in the minds of those who think of obtaining the franchise for Negroes in Baker County.

The successor to Screws, Sheriff Warren Johnson of Baker County, "can hardly read his name." He had at sometime worked under Screws and seems content to carry on his tradition in meting out brutality to Negroes. Not only is he opposed to Negroes voting; he is also opposed to their coming into the court house unless they are to be tried for crimes that they are accused of committing. He, too, has killed a Negro. One night Sheriff Johnson walked up to a car which was parked in a Negro neighborhood and threw a flashlight in the face of an occupant who was a Negro. The Negro said, "Who in the hell got that flashlight in my eyes?" These were his last words, because Johnson without any discussion whatever "whipped out his gun and killed the Negro on the spot." He contended that he acted in line of duty and nothing was ever done about this killing.

These instances of violence, which have been discussed in this section, stand out in a broad context of violence which nutures it as a basis of preserving the system of segregation. These types of brutality reveal why Negro voters center their attention on the candidates for the sheriff's office. In many counties in Georgia candidates for the sheriff's office consider it politically helpful to have it made known that they are hard on Negroes. Thus Negro voters by prudent use of their ballots often seek to neutralize the brutality which stems from the sheriff's office. By this process, they feel more secure in extending their efforts to register and vote. And by registering and voting in larger numbers they help create an atmosphere which reduces brutality even though its threat very often remains as a reminder of what was and what could be again.

Not even the potential threat of federal intervention in behalf of Negro

residents caused Baker County whites to concede that qualified Negroes should have the right to register and vote. After the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was passed by Congress, and signed by the President into law, four substantial Negro taxpayers decided that they would attempt to have qualified Negroes register and would register themselves. Actually, some of them had already been registered before the Talmadge purge. Therefore, they were not quite prepared for the violence which erupted following their efforts to become registered voters in Baker County, in the fall of 1957. On December 12, 1957 three separate bombings of properties belonging to three of the four Negroes who were attempting to register took place. Josh Williams' front porch was bombed; cars belonging to Ike King and Carl Broadway were bombed. Because of these bombings and other factors, Negroes in Baker County find it increasingly difficult to get liability insurance on their cars. Although the bombings made a lot of noise in the silence of night, no whites came to see what had happened. This caused those Negroes who were the victims of these bombings to conclude that most of the white people in and around Newton knew in advance what was going to happen. They said that curiosity about what was happening ordinarily would have caused some whites to be attracted to the scene of the bombings. Negroes showed up at the site of each bombing. A white man showed up at one of the bombing sites the next morning. One of the victims who had lived all of his life in Baker County and thought he had some white friends said, "No white man has said a word to me about danger." This reaction on the part of the whites caused these Negro victims to be sorely disillusioned because all of them thought they had some white friends who would befriend them.

Not only did whites fail to show up after the bombings, they have also "clammed up" since then. They did not cooperate with FBI agents who investigated the bombings. The bombing victims think that those persons who set off the blasts were not after hurting anyone. They just "wanted to bluff us out--

scare us." However, the suspense of not knowing what would happen next has caused the victims' families to suffer acute mental anguish. One victim's wife had to be sent away because she was losing a lot of weight over worrying about what the whites would do next. While she was away she continued to lose ground because she was then worrying about what was likely to happen to the members of her family whom she had left behind. She finally returned to be with her family, although her fears and those of others involved have not fully subsided. Carl Broadway's daughter, who was a school teacher, was "fired" from her job. The Negro bus driver, who was Broadway's brother-in-law, lost his job and his school teacher daughter suffered the same fate as Broadway's daughter.

Following these bombings, some whites spread the word that they were not the handiwork of "white folks"; instead "the NAACP was trying to start something." No white persons in Baker County have publicly condemned what has happened. Nor have any of them spoken out in behalf of maintaining law and order. They are risking the extension of approved lawlessness as a means of "keeping the Negro in his place." Such lawlessness, if left unchecked, will eventually recoil and strike those who tacitly or otherwise agreed to its original use. Some Negroes in Baker County bemoan the fact that the more genteel, aristocratic type of white people, who used to occasionally extend the touch of human kindness to individual Negroes, have either died out, left or have been submerged by "the mean Cracker element."

What happened to the fourth Negro, Tee Kunney, who was seeking the right to register and vote? He was arrested for having illicit liquor on his properties and sentenced to jail, although he finally got out of this difficulty. Most persons with whom I talked declare that Kunney was framed. Such a development started when Sheriff Johnson and some of his deputies went to Kunney's house and questioned him about some illicit liquor which was said to be on his

property. Kunney insisted that he knew nothing about the whiskey when the sheriff demanded that he go get it. The sheriff then walked with Kunney down a path leading from the house and pointed out a half-pint of whiskey which he asked Kunney to pick up. Kunney would not pick up the bottle because he said that he did not know anything about it and was not responsible for its being on his property. At this point he was arrested.

Following the dynamitings, which allegedly had the sanction of law enforcement officers, FBI agents came into Baker County to investigate. After several days of questioning the victims and others, the FBI agents left. Undoubtedly, they failed to unearth information or evidence to support any indictments or reveal that a federal law had been violated. There are two types of reactions to this FBI investigation. Two of the victims felt that the FBI agents were "on the up and up" but "some Negroes would not talk" and the "good white poeple hold their peace too much"; and it was felt that "the FBI had the Crackers scared." Some outspoken Negroes in nearby Albany condemned the failure of the FBI to piece together what was considered as an obvious violation of the civil rights of Negroes. They stated that the FBI "seemingly worked in cahoots with the whites." Finally, they insisted that the "FBI man in Albany is a spy for the whites". When FBI agents entered Baker County following the bombings, some whites sent word to the Negroes that they could register but none have dared attempt to do so yet.

Racial violence in neighboring Terrell County during the spring of 1958 also served as further warning to Baker County Negroes and others in southwest Georgia not to continue to press their plans to register and vote. Cataclysmic violence meted out by policemen in Dawson, Georgia, the county seat of Terrell County, resulted in the deaths of two Negroes, Willie Countryman and James Brazier. A third Negro, Willie D. Latimer, was shot and wounded, and two other Negroes, Willie Gerald Flagg and Eugene Renfroe, were beaten with black-

jacks. A Federal grand jury of the middle district of Georgia in August, 1958 refused to indict police officers Weyman B. Cherry, Randolph E. McDonald and Edwin H. Jones as the perpetrators of these acts of violence.

Before these incidents of violence, Terrell County had been in the news during the winter because five Negroes, four of whom were college graduates, were complainants in the first voting suit against a Board of Registrars ever to be filed under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 by the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Only 48 Negroes out of a total of 8,400 in Terrell County are registered, whereas 2,810 whites out of a total of 4,600 are registered. As soon as this suit was filed, one Negro teacher in Terrell County was fired. Eleven other Negro teachers were not issued contracts at the end of the 1957-58 term and others were employed in their places.

Prospects: Baker County is but one political and geographical unit in a system of counties in central and southwest Georgia which have decreed that the Negro shall not have the privilege of registering and voting at all or beyond a token number which will serve as a safety-valve against Federal intervention. Population and registration statistics, as compiled in the Secretary of State's office for fifteen southwest counties which cluster in proximity to Baker County, validate this statement. These counties are counting on a pattern of sporadic and potential violence to keep civic-minded Negroes from attempting to register and vote and by their example stimulate other Negroes to do the same. Dramatic violence is usually reserved for those Negro citizens who will not heed the warning signals and evasions which are designed as an initial line of defense for the whites. Long before Negroes cross this line, the opposition seeks to detect idealogical leanings which indicate that stern warnings are necessary such as: "It's all right for you to go ahead and register but we advise you not to do so." Negroes are pressing for the vote in Baker

County	Population White	Registration White	% White	Population Negro	Registration Negro	% Negro	Population % Negro
Mitchell	11,300	7,298	65	11,100	375	3.4	50
Miller	6,100	3,357	55	2,400	6	0.25	28
Seminole	4,700	3,172	67	2,900	29	1.0	38
Early	7,600	4,335	57	9,200	226	2.5	55
Randolph	4,400	2,585	59	7,800	493	6.3	63
Terrell	4,600	2,810	61	8,400	48	0.57	65
Lee	1,900	1,281	67	4,200	29	0.69	68
Turner	6,300	3,893	62	4,100	474	12	39
Worth	9,100	5,855	64	9,300	296	3.2	43
Colquitt	26,700	13,000	49	8,500	965	11	24
Thomas	21,800	8,422	39	14,300	1,579	11	40
Grady	12,200	5,076	42	6,500	831	13	35
Decatur	13,500	7,530	56	11,400	960	8.4	46
Brooks	8,800	4,321	49	8,200	695	8.4	48
Baker	1,900	1,670	88	3,300	0	0	63

County state emphatically that "the white folks watch us like a hawk watches a chicken." And these Negroes watch Negro informants who "carry information to the white folks."

Economic reprisals have been applied on a limited scale. However, they indicate what might take place if some Negro residents continue to press for their civil rights. "If you owe money on a place white men will block you," said one Negro who had felt this kind of economic pressure. They think, too, of the Negro school teachers who have been fired. Some Baker County Negroes don't do business in Newton and the local merchants are feeling the effects. If a

Negro has been somewhat forthright in his insistence on more civil rights, he is likely not to be qualified for welfare benefits or old age assistance.

Considering these factors, plus others which have already been discussed, there is little likelihood that Negroes in Baker County will initiate any united effort to register and vote in the reasonably near future. For quite a while, it seems unlikely that any formally, well-educated Negro litigants will create the basis of a federal suit such as was done in nearby Terrell County. This was due to two primary reasons. A number of Negro teachers have not established voting residency in Baker County. Then, too, they will be fired, or not rehired, and thus will have to leave Baker County if they wish to obtain "white collar" employment. There is a complete dearth of Negro professional and business personnel in Baker County which would have a reasonable degree of independence which would enable them to help in leadership roles. Our studies about the political status of Negroes in several other Georgia counties reveal that political leadership for Negroes varies directly with the number of Negro professional, business and religious leaders who live and serve in the county. And, too, the higher the level of education which is acquired, the more positive will be the response to appeals to register and vote.

Under the circumstances, the next most logical step would be for the federal government to initiate legal action against the Baker County Board of Registrars under the auspices of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. It would seek to restrain the Board of Registrars and their successors from denying would-be Negro registrants an opportunity to establish that they are or are not qualified to register and vote. This procedure would save money that Negro litigants would have to spend if they themselves brought suit against the Board of Registrars. Then, too, federal intervention would provide a degree of protective insulation for the would-be Negro registrants against the hostility of local power-structure people and their supporters.

Federal injunctive authority, when obtained, should be permanent so that the potentiality of federal intervention will give Negro residents some assurance of continuing protection. An an NAACP leader in Albany stated it, "we must pressure the federal government for protection because we will not get it from local law enforcement authorities." Unless there is adequate and constant federal intervention, which goes beyond local authority in support of civil rights, it will be a long time before Negroes will be able to vote in many counties in Georgia with a reasonable degree of personal safety. And Baker County is included in this number.

* * *

August 1, 1967

Dean B. R. Brazeal
Academic Dean
Morehouse College
223 Chestnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Dean Brazeal:

Enclosed is our check representing payment of your consultant fee and expenses for the research in six Georgia counties.

We appreciate your doing this work for us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - Check $1201.25

A BLACKBELT COUNTY: TOTAL DISFRANCHISEMENT

by
Brailsford R. Brazeal
Dean of Morehouse College

This is an account of disfranchisement in a Deep South county located in the area commonly called the "Blackbelt," both because of the color of its soil and its large Negro population. For reasons that will shortly become apparent, the identity of the county and that of the individuals referred to have been deliberately obscured. The field study on which this study is based was not intended to develop an "exposé" of the particular county in question. Rather, the object was to shed light on a way of life, still prevalent in rural areas of the lower South, in which all of the economic and political arrangements serve to keep the Negro in abject subordination.

"Blackbelt" County is still one of the most highly agricultural counties in the region, four-fifths of the population being farm-dwellers. Peanuts, pecans, and cotton account for approximately two-thirds of its annual income. Three large plantations cover a large portion of the county -- two of them owned by Northern families. These plantations are big businesses and have adapted to the racial patterns of the area. Individually owned farms decreased from 1,502 in 1920 to 751 in 1954.

The county, then, has had little industrialization or urbanisation which would tend to alter provincial customs. The dominant mentality is rural, with a strong Old South motif. This is due to the racial, as well as the agricultural, composition of the county. In 1958 the total population was not much over 5,000 and showed a sizeable decrease since 1950. Negroes comprised over 60 per cent of the total.

VOTER REGISTRATION

The racial make-up of the county has generated fears on the part of the white population that, if the voting system is not controlled, Negroes might "take over."

Official records show that nearly nine-tenths of the total white population was registered to vote in 1958. Yet a simple count of the population below voting age indicates that it is a virtual impossibility for so high a percentage of the total to be legally registered. One can only conclude that the white registration figures for the county are inflated.

Although Negroes comprise a majority of the total population, none is registered to vote. In the mid-1940's, after the outlawing of the white primary, several hundred succeeded in getting registered. They were later purged, however, by supporters of a white-supremacist candidate for governor.

Despite the small population of the county and the much smaller number of voters necessary to decide an election, "Blackbelt" County carries weight in state politics. Under the lopsided apportionment of the legislature, characteristic of many states and all of those in the Deep South, this rural

county has one-third as much representation as the most populous county in the state. Thus the racial attitudes which prevail there and in other rural counties of the same type heavily influence the workings of state government.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

Most "Blackbelt" County Negroes work as farm laborers or domestic servants for three or four dollars a day. There is a widespread belief among local Negroes that welfare administrators are slow to put aged Negroes on their rolls. They insist that when they do get on, they usually receive $35 a month, while aged white citizens generally qualify for $50. One interviewee commented, "A Negro is just about dead when he gets $50 a month."

Good housing is at a premium. Shacks abound in Negro neighborhoods. Only about seven Negro homes in the county have bathrooms and septic tanks, except for one small housing project built for Negroes in the county seat.

Most of the few white collar jobs in the county are available only to white persons, except for 35 teaching jobs open to Negroes.

Several Negroes own their own farms, which are reasonably large and profitable. However, these landowners must operate carefully within the bounds of racial restrictions that apply to all the Negroes. They feel this is necessary if they want to keep their credit open and their taxes from being arbitrarily increased as a punitive measure.

One effective way to suppress any group is to withhold the right and ability to obtain an education. For years "Blackbelt" County, along with many other counties in the area, failed to provide high school facilities for Negro children. In most instances, these children had only one-teacher elementary schools which often operated in a Negro lodge hall or church. If parents wanted a high school education for their children they had to send them outside the county at their own expense. Needless to say, there was a high school for white children and many of them went on to college. Very few Negroes were able to attend high school and even fewer college. This meant that, by and large, Negroes could not form an educated nucleus to provide leadership.

In 1941 the Negroes themselves started a high school in an old house. Several years later, largely as a result of pressure from federal court decisions in other areas, the educational picture for Negro children in the county began to change. The elementary school for Negroes now has eleven teachers. In 1956 a new combined high and elementary school for Negroes was built and now has 24 teachers. Unlike the long established ~~Baker~~ County High School for white children, the new Negro high school does not have a gymnasium. However, Negro taxpayers have helped pay off a bond issue which financed the construction of a gym for the white school. Each school has classes in agriculture but neither offers trade courses. White pupils, however, can go to an area trade school in a nearby city. There is no area trade school available to Negroes.

Church leadership among Negroes is a week-end affair. All of the Negro preachers live outside the county. Except for emergencies, they come in only for the week-end, and when the Sunday services are over they leave. Several of the Negro churches have received token building and maintenance contributions from the owners or managers of the county's three large plantations. These relatively small gifts -- and the anticipation of more -- were considered by most of the Negroes interviewed as one reason their ministers do not provide a citizenship program which would encourage registration. Also, some of the ministers are limited in the knowledge of what their leadership roles should be. One person interviewed said, "I am going to tell you the truth about these preachers here -- no preacher will tell us about voting. They are scared." In any event, voter registration meetings in churches for Negroes have been rare, apparently because of a feeling of obligation to the leading whites.

Another consensus of the Negroes interviewed was that the overseers of the three large plantations support the rigid system of segregation and tend to exploit labor, both white and Negro. "These hunting reserves mainly for Northerners," as one Negro termed them, help in many ways to maintain the pattern of segregation.

There is a strong Citizens Council in the county which helps police Negroes, and also whites, who attempt to deviate from the normally accepted pattern of racial behavior. Several of those interviewed said the white ministers have been silenced by the Citizens Council.

Whatever the reason, the white ministers do not have any line of communication with Negro ministers who serve the county. One Negro said, "Once there was a white minister here who would speak in Negro churches and show some brotherly concern, but they got rid of him." There seems to be no adequate, intelligent communication between the two racial groups in other fields. There is no contact between white and Negro veterans, teachers, or civic groups.

Some Negroes get in touch with whites who wish to learn surreptitiously what other Negroes are thinking about. There is a reluctance on the part of Negroes to communicate with each other about civil rights problems unless they are reasonably sure that what they say will not be communicated to the whites.

Under present conditions, Negro teachers feel that they dare not assert any leadership in the civil rights field if they expect to hold their jobs. They do not openly encourage, or even discuss, Negro voting; nor do they seek this right for themselves. They fear the loss of their jobs and possible physical violence. They know of the firing of two Negro teachers and a bus driver who are relatives of two Negro men who showed interest in registering and voting.

A Negro woman who was a visiting teacher in "Blackbelt" County for 30 years decided "under pressure" that she should resign after she was caught unwittingly in the cross-fire of a local political campaign. The episode, as recounted by Negroes interviewed, took this course:

About three years ago the incumbent school superintendent, was running for reelection against the principal of the high school. The principal's campaign was designed to appeal to Citizens Council members and their supporters. He attacked the Negro visiting teacher, who is regarded by those who know her as a woman of integrity, dignity, and culture, because her name was listed among the names

of other school officials on the official stationery used by the superintendent. The latter was attacked because, it was charged, he tacitly admitted the equality of the races by placing the Negro woman's name along with the white names on the official stationery which was used by the Board of Education and his office. This was the crux of the campaign. The challenger's promise over the radio and in public political meetings was that when he was elected he was going to remove "that black nigger woman's name from your stationery that has been paid for by your tax money." Some white women resented this type of campaign. The principal was not elected. But the visiting teacher left her job and her home.

EFFORTS TO REGISTER

The above factors explain in part why there is not a single Negro registered to vote in "Blackbelt" County. But many techniques have been used to disfranchise Negroes.

Shortly after the Civil Rights Act became effective in 1957 four substantial, tax-paying Negro residents of the county decided to sponsor a mass meeting to discuss setting up classes to help prospective registrants answer questions asked under the state voters' law. Later, a registration rally-barbecue was given by one of the leaders. According to those at the rally, the sheriff drove near the barbecue site, stopped and blew his siren. The sheriff left and nothing else happened; yet those at the rally interpreted this as a clear signal that the sheriff was opposed to Negroes registering.

Nevertheless, the Negro leaders continued their efforts with some assistance from one or two Negro civic leaders from a city in the neighboring county. Their efforts were unsuccessful. Negroes said members of the Board of Registrars have resorted to familiar

evasive tactics, such as taking would-be registrants' names under the pretense of enrolling them. Later these Negroes would learn they were not actually registered. At other times the registration books or office would be closed when Negroes sought to register. Some found that no one would tell them the names of the registrars. On one occasion, 25 to 30 Negroes went together to register but one of the registrars told them to come back after banking hours. When they returned at the time suggested, the registrars' office was closed. A Negro leader of the group was later approached by a white man who told him, "I know you are a good nigger -- just leave that thing off; go up later." Another white man who had known him for many years said, "You are one of the best niggers in Blackbelt County and I advise you not to bother with this business." This kind of advice from white persons has frequently served to deter Negro registration.

Another tactic has been to discourage outside Negroes from coming to "Blackbelt" County to "stir up trouble." After it was learned that one or two members of the Voters League in a nearby city were encouraging local Negroes to register, law enforcement officers apparently felt they should discourage visits by these outsiders. In the fall of 1957 one of the visiting Negroes had a picnic in "Blackbelt" County and invited a number of Negroes from his city to attend. On their way back home, most of them were arrested for speeding and drinking and each one arrested was fined from $35 to $100 for a total of about $1,400.

The highway through the county has long been known as a speed trap, although this method of raising revenue has been curtailed in recent times, following outside pressure and unfavorable publicity. However, even now drivers must be careful, particularly if the driver happens to be a well-dressed Negro.

Some Negroes characterize "Blackbelt" County as "one step down from hell." More specifically, one Negro said, "I stay out of that county because I wear a tie." To the uninitiated this would appear to be a casual, flippant remark, but it is not. In rural areas the wearing of a tie or dress clothing instead of work clothing, by Negroes (except on Saturday afternoon, Sundays, or holidays) is regarded as evidence of a desire to break away from the customary racial pattern, and this is resented by many whites. It may not be the Negro's dress that is involved but his car, his house, his manner of speaking, or his desire to register and vote.

For some time the Voters League in the nearby city has considered methods of opening registration lists for Negroes in several rural counties. It believes that "if we can break through in "Blackbelt" County, the others will follow." The League is aware that strong leadership against the extension of civil rights in the ~~area is~~ state ~~centered in its~~ centered in the city, which is headquarters for Citizens Council ~~of~~ activities in "Blackbelt" and elsewhere in this region.

The daily newspaper of the city serves a large part of the area. Its editor, a vigorous segregationist, is a Northerner who has been in the community only since World War II. He has characterized the South's segregation laws as no more immoral than United States laws concerning Indians and immigrants. The Supreme Court, he has said, is "very much bent on fostering social revolution."

To Negroes, the daily is known as an anti-Negro paper. Every Saturday it carries a page of "News of the Colored People," but this deals only with such personal items as marriages, deaths and social events. No news is carried on the page about efforts to extend the Negro's civil rights.

Many Negroes in the area are concerned about a network of opposition they believe is set to "pick off" progressive Negro leaders. A case in point was the ouster, several years ago, of the president of a state-supported Negro college adjacent to "Blackbelt" County. The Negro educator was accused of aiding the NAACP, because he sat next to a state NAACP leader at a public meeting. He was later summoned before the governor and the state board in charge of higher education, which subsequently declined to renew his contract.

The college president's difficulties apparently started when some of his faculty members and students decided on a quiet boycott of local businesses which treated Negroes discourteously. The net effect of the president's ouster was to neutralize college-based civil rights activities and to serve as a warning to other Negro leaders that such efforts would lead to reprisals.

FEAR AND VIOLENCE

"Blackbelt" County has underscored in a number of ways its oppostion to even a fractional extension of civil rights to its Negro citizens. Negroes feel that the sheriff's office has for years used brutality to keep them "in line." They still recall what they regard as a public lynching of a Negro in 1943. The then sheriff had arrested the Negro on a charge of stealing an automobile tire and, before jailing him, beat him in a particularly brutal fashion. As a court later characterized the incident, it was "a shocking and revolting episode in law enforcement." Apparently frightened by their own cruelty, his attackers called an ambulance, and the victim died in a local hospital. The sheriff and two former policemen were indicted by the federal government

amd convicted of depriving the Negro of his life without due process of law. Eventually, on a technical legal point, the case was sent back for a new trial. The second trial ended in an acquittal. The former sheriff was later elected to the State Senate. And among local Negroes, the case has never been forgotten.

A man who had worked under the perpetrator of this brutality succeeded him as sheriff. Negroes interviewed said that the present sheriff is opposed to Negroes voting and in fact to their coming to the court house except for trial. He too has killed a Negro. He said he acted in the line of duty in shooting to death a Negro sitting in a parked car, and that ended the matter. These instances explain why Negroes in other counties in the South center so much attention on candidates for the sheriff's office. But, in "Blackbelt" County, Negroes have no political voice.

Some three years ago, there were three separate bombings of property belonging to three of the four Negroes who attempted to register to vote and to persuade others to do the same. The front porch of one of them was bombed, as were cars belonging to the other two. (Because of these bombings and other factors, Negroes in the county report that it is increaseingly difficult to get liability insurance on their cars.) Although the explosions were extremely noisy in the silence of night, no white persons came to see what had happened. Those whose property was bembed wondered if most of the white population in and around the county seat knew in advance what was going to happen. Negroes quickly showed up at the site of each bombing. The victims were sorely disillusioned because all of them thought they knew some white persons who would befriend them. No white person has publicly condemned the bombings.

Since the bombings, the suspense of not knowing what would happen next has been a souce of deep anxiety to the families whose property was damaged. Meanwhile, the daughter of one of the men has lost her job as a school teacher; his brother-in-law was fired as a bus driver and his school-teacher daughter also suffered the same fate.

The fourth Negro who sought to register, was arrested for having illicit liquor on his property and sentenced to jail, although he finally got out of this difficulty. Most persons interviewed believed his arrest was attributable to his registration activities.

Following the dynamitings, FBI agents came into the county to investigate. After several days of questioning the victims and others, the agents left. Undoubtedly, they failed to unearth information or evidence to support any indictments or reveal that a federal law had been violated. There are two types of reaction among Negroes to this FBI investigation. Two of the victims felt the agents were "on the up and up" but "some Negroes wouldn't talk" and the "good white people held their peace too much." Nevertheless, they felt the "FBI had the Crackers scared." Some outspoken Negroes in the nearby city condemned the failure of the FBI to piece together what they considered an obvious violation of the civil rights of Negroes. When the agents entered "Blackbelt" County, some whites sent word to the Negroes they could register but none have dared attempt to do so yet.

Finally, widely publicized racial violence in a neighboring rural county served as further warning to "Blackbelt" County Negroes and others in the area who might otherwise have pressed their plans to register and vote.

PROSPECTS

This county is but one political and geographical unit in a system of counties in the Blackbelt which have decreed that no Negro shall have the privilege of registering and voting or none beyond a token number that would serve as a safety valve against federal intervention. These counties are counting on a pattern of sporadic and potential violence to keep civic-minded Negroes from attempting to register and, by their example. to deter others from doing so. Dramatic violence is usually reserved for those Negro citizens who will not heed the warning signals and evasions. Long before Negroes go this far, the opposition seeks to detect signs which indicate that stern warnings aare nenessary, such as: "It's all right for you to go ahead and register but we advise you not to do so."

Negroes who are pressing for the vote in "Blackbelt" County state emphatically that "the white folks watch us like a hawk watches a chicken." And these Negroes in turn watch Negro informants who "carry information to the white folks."

Economic reprisals have been applied only on a limited scale. However, they indicate what might take place if a Negro resident continues to press for his civil rights.

"If you owe money on a place white men will block you," said one Negro who had felt this kind of economic pressure.

They think, too, of the Negro school teachers who have been fired.

Some local Negroes don't do business in the county seat now, and the local merchants are feeling the effects. On the other hand, if a Negro has been somewhat forthright in his insistence on civil and legal right, it is alleged that he is unlikely to qualify for welfare or old age assistance benefits.

Considering all these factors, there is little likelihood that Negroes in the county will initiate any united effort to register and vote in the near future. It seems unlikely that any formally well-educated Negro litigants will initiate a federal suit, at least for some time. For one thing, a number of Negro teachers have not established voting residence in the county. Then, too, they feel they would be fired and would thus have to leave the county to obtain another white collar job. There is a dearth of Negro professional and business men and women who would have a reasonable degree of the economic independence which would enable them to provide leadership.

Under the circumstances, most Negroes in the county interested in voting feel that their only hope in the near future must come from federal action against the Board of Registrars. They reason that federal intervention would provide would-be Negro registrants with a degree of protection from local white ~~hospitality~~. hostility. Without this federal intervention they feel it will be a long time before Negroes will be able to vote safely in "Blackbelt" County and others of the same type in the rural Deep South.

Saw Bridges here at Charter meeting.
713 J

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 4, 1944

Guy B. Johnson-
Executive Director

Ira DeA. Reid
Associate Executive Director

Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
P. O. Box 147
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Bridges:

Dr. Johnson has been somewhat overwhelmed with duties since coming to Atlanta to work with the Southern Regional Council. He is out of the city for a few days, but before going he asked me to tell you that at the earliest opportunity he will write you with reference to your letter of January 31 to Dr. Odum, of which you sent him a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

COMMISSIONERS:
JOSEPH Y. CHENEY
CHAIRMAN
JAMES T. VOCELLE
SECRETARY
FRANCIS R. BRIDGES, JR.
P.O. Box 147

FLORIDA PAROLE COMMISSION

ROY W. RUSSELL
DIRECTOR
BESSIE K. GRAY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TALLAHASSEE
January 31
1944

This Copy sent to me by Bridges
G.B.G.

The Hon. Howard W. Odum
Chapel Hill
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Odum:

Recently I chanced upon some criticism of The Southern Frontier, which had been published by the Commission on interracial cooperation which I think merits your consideration.

A very good friend of mine, who has been interested in fair treatment of negroes and who has watched with considerable interest the Commission's work and that attempted by the Florida Council, received a copy of the December issue of The Southern Frontier. He immediately hit the ceiling and the next time I saw him he asked me just what the Frontier was all about. I had never seen a copy of the Frontier until he showed me the copy he had received, his first upon accepting membership in the Florida Council.

He was most disturbed in that he felt that a number of the articles in the Frontier were below the dignity of the organization such as the Commission, particularly inasmuch as you and a number of other individuals he knew were most active on the Commission.

I am passing on to you some of his comments for I feel that the Council probably should revise The Southern Frontier, in so far as the editorial policy is concerned. He was particularly disturbed with the so-called poem, "Madam to You," and the editorial, "Will White Women be Generous." The latter was an editorial, an expression directly from the Commission and he, quite frankly, criticizes the tenor of that editorial. He expressed

COPY

the view that there were two sides to the question and that he felt such matters should be handled with a great deal of care.

I feel that The Southern Frontier, while it probably has done some good, is not the type of publication which should go to those individuals who we are finally getting into a position of thinking along the right lines, that is that members of minority races should have fair and just treatment. It is my opinion that the December issue of The Southern Frontier certainly would bring a lot of unnecessary criticism from people who might otherwise prove valuable factors in the work in which I know you are most interested. I think the publication which goes down the middle of the road probably would have the desired effectiveness.

I attempted to explain to my friend that I thought The Southern Frontier was an effort to give its readers the negro point of view. That was a lame explanation for I could not successfully defend against his criticism that the December issue certainly was not in keeping with the dignity which should surround our efforts.

I hope to see you in Atlanta on February 16.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRB

FRB/agw

COMMISSIONERS:
JOSEPH Y. CHENEY
CHAIRMAN
JAMES T. VOCELLE
SECRETARY
FRANCIS R. BRIDGES, JR.

FLORIDA PAROLE COMMISSION

ROY W. RUSSELL
DIRECTOR
BESSIE K. GRAY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TALLAHASSEE
March 24
1944

The Hon. Howard W. Odum
Chapel Hill
North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

I am certainly glad that you accepted election as president of the Southern Regional Council for certainly your associates on that Council need the type of advice you can give and the leadership which will naturally be brought into play.

If at any time I can be of assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Yours sincerely,

Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
P. O. Box 1107
Tallahassee, Florida

FRB/agw

Blind cc: Mr. Guy Johnson
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr. Johnson~~ Guy: This is for your information. Appreciated your courtesies of Wednesday and Thursday.

F. R. B.

COPY

COPY

STATE OF FLORIDA

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

Tallahassee

June 28, 1944

Hon. Francis R. Bridges,
Parole Commission,
Tallahassee, Florida.

Dear Francis:

I am attaching hereto for your consideration and study a copy of a letter which I have received from Dr. James E. Shepard, President of the North Carolina College for Negroes.

You will note that the letter suggests that a group of six people be appointed to represent Florida at a conference to be called in Raleigh or Durham the month of December.

I am inclined to feel that this proposed conference would be a good thing and might result in the solution of the very difficult problem. I once heard this man speak over the radio, and that particular address was sound and practical. I personally know that Governor Broughton of North Carolina thinks well of him.

Thanking you for giving me the benefit of your reaction to the attached, and with kind regards and best wishes, I am

Yours faithfully,

/s/ SPESSARD L. HOLLAND
Governor

COPY

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE FOR NEGROES

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 22, 1944

Honorable Spessard L. Holland, Governor
Office of the Governor
Tallahassee, Florida.

Dear Sir:

I desire to introduce myself to you. I am a southern Negro born in Raleigh, North Carolina. I now live in Durham which is twenty-six miles from where I was born. For twenty-one years I have been President of the North Carolina College for Negroes which is the only state supported liberal arts college for Negroes in the country. I think I can say frankly that I enjoy the respect and confidence of the people of North Carolina regardless of color or creed. It is an honor for me to claim the present Governor of North Carolina as a personal friend. With this introduction, I sincerely ask your consideration of this letter.

I believe that there is enough wisdom, sense of justice and fairness on the part of the white people in the South to, in a large measure, settle the perplexing racial problems which now confront us and to present to the people of this country a picture of co-operation and good will between the races which will be a stimulation and an inspiration to the people of the world. I believe that we can sit down at a conference table and work out suitable plans which the majority of southern states would endorse and foster. I believe it is worth a trial anyway to see if it can be done.

I realize fully that in the outset there are certain lines which can not be obliterated, but I wonder if in all other matters except segregation if we can't find a working solution. To this end I am writing to ask if you would be willing to appoint a group of six people who would represent your state meet in a conference to be called in Raleigh or Durham in the month of December. This committee would be equally divided between colored and white citizens, or, four whites and two Negroes, people who represent the highest ideals in your state, who would have commanding influence in helping to put over such a program that might be adopted. Being appointed by you, such a committee would have official sanction and prestige.

I realize, too, that such a conference would have to be carefully thought out and planned. I also realize that some reassurance should be given to the colored people of the South by a group of men and women who are unselfishly interested in their future success and well-being. Such assurance coming at the present time or in the very near future will stabilize sentiment and doubtless may prevent a great deal of unpleasantness in the future.

My whole aim in approaching this question and in writing you is that I am jealous of the good name of the South. I am especially proud of what the State of North Carolina is endeavoring to do for the advancement of my group.

Asking your kind consideration of this letter and hoping to receive any suggestions which you may have to offer, I am with respect

Sincerely yours,

/s/ James E. Shepard

James E. Shepard
President

July 5, 1944

Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
Florida Parole Commission
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Francis:

I am sorry that I was away on a trip when your letter of June 29 came in. I am frankly a little bit disturbed over Dr. Shepard's idea of calling a conference, but I think that I understand why he is doing it.

I believe that the plain truth of the matter is that Shepard was disappointed with the Durham conference of Negro leaders because he did not play a dominant role in it. Soon after the Durham conference, he made plans for another conference which would have brought in some of the Northern Negro leaders and would have competed with the Durham conference. It took a lot of hard talking by Gordon Hancock, P. B. Young, and others to get him to call it off. Shepard came into the Council and has been friendly, but not very well satisfied. As I see it, he is simply trying to do something which will enhance his own position with the political leaders of the South. I suppose he has a perfect right to call this conference, but I feel that it is not very good sportsmanship in view of the fact that the Council is trying to do precisely what he indicates in his letter to Governor Holland. I hope that several of the governors will raise the question of the relation of Shepard's conference to the Council.

Our first Council pamphlet, which describes the origin and purpose of the SRC, will be out Friday, and we will get copies of it, along with a personal letter, to all the governors of the South.

We have been snowed under with all kinds of activities, but everything is moving along as satisfactorily as might be expected. I am still hoping to have an excuse to come down your way.

Very sincerely,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosures

P. S. I am enclosing the correspondence which you asked me to return.

COMMISSIONERS:
JOSEPH Y. CHENEY
CHAIRMAN
JAMES T. VOCELLE
SECRETARY
FRANCIS R. BRIDGES, JR.

FLORIDA PAROLE COMMISSION

ROY W. RUSSELL
DIRECTOR
BESSIE K. GRAY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TALLAHASSEE

6/29/40

Dear Guy:

Am enclosing a letter I received today from Governor Holland, who has many times indicated a very definite interest in white-negro relations and, as you know, very definitely approved of my participation in the Regional Council work.

Thought you should see Shepard's letter for if such a meeting is held as he proposes it would be a duplication of effort, in my opinion. What is Shepard's attitude toward the Council? I'dlike to have the full low down before I reply to Governor Holland's letter and therefore I'll appreciate an early reply and your returning Holland's and Shepard's letters to me.

Haven't heard a peep out of you for sometime. Is everything moving along satisfactorily?

Most sincerely,

P.S. Please pardon the typography---Mother is very ill and therefore my nerves, as you can understand, aren't what they should be.

FRB

Box 1107

July 20, 1944

Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
Florida Parole Commission
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Francis:

Thanks for your letter of July 18. I am afraid that under our by-laws the annual meeting of the Council will have to stand on the second Wednesday of October (that is, October 11) unless the Executive Committee meets and decides otherwise. The Executive Committee should meet on October 10, probably during the morning, so even if you do have to be in New York on the morning of October 12, you might at least be able to attend the Executive Committee meeting.

Incidentally, we are probably going to need a meeting of the Executive Committee sometime in August. Let us know what dates you have open so that we can set one when you are sure to have a good chance of attending.

Thank you for your advice concerning Governor-elect Millard Caldwell. I am sending him a personal letter and a copy of our Pamphlet No. 1 today.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

COMMISSIONERS:
JOSEPH Y. CHENEY
CHAIRMAN
JAMES T. VOCELLE
SECRETARY
FRANCIS R. BRIDGES, JR.

FLORIDA PAROLE COMMISSION

ROY W. RUSSELL
DIRECTOR
BESSIE K. GRAY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TALLAHASSEE

July 18
1 9 4 4

Mr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Please let me know immediately when you contemplate holding the annual meeting of the Council and the executive meeting sessions prior thereto. The reason I am making this inquiry is that it now appears it will be necessary for me to be in New York City the morning of October 12 and, while the by-laws call for the annual meeting of the Council to be held on the second Wednesday in October, as I remember it, I am wondering if there could be a shift in the date for certainly I would like to be present, if possible.

I had a talk yesterday with Governor-elect Millard Caldwell. He has had some adverse criticism, apparently heard in North Carolina, concerning the Council, and let me urge that you send him under personal cover the pamphlet on the Southern Regional Council, its origin and purpose. He is an individual who has to be convinced and he is leery of professional social workers and leery of organizations for he has found out through experience that many organizations have as their aims other matters in addition to those which are publicized. I think Mr. Caldwell will be helpful to us if he is convinced that the approach the Council is making is a common-sense one.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank

FRB/agw

PO Box 1107

COMMISSIONERS:
JOSEPH Y. CHENEY
CHAIRMAN
JAMES T. VOCELLE
SECRETARY
FRANCIS R. BRIDGES, JR.

FLORIDA PAROLE COMMISSION

ROY W. RUSSELL
DIRECTOR
BESSIE K. GRAY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TALLAHASSEE

July 8
1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Thank you for your letter of July 5.

In connection with the issuance of the Council pamphlet, please send a copy to The Hon. Millard Caldwell, Tallahassee, Florida. Mr. Caldwell is the Democratic nominee for the Governorship of this State, and I hope that he will be as interested in the Council's work as has been Governor Holland.

In your letter to Mr. Caldwell, perhaps it might be well to explain to him that you are sending the information to him at my request.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRB/agw

COMMISSIONERS:
JOSEPH Y. CHENEY
CHAIRMAN
JAMES T. VOCELLE
SECRETARY
FRANCIS R. BRIDGES, JR.

FLORIDA PAROLE COMMISSION

ROY W. RUSSELL
DIRECTOR
BESSIE K. GRAY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TALLAHASSEE
July 22
1 9 4 4

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Ef'd
Cbw

This acknowledges your letter of July 20.

At this time it appears that any date in August will be satisfactory after August 12, but I would prefer not to be in Atlanta on Wednesday unless it is absolutely necessary in view of my Rotary session here.

Please give me at least two weeks' notice so that I can make the necessary transportation arrangements.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRB/agw

July 21, 1944

Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
Florida Parole Commission
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Francis:

Thanks for the copy of the letter which Governor Holland sent to Dr. James E. Shepard. It is quite a letter, and I imagine that Shepard will reply along the following lines: this conference is not intended to be in opposition to anything which is being done by the SRC, but is really an effort to help promote the aims of the Council. If he does make such a reply, I think there would be no harm in Governor Holland's designating some delegates, preferably persons who are members of the SRC.

Dr. Odum will be here tomorrow for a meeting of the Finance Committee, and he should be able to give me a little inside information about the Shepard conference. He wrote me the other day that he was going to see Shepard. He stated also that he was not particularly worried about this conference, that it probably could not do any harm, and that it might do some good if it is not run as a competition with the Council. I shall write to you again as soon as I have talked to him.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

COMMISSIONERS:
JOSEPH Y. CHENEY
CHAIRMAN
JAMES T. VOCELLE
SECRETARY
FRANCIS R. BRIDGES, JR.

FLORIDA PAROLE COMMISSION

ROY W. RUSSELL
DIRECTOR
BESSIE K. GRAY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TALLAHASSEE

July 19
1 9 4 4

Mr. Guy Johnson
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the letter which Governor Holland sent to President Shepard in North Carolina.

For your confidential information, I dictated for Governor Holland the information upon which this letter was based and, if you have not already done so, perhaps contact should be made in the various southern States with Governors who have undoubtedly been contacted by Shepard.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRB/agw
Enclosure

C O P Y C O P Y

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
(LETTERHEAD)

July 18, 1944

Dr.James E. Shepard, President
North Carolina College for Negroes
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Shepard:

This acknowledges your letter of June 22, and I regret there has been a considerable delay in my reply.

In view of my interest in interracial matters, I have given the suggestions contained in your letter much consideration. As you know, the Southern Regional Council has been organized within the last 12 months and has as its chief aim "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South." A number of Floridians are members of the Council and at this time five citizens of this State, two of them directly connected with the State Government, are members of the Council's Board of Directors. Those individuals are: Francis R. Bridges, Jr., of Tallahassee, an associate member of the Florida Parole Commission; H. L. Goode, a negro, a professional man of Pensacola; Mrs. Henry Havens, of Jacksonville, connected with the administrative department for the Florida Diocese of the Episcopal Church; Dr. Walter J. Matherly, of Gainesville, for many years on the faculty of the University of Florida; and G. B. Rogers, a negro, head of an insurance company. In addition, the late Dr. J. R. E. Lee, who, as you know, was for many years president of the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, was also a member of the board.

It appears to me that the Council has as its chief purpose the working out of interracial problems. The Council also is dealing with the broader aspects of the situation in so far as economics in the South are concerned, and I know the policy-making group of the Council is composed of leading southerners, both negro and white citizens who have sound ideas.

I have been reliably informed that the Council has been adequately financed for a five-year program, and believe it would be for the best interest of all concerned that there not at this time be organized a second group whose aims would be similar. The Council, as you know, absorbed the Interracial Commission at the request

of the Commission members for they felt that the Council's program gave every indication of successful progress in working out the difficult problems involved. Such an activity as you suggest might be harmful rather than helpful in a situation which requires, in my opinion, unified thinking.

With cordial greetings, I remain

Yours faithfully,

/s/ Spessard L. Holland

Governor

SLH/mw

July 25, 1944

Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
Florida Parole Commission
P. O. Box 1107
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Francis:

As soon as I hear from Charles Johnson I will let you know definitely about the Executive Commitee meeting. I will try to see that it comes after August 12 and not on a Wednesday.

Maybe I pulled a faux pas, as far as some of our Negro members are concerned, in my letter to you of July 21 when I said that if Shepard replies so and so, there would be no harm in the Governor's designating some delegates, preferably members of the SRC. I had a chance to discuss Shepard's conference with several Negroes last Saturday, and it seems that their attitude about Shepard and his verbal willingness to by-pass the segregation issue is such that they feel that "no self-respecting Negro member of the Council can afford to have anything to do with Shepard's conference."

Apparently, then, some of the Negro members of the Council would rather not be put on the spot by being asked to be delegates to Shepard's conference. I pass this on to you so that you will see the delicate points of interracial etiquette which are involved. Damn it all, Francis, I hope I live through this job and can retire to a peaceful old age with a feeling that I have done a little bit of good.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

COMMISSIONERS:
JOSEPH Y. CHENEY
CHAIRMAN
JAMES T. VOCELLE
SECRETARY
FRANCIS R. BRIDGES, JR.

FLORIDA PAROLE COMMISSION

ROY W. RUSSELL
DIRECTOR
BESSIE K. GRAY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TALLAHASSEE

August 8
1944

Mr. Guy Johnson
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

If you have not already done so, I hope you can read Thurman Sensing's recent article on "The South Has No Race Problem," which appeared in the Manufacturer's Record. Sensing is director of research for the Southern States' Industrial Council, Nashville, and he certainly has, in my opinion, a good approach to this problem.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRB/agw

August 15, 1944

Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
Box 1107
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Francis:

Thanks very much for your letter of August 10. I felt reasonably sure that Governor Holland would do everything he could to see that the law takes its course in the assault case.

As you say, the crime was an unusually vicious one, and I hope that the guilty persons will be speedily dealt with by the courts without any effort on anyone's part to make martyrs of them.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

COMMISSIONERS:
JOSEPH Y. CHENEY
CHAIRMAN
JAMES T. VOCELLE
SECRETARY
FRANCIS R. BRIDGES, JR.

FLORIDA PAROLE COMMISSION

TALLAHASSEE

ROY W. RUSSELL
DIRECTOR
BESSIE K. GRAY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

August 10
1 9 4 4

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

This acknowledges your letter of August 9.

The case Phillips wrote you about is one of the worst in the history of this State but there has been every assurance by Governor Holland that the negroes will be protected. As I understand it, it is his plan to have the State Guard protect these men and, for your information, in a West Florida case where a negro killed a sheriff and a deputy sheriff, the guard performed in excellent fashion during two trials.

It may be that a change of venue will be approved in this case but, under the Florida law, the trial would have to be held in a county of this circuit. I do not think, however, that you need to worry concerning lynching for Governor Holland is very sincere and I am sure will make every effort to protect these three men.

My only hope is that there will be no injection into the case of a lot of stuff by the northern organizations concerning negroes. This was an actual rape case in which the three negroes, driving an automobile, forced the white woman, unfortunately driving alone in her automobile, off the road. They all attacked her, wounded her twice with gun fire, and, believing her dead, piled brush on her body and left the vicinity. The negroes were captured the next day and at that time there was a lynching threat in the county in which they were captured but the efficient action

by State Highway Patrolmen in spiriting them to the State Prison at Raiford stopped that threat.

What I am hoping is that there will be speedy justice in this case for if there is certainly there will be more respect for the law in the element which might consider lynching.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRB/agw

September 23, 1944

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
P. O. Box 1107
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Francis:

I have been so swamped with work lately that I have not even had time to read the papers. Please drop me a line and tell me the latest developments in the rape case. I understand that some organizations are raising questions of the violation of civil liberties. In fact, one of them has tried to get us to join in some kind of protest. Our reply is that we rely upon the advice of our members who are in a position to know the facts and factors involved. Give me a little "advice" for our records.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM	X	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	
SPECIAL SERVICE		SHIP RADIOGRAM	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206-B

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

September 27, 1944

Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
P. O. Box 1107
Tallahassee, Florida

GLAD FOR GOVERNOR TO MAKE MY LETTER PUBLIC.

Guy B. Johnson

PAID
Charge to: Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building

Civil Rights
lynching prevented

October 4, 1944

Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
P. O. Box 1107
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Francis:

Your letter of last week was very helpful. As I wired you, I was glad for Governor Holland to make my letter public.

I have received a very good letter from Governor Holland in response to my letter to him.

Keep up the good work.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

COMMISSIONERS:
JOSEPH Y. CHENEY
CHAIRMAN
JAMES T. VOCELLE
SECRETARY
FRANCIS R. BRIDGES, JR.

FLORIDA PAROLE COMMISSION

ROY W. RUSSELL
DIRECTOR
BESSIE K. GRAY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TALLAHASSEE

September 26
1 9 4 4

AIR MAIL

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I think the two clippings of editorials from the Tampa Tribune which I am enclosing explain the situation very well in connection with the trial and conviction of the three negroes for the criminal assault of a white woman.

Florida's Governor acted courageously in this case. If the negroes had been taken to Quincy, there would have been bloodshed. They were fully protected at Gainesville and were given every right, irrespective of the erroneous reports which have been broadcast by misinformed persons or some individuals who delight in waving a red flag. Certainly their actions have been a disservice to interracial cooperation in Florida. There is no question about their guilt and the crime, as I wrote you before, was the worst of its type in the history of the South, in my opinion. The details will be given you by me when I next see you. Frankly, I do not want to put them in print.

The Governor appreciates your letter for it was the first he had received of the type from a racial or interracial group. I suggested that the letter be made public along with his reply to you. He is holding up his reply to you pending word from you if it will be satisfactory to you that the letter be used. Quite frankly, I think it would be fine, fine publicity for the Council, for its use probably will convince a number of individuals of high standing that the Council has the right idea concerning mores of the Southland.

Of course, I know this case will be taken to the United States Supreme Court and probably a new trial will be ordered in view of the fact that Judge Walker had the courage of his convictions to take the plea and sentence the individuals to death rather than prolong the danger of trouble by requiring a jury trial. The judge did not have to take the plea and most of them would not have done so.

Please advise immediately if you agree to the use of your letter by Governor Holland, particularly in the light of the publicity of adverse criticism against him in this case.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRB/agw

Obstructing Justice

Florida, through its governor and civil and military authorities, has just given a demonstration of quick justice, avoiding mob violence. Because of the prompt action of the governor, three confessed negro rapists, perpetrators of a brutal crime, were saved from a threatened lynching. The prisoners were safely incarcerated at Raiford, the trial was moved from the scene of the crime to Gainesville, it was promptly proceeded with armed guards on duty to prevent interference with the due process of law. The men, admitting their guilt and identified by the victim, were convicted, sentenced to death and the governor forthwith set the date for the execution. By this process, the state was spared the obloquy of a lynching and justice triumphed over mob law.

What happens now? A national organization employed a lawyer to interpose all possible delay in the infliction of the just sentence. Appeal was made to the Supreme Court. The governor's office is flooded with telegrams from negro organizations and white sentimentalists throughout the country, pleading for a stay or commutation. The negroes were to be executed Monday. Attorney General Watson moved that the appeal be dismissed, on the proper ground that it could "serve no purpose other than to obstruct justice." The Supreme Court will hear the motion to dismiss next Monday. If it is not dismissed the defense council will have the benefit of the statutory period to perfect appeal and there will be the usual delays incident to appellate procedure.

All this is extremely discouraging to those who have been insisting that ,in cases of such heinous nature as to provoke public indignation, acceleration of the legal procedure, together with adequate protection of the criminal, will prevent mob violence.

State Attorney Parker, who conducted the prosecution of the three rapists, said: "If this case isn't decided promptly there won't be any more trials for crimes of this nature in the future." In view of the aggravated circumstances of this case, the State Attorney's remark is well-founded. The law's delay is responsible for many lynchings. Outside interference in the process of Florida justice is both deplorable and censurable.—Tampa Tribune.

The Case of the Rapists

We commend Attorney Bradford G Williams, of Lakeland, on his request for withdrawal as counsel for the three negro rapists. While Mr Williams had every right to accept retainer in this as in any other case, he must realize that it is rather undesirable employment.

The negroes are entitled to the benefit of their legal rights, including representation by counsel. However, since their guilt is confessed and confirmed, nothing is to be gained by the usual resort to technical delays. Prompt review of the case by the Supreme Court should be sufficient.—Tampa Tribune.

November 28, 1944

Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
Box 1107
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. ~~Bridges~~ Francis:

Thank you for your letter of November 20 which came while I was away on Council business in Richmond, Washington, and Chattanooga.

I too, wish that we had had more meetings of the Executive Committee. On at least two occasions I have discussed with the Chairman the advisability of getting the Committee together but there were delays and conflicting engagements. Then too, I have not known just how much to take matters into my own hands and get a meeting called by three members of the Committee. On one occasion when I took a certain course which I thought was up to me to take I was called down by Miss Wilkins because she thought I had exceeded my authority. And so time has lagged along while I have devoted almost seven days a week to doing the things that seemed to be crying for attention. However, I am just a bit sick over the fact that we did not get several meetings of the Executive Committee so that it could share some of the burdens and problems which have been on us.

As things have turned out, that is, since we are unable to get the speakers we wanted for a public session it is easy to see now that we should have been better off if we had called a Board meeting in September and had had the annual meeting in October as originally scheduled. However, since the Board at its special meeting in April made no provision for additional regular meetings, any meeting other than the post-member meeting would have to be called by the President. I talked to Dr. Odum on the telephone the other day about this and his judgment was that since such a meeting would probably involve a three day stay in Atlanta it would be almost impossible to get a fair representation.

I hope that one of the first things the Executive Committee does is to take formal action setting definite meeting times, bi-monthly or quarterly, so that the meetings will be automatically scheduled and I will not be in the position of wondering whether I am neglecting my duty or exceeding my authority. I hope also that the Board will set at least one other regular meeting time.

It will be good to see you on December 5. If you arrive on December 4 and have any time I hope we can get together for a while.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

COMMISSIONERS
JOSEPH Y. CHENEY
CHAIRMAN
JAMES T. VOCELLE
SECRETARY
FRANCIS R. BRIDGES, JR.

FLORIDA PAROLE COMMISSION

TALLAHASSEE

ROY W. RUSSELL
DIRECTOR
BESSIE K. GRAY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

November 20
1 9 4 4

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Mrs. Wilkins sent me a copy of her letter, dated November 17, in which she suggests a meeting of the Board of Directors prior to the annual Council meeting.

I certainly think that such a procedure is most necessary if Council activities are to be successful.

Quite frankly, I too have been somewhat disturbed in that the Executive Committee has not been called into the picture for many months.

I will see you in Atlanta the morning of December 5 for I am assuming the Executive Committee meeting will be held on that date.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRB/agw

cc: Mrs. Josephine Wilkins
818 Forsyth Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Bridges

COMMISSIONERS:
JOSEPH Y. CHENEY
CHAIRMAN
JAMES T. VOCELLE
SECRETARY
FRANCIS R. BRIDGES, JR.

FLORIDA PAROLE COMMISSION

ROY W. RUSSELL
DIRECTOR
BESSIE K. GRAY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TALLAHASSEE

1/2/45

Dear Guy:

Appreciate, a great deal, your comment in your letter of December 29 concerning what I may have been able to help you in your very difficult task.

Although I've resigned from the Council membership please do not hesitate to ask me at any time for any help I can give you personally.

Dr. Odom writes he would like to use the letter in the Frontier. That will be entirely satisfactory to me, if you care to do so. I think this also answers your inquiry in your letter. The reasoning I advance may help some one to get right; I hope so, unless I'm haywire.

Mae and I certainly are looking forward to the Tallahassee visit. Please let me know so I can get my plans in shape to coincide with yours.

Pardon the typography---today is inauguration day in Florida and I've no stenographic help.

Most sincerely,

Frances

State-Planters
BANK AND TRUST COMPANY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
ESTABLISHED 1865

July 10, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710, Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd and for enclosing a reprint of your article, "Southern Offensive," which is a reply to the two articles that appeared in the spring issue of "Common Ground."

I have been able to locate the copy of "Common Ground" and it is returned herewith.

As yet I have not had an opportunity to read your article but am looking forward to doing so this evening and I am sure I will find it worth while.

With kindest regards, believe me,

Cordially yours,

Wilson M. Brown

WMB:PL
Enc.

May 4, 1945

Mr. Wilson M. Brown
State Planters Bank and Trust Company
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brown:

Dr. Johnson has asked me to acknowledge your letter of April 26, since it was necessary for him to go out of town before he could give proper attention to it. He will be back in the office early next week, and he asked me to tell you that he will answer the letters from you and Mr. Dabney as soon as possible after he returns.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

State-Planters
BANK AND TRUST COMPANY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
ESTABLISHED 1865

May 31, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

This is my first opportunity to acknowledge your letter of the 8th as I have not been well and have been away on a vacation. Am glad to say that I feel fit once again.

I also have a copy of V. Dabney's letter of May 11th to you, and it seems that your, his and my views on the position the Council should take on segregation are very much in agreement. Thanks very much for your clear and complete letter.

With kindest regards, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

Wilson M. Brown

WMB:PL

CC: Mr. Virginius Dabney
Dr. Howard W. Odum

ESTABLISHED 1865

State-Planters
BANK AND TRUST COMPANY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

May 11, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of May 8th addressed to Mr. Wilson Brown, which was received in his absence on account of sickness, will be called to his attention on his return to his desk.

Yours very truly,

Pattie Lacy

Secretary to Mr. Brown

PL

May 8, 1945

Mr. Wilson M. Brown
State Planters Bank and Trust Company
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brown:

Dr. Reid and I have received your letter of April 26 and Mr. Virginius Dabney's letter of April 28. Since you and Mr. Dabney raised the same questions, I am writing identical letters to you and him.

Let me discuss first your point concerning the circulation of Dr. Alexander's article. Clark Foreman suggested, as you observed in the minutes on pages 4 and 5, that the Council purchase a hundred thousand reprints of the article and circulate it as the Council's accepted policy on segregation. This was objected to, and the motion was dropped. During the discussion I stated that we had thought of sending the article to members of the Council, but that we could certainly not undertake to distribute a hundred thousand. Later, page 7 of the minutes, it was voted "that the Executive Directors be directed to procure and circulate as many reprints of the Harper's article by Dr. Will W. Alexander as the Council's funds and the paper situation will permit." In accordance with this action, we negotiated with Harper's for reprints. We finally got permission to reprint not more than 5,000. The Rosenwald Fund is taking a thousand of these, and another organization will want at least a thousand, leaving us about three thousand. It has been my intention all along to send the reprint to members of the Council and to announce to the readers of Southern Frontier that we have copies of the reprint available on request.

I agree with you that if the Council gets branded as an organization which is primarily concerned with the abolition of segregation, its effectiveness will be greatly hampered, but I do not feel that the circulation of Dr. Alexander's article is likely to put the Council in this category. There are people who stand against us and who will continue to do so merely because we are a bi-racial organization. For example, certain persons in Florida recently fought the efforts of Negroes to register as Democrats by whispering around that the Southern Regional Council was financing the Negroes who were attempting to register. Likewise Eugene Talmadge's Statesman blasts forth at "Ralph McGill's Interracial Council" in almost every issue. This sort of thing will probably go on regardless of what we say or do.

Now for the question which you raised concerning the statement at the beginning of the memorandum on the projected study of segregation which was submitted to the Board meeting by Dr. Reid. This memorandum was presented for information and discussion only, and there was no action upon it as such. It is not for publication, and was inserted in the Board minutes as a matter of record. In view of the long discussion of segregation in connection with the question of inviting Mr. Mark Ethridge to accept the presidency, culminating in Dr. Mays' statement, which seemed to meet with general approval, namely, that "the Council should be known by its works," I am sure that there would have been immediate objection by some of the Board members if they had felt that the presentation of the memorandum committed the Council officially to the opening statement.

I considered the memorandum a very tentative one but felt that it should be given to the Board in the hope that the Board members would offer some verydefinite suggestions as to how the study should be conducted. I concede that the opening statement violates good research procedure because, in effect, it states possible conclusions of the study before the study is made. I can assure you that the final research memorandum will be as free from value judgments as possible and that it will have the approval of the Board or of the Executive Committee and whatever research committee is set up before it becomes an official statement of the Council's plan for a study of segregation and discrimination. As a matter of fact, practically all of the details, such as scope of the study, the time schedule, and budget, remain to be worked out. I am sure that Dr. Reid and I agree that there is no point in making the study unless it can be impartial and objective.

We appreciate your criticisms. If more of our members would come forth with their honest criticisms perhaps we could do a better job for the Council.

Very sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j
cc: Dr. Howard W. Odum

State-Planters
BANK AND TRUST COMPANY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
ESTABLISHED 1865

April 26, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson and Dr. Reid:

While Mr. Virginius Dabney could not be present at the January 31st directors meeting, he is naturally very much interested and both he and I have reviewed the minutes and the memoranda which we received a day or two ago.

When the question of segregation was discussed, I recall that I expressed agreement with Dr. Gordon Hancock's view that we should not dissipate our energies by making an expensive and detailed study of this problem at this time, and I am even more convinced of this after reading carefully Dr. Reid's memorandum. He states in his first paragraph, "acceptance of the principle of segregation or of established segregation is not only wrong but impolitic and inexpedient; and, third, that there is an immediate need for ignoring most of the rationalizations regarding segregation and to work out definite techniques and programs for immediate practice." I think that the acceptance of the principle of segregation is both politic and expedient in a number of instances and in many places and that one is not ignoring the rationalisations but, on the contrary, is doing a good bit of rationalizing when he concludes that an acceptance of the fact (segregation) is impolitic and inexpedient. If the Southern Regional Council, along with other organizations, devotes $68,600 to an exhaustive study of segregation and spends not only a good bit of its funds but a large portion of its energies in fighting segregation, I do not think we will win the battle but lose the war -- we will lose both the battle and the war.

Let's fight the absurd extremes of segregation wherever and whenever we can, but do not let us attempt the impossible and thereby irreparably hurt rather than help the cause in which we are all interested.

I do not know whether the Harper's article by Dr. Will Alexander, which we voted to reprint, has been reprinted and circulated. It was not my intention to vote for any wide circulation of this article as I feel that following this course would at this stage be harmful rather than helpful to the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Wm M Brown

Wilson M. Brown

WMB:PL
CC: Dr. Howard W. Odum
Mr. Virginius Dabney

October 1, 1946

Mr. Wilson M. Brown
State-Planters Bank and Trust Company
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brown:

We are delighted to send you two copies of the August issue of NEW SOUTH, containing Hodding Carter's article "A Southerner Looks at the South."

Don't forget to save November 12-13 for our Board of Directors and annual member meeting!

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

Enclosures
(Duplex envelope)

ESTABLISHED 1865

State-Planters
BANK AND TRUST COMPANY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

September 28, 1946

RECEIVED
SEP 30 1946
Southern Regional Council

Miss Emily Clay, Secretary
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

I lost my copy of Hodding Carter's article from the New York Time Magazine which was reprinted in the "New South"-- as a matter of fact, I never had an opportunity to finish reading it before it was mislaid.

Can you send me two copies of this article?

With kind regards, believe me,

Cordially yours,

Wilson M. Brown

WMB:PL

October 28, 1946

Mr. Wilson M. Brown
State-Planters Bank & Trust Co.
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brown:

Thank you for your letter of October 22. We are delighted that you are willing to continue on our Board of Directors.

We are sending your son - Wilson M. Brown, Jr. - a package containing most of the back publications of the Council and we are enrolling him as an associate member. A bill to cover these items is enclosed. The dues payment will cover dues for 1947, since it is our practice to credit those who join this late in the year with dues for the next year. We are delighted to have your son as a member and we hope that the literature will be helpful to him in his work at Princeton University.

With highest regards and best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

CC - Wilson M. Brown, Jr.

Return to WBJ

State-Planters
BANK AND TRUST COMPANY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

ESTABLISHED 1865

October 22,1946

RECEIVED
OCT 24 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr.Guy B.Johnson,Executive Director
Southern Regional Council,Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave.N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr.Johnson:

It was kind of you to advise me in your letter of the twentieth that you wish me to stay on the Board despite my poor attendance. I will,therefore, be glad to continue provided I am re-elected, and while it is not going to be possible for me to be with you all on November twelfth or thirteenth, I hope to be able to attend the first subsequent meeting.

My son,Wilson M.Brown,Jr.whose address is No.6 North Dod Hall, Princeton University, Princeton,N.J. is in the Princeton School of Public and International Affairs, and this semester is studying racial relations, or some similar subject. He is especially anxious to have the Southern Regional Council's publications, both current and back, and if you can send these to him I will appreciate it very much. Please bill me for the copies--probably the best thing to do is to make him a member and if this is in order please let me know the amount of his annual dues and I will send check. Before the end of the semester he will have to write quite a paper and is thinking, rather vaguely at this time, of some such subject as liberal leadership in the South, with special emphasis on white leaders who have taken a constructive position on race problems.

With kindest regards, believe me,

Very truly yours

Wm Brown

WMB-S

Wilson M.Brown

CC to Wilson M.Brown,Jr.
Princeton University
Princeton, N.J.

Mr. Wilson M. Brown
State Planters Bank and Trust Co.
Richmond 14, Virginia

October 28, 1946

Literature.....for Mr. Wilson M. Brown, Jr.....$1.00

SRC dues, 1947 " " " " " ".....2.00

$3.00

Wilson M. Brown Jr
West North Street
Princeton University
Princeton, N.J.

RECEIVED
NOV 1 1946
Southern Regional Council

State-Planters
BANK AND TRUST COMPANY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

ESTABLISHED 1865

October 30,1946

RECEIVED
NOV 1 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr.Guy B.Johnson,Executive Director
Southern Regional Council,Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr.Johnson:

Thank you very much for your letter of the 28th and for sending most of your back publications to my son at Princeton. I am enclosing check $3.00 covering this literature and his dues payment as an associate member from now through 1947.

Miss Clay —

With kindest regards,

Very truly yours

Wm Brown

Wilson M.Brown

WMB-S
enc

November 17, 1949

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville 17, Tennessee

Dear Paul:

The Council's annual membership meeting on November 9, upon the recommendation of the nominating committee, elected you to the Board of Directors. The Board is composed of 72 persons, drawn from over the South and widely representative of the people of the region. It meets ordinarily once a year, with travel expenses paid. It rests the function of supervision of the staff of the Council upon the Board's executive committee, made up of seven persons plus the officers of the Council.

I enclose a list of the present Board members and of the fourteen persons elected the other day. Board membership is held for varying periods. The term to which you were elected expires in 1951.

I warmly hope that you can give us in this way the benefit of your advice and experience. This is a time when the thoughtful working together of southern people is more needed than ever.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

November 17, 1949

Mr. A. T. Butler
1515 Harden Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Butler:

The Council's annual membership meeting on November 9, upon the recommendation of the nominating committee, elected you to the Board of Directors. The Board is composed of 72 persons, drawn from over the South and widely representative of the people of the region. It meets ordinarily once a year, with travel expenses paid. It rests the function of supervision of the staff of the Council upon the Board's executive committee, made up of seven persons plus the officers of the Council.

I enclose a list of the present Board members and of the fourteen persons elected the other day. Board membership is held for varying periods. The term to which you were elected expires in 1953.

I warmly hope that you can give us in this way the benefit of your advice and experience. This is a time when the thoughtful working together of southern people is more needed than ever.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

AMcK

November 18, 1949

Mr. Louis E. Burnham
526 Masonic Temple Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
(Please forward)

Dear Mr. Burnham:

By reason of a change made in the by-laws of the Southern Regional Council at the November, 1949, meeting, members of the Board of Directors residing outside of the South lose membership on the Board.

We are grateful for your long interest in the Council, and hope that you will continue to lend us your advice and assistance.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

State-Planters
BANK AND TRUST COMPANY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
ESTABLISHED 1865

Bd mem.

RECEIVED
DEC 26 1951
Southern Regional Council

December 21, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for your kind letter of the eighteenth. In view of my poor attendance in recent years, it's good for the Council that my maximum term as a Director has expired.

I hope that John Page Williams and the other good, new members who were elected to the Board will be able to attend more regularly and assure you of my continuing interest in and friendship for the Council.

I'm going to read the statement which the Board and the membership adopted at the first opportunity.

With every good wish for the Council and hoping you have a Merry Christmas and a happy 1952, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

Wilson Brown

Wilson M. Brown

WMB:k

December 18, 1951

Mr. Wilson M. Brown
State Planters Bank & Trust Co.
Richmond 14, Va.

Dear Mr. Brown:

We were sorry not to have you at the annual meeting but appreciated your kind letter.

I have now the reluctant duty of letting you know that the annual meeting this year marked the end of your second four-year term as a member of the Board of Directors of the Council, and that under the by-laws we couldn't re-elect you. They do let us re-elect after a period of being off the Board, and I will greatly hope that some future nominating committee will avail itself of that opening.

Your friendship has been of real importance to the Council, and I am grateful for it.

You will be interested in the statement which the Board and the membership adopted.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

SRC - Bd of Dirs - Membership

November 29, 1949

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
Tennessee Director
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville 17, Tenn.

Dear Paul:

Do come ahead and sit on our Board. We need you!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

SR1 - Bd of Dirs - Membership

November 18, 1949

Mr. George Baldanzi, Director
Southern Organizing Drive
C I O
79½ Popler Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Baldanzi:

Our Council has for some time felt the need of strengthening labor representation on its Board of Directors.

We were all delighted when, the other day at the annual meeting, the nominating committee brought in the name of Mr. Paul Christopher at Knoxville to be one of the 72-man Board of Directors of the Council, and he was duly elected. I do hope that notwithstanding the press of Tennessee activity, it will be possible for Mr. Christopher to accept a place on our Board. He won't be required to come to Atlanta but once a year (and we pay his travel expenses). We do really need his help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

CYPRESS 5065

SRC Board members

Organizing Committee

79½ POPLAR STREET, N. W.

ATLANTA 3, GA.

GEORGE BALDANZI
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

JOHN V. RIFFE
ASST. NAT'L DIRECTOR

November 19, 1949

RECEIVED
NOV 21 1949
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge your letter of the 18th in which you inform me that Mr. Paul Christopher has been elected to the Council's Board of Directors.

I certainly have no objection to Mr. Christopher's acceptance of this position.

Sincerely yours,

George Baldanzi

George Baldanzi
National Director

RECEIVED
NOV 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

I received copy. Thanks. GSM

RECEIVED
NOV 23 1949
Southern Regional Council

December 27, 1951

Mr. Paul Christopher
216 Flatiron Bldg.
Knoxville, Tenn.

Dear Paul:

I now have confirmation from the other members of the Executive Committee as to the terms of office of the newly elected Board members. They put you, as you may recall, in the class of 1955. This is merely official notice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

X

December 10, 1951

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
216 Flatiron Bldg.
Knoxville 17, Tenn.

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your letter of December 3. Get here if you can.

I am reluctant to believe that Charles Johnson is refusing to negotiate. Check that directly with him.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
STATE DIRECTOR, TENNESSEE

COURTNEY K. SHILL
ASSISTANT STATE DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
DEC 5 1951
Southern Regional Counc

Organizing Committee

216 FLATIRON BUILDING
KNOXVILLE 17, TENN.

NATIONAL OFFICE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JOHN V. RIFFE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

ORAL L. GARRISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

PHONE 2-6780

December 3, 1951

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

There is a good chance I will have to miss the SRC Board meeting on December 11th and the annual membership meeting on December 12th.

We are having trouble with Dr. Charles Johnson, President of Fisk University. He won't negotiate. We are having a meeting December 11th of Local #1410, Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee, composed of members employed on the Fisk campus, laundry and cafeteria. It looks like a strike will be voted, and then if Charlie won't negotiate we will deal with him as with any other employer who refuses to deal with the union.

I think it would do Fisk a great deal of harm, and Charlie would be risking a reputation. Some of his friends ought to talk to him.

Being a member of the Executive Committee I could hardly vote other than affirmatively to approve the Committee's report to the Board, copy of which came today, and my vote may be recorded in favor of approval.

With best wishes and warm personal regards, I am

Fraternally and sincerely,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher
Tennessee Director

PRC:me

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
STATE DIRECTOR, TENNESSEE

Christopher

PHONE 2-6780

RECEIVED
DEC 18 1951

CIO

Organizing Committee

216 FLATIRON BUILDING
KNOXVILLE 17, TENN.

NATIONAL OFFICE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JOHN V. RIFFE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

ORAL L. GARRISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

December 17, 1951

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Office of the President
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Upon my return to Knoxville, following my telephone conversation with you between Atlanta and Nashville on December 11, I read your letter of December 10th.

You will recall that I told you on the telephone that the membership of Local #1410, Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee, was scheduled to meet that same evening for the purpose of considering possible strike action. You are now advised that a strike vote was taken in this meeting, and the executive officers of the Local have been empowered to call a strike when and if such action is necessary. This decision was reached when the members decided that a strike was probably the only method they could employ to get the management of Fisk to negotiate a contract.

Let me point out to you, Dr. Johnson, that the employees of Fisk who are members of the union here involved are now working without a contract. Last Spring, when they decided to switch their affiliation from the A. F. of L. to the CIO, they agreed to live out the terms of the then current contract between the AFL and Fisk University. You likewise agreed to this, and recognized their CIO union as the successor bargaining agent. This contract provided for expiration July 1, 1951.

When negotiations prior to July 1 for a new contract resulted in no agreement the members of the union found themselves without benefit of a working contract after July 1. According to my information, and please correct me if this is wrong, you instituted certain unilateral wage increases applicable to selected classifications after July 1. If this is true, I respectfully submit that such a practice is not consonant with what is generally known as bargaining in good faith. In any case, the union members were not satisfied.

Repeated efforts have been made by the union to get back into negotiations. All have been to no avail. I was told by Mr. Shill, sent to see you personally by the writer, that you preferred to wait until after the 1951 Fall School Term began in September to resume negotiations, but you promised definitely to start negotiations again within a month. This was in August. Mr. Shill

also informed me that you assured him consideration would then be given to those employees whose wages had not been increased when the unilateral wage adjustments referred to above were made in July.

Mr. F. F. Haubner of our Nashville office received the same report from Mr. Shill, as did the union members in one of the meetings. This promise was accepted in good faith by the union members and officers and representatives. In September, accordingly, Mr. Haubner began trying to persuade you and your Mr. Creswell to agree to sit down and resume bargaining conferences.

Mr. Haubner was put off. He then began making careful notes of each telephone call, and reported to the members at each subsequent regular meeting the negative results. He says you definitely promised to start negotiations again around the middle of October. He called again and again. You were out of town a great deal, and we realize that Mr. Creswell is not possessed with the authority to speak for the University, but Mr. Haubner states that he got the run-around and some wonderful lessons in buck-passing.

Now you say, Dr. Johnson, that you will resume negotiations "within the school year". That could mean as far ahead as next June. This is not satisfactory.

These men and women are working without a contract. However desirable it is that the employees of other universities and colleges in Nashville organize, the absence of such organization at this time does not absolve the Fisk University management from the moral obligation, or otherwise, to bargain with Local #1410, Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee, CIO.

A number of employees have been discharged. I am told that some of the employees are paid as little as 33¢ per hour now. This is deplorable, to say the least, and the fact that Fisk University is paying such substandard wages to any of its employees is certainly justification enough for the union to insist upon immediate resumption of negotiations.

We are aware of the fact that you have budget problems, but your continued refusal to resume negotiations hardly encourages the union to be more sympathetic with such problems. Certainly there are areas of agreement which can be explored in bargaining sessions, but as long as there are no negotiations you are going to be looked upon more and more as an employer. And worse, if I may risk the suggestion, you will be looked upon as an employer who exploits labor, and in this case, one who exploits people of his own race in spite of the national reputation you have earned as a friend of the Negro.

I fully appreciate the fact, Dr. Johnson, that your blood may boil a bit when you have read this communication. It is not intended to produce this result. I am writing to you very candidly, and hope you will receive this expression in the same good spirit which prompts me to write. In a sense, this is written as one who highly values your personal friendship, but I also write as a representative of labor, in behalf of the employees over whom you have supervision.

I earnestly suggest that you find the time to start negotiations right away. That is the way to avoid a strike, which none of us want to see. Unless you are willing to do this I am afraid there is little else I can do, and my sympathies would all be in favor of the union members should strike action follow.

The union stands ready and willing to meet at the bargaining table at any time, and I sincerely hope you will call Mr. Haubner and advise him of any early convenient date to resume negotiations.

Awaiting your advice, I am, with every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Paul R. Christopher
Tennessee Director

PRC:llr

CC: Milton Murray
P. P. Haubner
George Mitchell
Daniel Butler

COPY

RECEIVED
DEC 11 1951
Southern Regional Council

10 December 1951

Dear Mr. Christopher:

While I was in New York for a meeting with a special committee of our Trustees on our financial situation, I received a long distance call from our mutual friend, Dr. George Mitchell in Atlanta, who had heard from you to the effect that you were having trouble with Fisk, and were reasonably certain that a strike would be voted at an early meeting. It was a friendly gesture on the part of Dr. Mitchell which I appreciated very much, but I confess that I was somewhat surprized at the attitude that appears to color this situation. It led me to believe that you could not personally, have understood the matter. It would have been quite simple to exchange views by telephone even if the problems themselves were difficult.

I gave my word to the representatives of the organization that negotiations would be resumed within the year. They were suspended when there was no willingness at any point to recognize the financial inability of the school to meet the new demands of the Union. We were then under a forty thousand dollar deficit and facing a larger one for the new school year. We are not a commercial establishment, and the only two sources of income are student tuitions and contributions.

Our enrollment has dropped by another 140 or 150 this year, which means an actual income less of some $60,000 a year, since 1949-50. Most of my time is consumed in trying to raise this money from the public, and it is very largely this contingency that determined our position in this matter.

Our budget is controlled by a committee of the Board of Trustees, and I am not free personally to incur legal obligations against a budget in excess of available resources. That is why I could not, at the moment of your representatives decision, resume these negotiations. But because I believe soundly in the principles of collective bargaining, and have been interested in our employees developing in labor education, I gave assurances of continuing these formal relations within the year.

You realize that recognition of an organization of the employees of the school was one of my first acts as administrator; that we were committed to the terms under which we were working, and to wage adjustments; that of some fourteen or more educational institutions in Nashville, we are the only one that has encouraged such an organization.

I fail utterly to see the moral justification of a strike, or any real good

that would be done the Union or us by such action.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

Mr. Paul Christopher
CIO Organizing Committee
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville 17, Tennessee

CSJ/jds

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
STATE DIRECTOR, TENNESSEE

COURTNEY K. SHILL
ASSISTANT STATE DIRECTOR

Ch, wise
also staff reports

Organizing Committee

216 FLATIRON BUILDING
KNOXVILLE 17, TENN.

NATIONAL OFFICE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JOHN V. RIFFE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
ORAL L. GARRISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

PHONE 2-6780

RECEIVED
FEB 15 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 14, 1952

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for your note of February 11.

I like the idea of a short report summarizing the activities of the SRC staff each month. It is amazing how much work is being done. I guess the results which are apparent are not too encouraging, but you and I and others know the seeds will be productive.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher

PRC:llr

ch, misc.

May 1, 1952

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
CIO Organizing Committee
216 Flatiron Bldg.
Knoxville 17, Tenn.

Dear Paul:

The Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces is an all right outfit. They can't and won't take stands ahead of what their Community Chest supported agencies would be for. They are making a survey of the needs of the Negro community in Birmingham. It isn't exactly our style of survey, because instead of getting citizens to do it themselves, they are, as I understand it, engaging paid experts and paid leg people. We have been consulted here and there in what they are doing, and I believe they are leaning heavily on a good group at Chapel Hill for advice also.

The questionnaire sounds to me timid and too little regardful of the right of Negro citizens to be in jobs and on police forces, "wise" or "unwise."

I think your plan of getting some of our good friends at Knoxville to answer it is a good one.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
STATE DIRECTOR, TENNESSEE

COURTNEY K. SHILL
ASSISTANT STATE DIRECTOR

Organizing Committee

216 FLATIRON BUILDING
KNOXVILLE 17, TENN.

PHONE 2-6780

NATIONAL OFFICE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JOHN V. RIFFE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

ORAL L. GARRISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RECEIVED
MAY 1 1952
Southern Regional Council

April 30, 1952

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

The enclosures from the "Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces" of Birmingham, Alabama, was received in my office April 28th.

Do you know this outfit? If you think this questionnaire should be answered, it is my opinion that some of our mutual Negro acquaintances in Knoxville are better qualified to list the answers than I would be.

It will be appreciated if you will return the letter and questionnaire after you have examined them, along with you answer.

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher
Tennessee Director

PRC:llr

Ch

May 14, 1952

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
216 Flatiron Bldg.
Knoxville 17, Tenn.

Dear Paul:

Mighty sorry to miss you for the 30th. That seemed the choice of all but a couple of you, so we settled on it.

Some good news during April and May. The Steelworkers sent us a thousand, and the National Council of the Episcopal Church a thousand, and Charles Johnson got the John Hay Whitneys to send us two thousand, and then in May the Quakers turned up ten thousand. Sounds like we are rich, but what all that does is only carry us safely to September.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
STATE DIRECTOR, TENNESSEE

COURTNEY K. SHILL
ASSISTANT STATE DIRECTOR

Organizing Committee

216 FLATIRON BUILDING
KNOXVILLE 17, TENN.

NATIONAL OFFICE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JOHN V. RIFFE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

ORAL L. GARRISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

PHONE 2-6780

May 10, 1952

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I deeply regret it will not be possible for me to attend the Executive Committee meeting on May 30th, and my disappointment is accentuated because this date was indicated in preference to June 7th on my return card.

At the time I indicated May 30th as the preferable date a meeting of State Industrial Union Councils I am to preside over in Atlanta was scheduled on May 31 and June 1st. I thought if the SRC meeting was scheduled May 30th I could make both of these meetings in one trip.

However, last week it was decided in Washington to extend our State Council Conference to three days -- May 30 and 31, and June 1.

If it should develop that the May 30th meeting is postponed to June 7th I will make arrangements to attend.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher
Tennessee Director

PRC:llr

August 14, 1952

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
CIO Organizing Committee
216 Flatiron Bldg.
Knoxville 17, Tenn.

Dear Paul:

I rejoice with you on the outcome of the Senate race. I'm too out of touch to know what the governorship means. Will look forward to the next conversation with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

a Christopher

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
STATE DIRECTOR TENNESSEE

COURTNEY K. SHILL
ASSISTANT STATE DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
AUG 13 1952
Southern Regional Council

CIO

Organizing Committee

216 FLATIRON BUILDING
KNOXVILLE 17, TENN.

NATIONAL OFFICE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JOHN V. RIFFE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

ORAL L. GARRISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

ADDRESS REPLY TO:

August 11, 1952

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Councils, Inc.
93 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I wish you could have been in the political fight with us that was climaxed last week when Frank Clement beat Governor Browning and Albert Gore defeated Senator McKellar in the Democratic Primary.

With best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher
Tennessee Director

PRC:llr

Cr

December 23, 1952

Mr. William H. Crawford
Halsted 1, Rm. 118
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Bill:

I am sorry the old boys stick knives into you, but I guess they do some good.

You've got many more years of usefulness in you yet. And you should be sustained in them by a knowledge that you have been the principal man who carried honest and vigorous industrial unionism to the steel workers of the South.

That's good living.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:ec

C1

December 30, 1952

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Clement:

We were all saddened to learn, belatedly, of your mother's death. It would be hard to imagine a life more fruitfully devoted to those ideals which have drawn us together in the Southern Regional Council. Everyone who cherishes them must share, in some small measure, in your great personal loss.

Dr. Mitchell is out of town for the week, and I know he would want me to express for him, as for the rest of the staff, our deepest sympathy.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

HCF:ec

chr

May 25, 1953

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
216 Flatiron Bldg.
Knoxville, Tenn.

Dear Paul:

I hear rumors of a promotion for you. Richly deserved. I hope it means you can stay on in Knoxville and be at least that close to us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

September 22, 1944

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

The Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education has invited Drs. H. M. Bond, Ira Reid, W. N. Ridley, F. D. Patterson, Charles S. Johnson, and J. Herman Daves to meet with the Committee on November 14, in Atlanta, to discuss problems of mutual interest and concern as related to the better educational use of research on resources and problems of the South. Dr. Guy B. Johnson, I believe, has contacted you about the possibility of our holding this meeting at Atlanta University.

So far I have been unable to contact you by telephone, and I am now planning to be in Atlanta on Thursday, September 28. I would appreciate it very much if you could hold some time open for me on that date so we could discuss plans for the meeting and the facilities that might be available. If it is agreeable with you, I would like to suggest that I come to your office at 11:00 A.M. on September 28.

We certainly appreciate your cooperation in indicating that it might be possible to work out arrangements for taking care of our group at Atlanta University, and I will look forward to seeing you next week.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

CC Dr. Guy B. Johnson

October 2, 1944

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

This is just a line to thank you for sending me a reprint of your article from the Journal of Negro Education, and to extend my compliments on your most excellent presentation of the programs of race relations organizations.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

September 29, 1945

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

Enclosed is a copy of the galley proof of your article entitled "Black G. I. Joe Comes Home". In order to print the article in the most economical format we shall have to shorten it a bit. The red marks on the galleys indicate the amount by which it will need to be cut, we leave it to you to decide which lines can be deleted with least damage to the whole article.

I shall appreciate it if you will look over this proof and return it to us as soon as possible.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT
Encl.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 2, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson:

Thank you for letting me see the proof of the article, "Black G. I. Joe Comes Home."

I think that the passages you have marked can easily be deleted without damage to the article.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours

Rufus E. Clement

REC.C
Enclosure

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1945
Southern Regional Council

November 27, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson:

I am pleased to accept membership on the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council for a term of four years as stated in your letter of November 20.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:w

November 20, 1945

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Clement:

At the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council on November 14, you were reelected to membership on the Board of Directors for a term of four years.

We trust that you are willing to accept reelection and that you will continue to give the Council the benefit of your wisdom and experience.

May we hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:ms

August 15, 1946

Mr. Alvin E. White
180 West 135th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. White:

I was glad to receive from Dr. Rufus E. Clement a copy of a statement which you sent to him recently, as well as a copy of his letter of August 6 commenting on your statement.

I am very much in accord with the statement adopted by the Scripps-Howard editors at their recent convention in New Orleans. I also wholeheartedly endorse the comments made by Dr. Clement, and I should like to add one more point. This has to do with the policy of the newspapers themselves toward the handling of news dealing with Negroes. I realize that there has been a tremendous amount of progress in this respect in the past ten years, and I believe that the Scripps-Howard papers are out in front in this matter. However, there is still much room for improvement in the manner in which news of crime of violence is handled and in the use of courtesy titles in referring to Negro citizens.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP
Copy to Dr. Rufus E. Clement

COPY

Office of the President
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

August 6, 1946

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Alvin E. White
180 West 135th Street
New York
New York

Dear Mr. White:

I am sending a copy of your recent statement to Dr. Guy Johnson, Director of the Southern Regional Council, Wesley Memorial Building, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, for whatever comment he cares to make upon it.

For myself, I would assuredly go along with the Scripps-Howard newspaper editors in the three expectations they set up in their New Orleans meeting. I would add two others: First, the abolition of the white primary, inasmuch as all of these southern states are one-party states and denial of participation in the primary actually means denial of the opportunity to help select the officers who are to govern; the second item which I would add would be a demand that even-handed justice be administered in the courts. There is still a great disparity between the treatment which Negroes and whites receive in the average southern courtroom.

Yours very truly,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:w

GJ (SRC)

1. Improved educational opportunity for whites and Negroes through higher teaching standards, better teaching methods, and higher salaries.

2. Full acceptance by the Southern States of the responsibility for the personal safety of Negro citizens; greater economic opportunities for them, disavowal of extremists on both sides of the race question.

3. Abolition by state laws of the poll tax as a requirement for voting.

The above are three of seven items adopted by a group of Scripps-Howard editors at a recent convention in New Orleans. These three directly affect race relations and progress in the South.

Would you care to comment on them for publication in a feature for the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance? You cooperation would be appreciated and your earliest possible reply would be very helpful in formulating this story.

Are there any further suggestions you feel would be helpful.

Alvin E. White

Alvin E. White,
180 West 135th Street
New York City.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
FEB 5 1947
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 4, 1947

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson:

I am acknowledging receipt of a copy of your letter of February 1 to Mr. Paul Williams.

I know how much you have become interested in the work of the Council and how reluctantly you have decided to go back to your first love - teaching at the University of North Carolina. We shall indeed miss you, and we want you to know that you leave all of us in very great debt to you for the splendid and forthright manner in which you have conducted the affairs of the Southern Regional Council. I am glad that your date of leaving is far enough in the future for us to have the opportunity to see each other several times before you actually go back to North Carolina.

With kind regards,

Cordially yours

Rufus E. Clement

REC:w

ELECTION - AS MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

December 3, 1947

Dr. Rufus Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

It is with much pleasure that I perform my task of announcing to you your unanimous reelection as member of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council by that body at its meeting on November 12th.

This recognition of the high service which you have so earnestly and unselfishly performed in behalf of the Council is especially pleasing to staff members who have had the privilege of working with you and so know at first hand the fine talents which you have brought to your task.

With every good wish for the holidays, and for the year that follows, I am

Most sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:ee

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 18, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Doctor Mitchell:

President Clement is out of the city at the present time. However, as soon as he returns, your letter of November 16 and its enclosure will be brought to his attention.

Yours very truly,

Marian N. Turner

Secretary

RECEIVED
NOV 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

6-Clement, Rufus E.

November 16, 1948

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

Here is a rough draft of a letter asking each of our members for a minimum of $10. My guess is it should be for the signature jointly of Paul Williams and Charles Johnson.

Will you please take time to blue-pencil (or completely rewrite!) the letter.

When I get back the five or six amended letters I am asking for, I will do a composite and have it sent out.

This has already had the benefit of advice from our Advisory Committee here in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

6 - Clement, Rufus E

February 15, 1949

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

This from the New York Times is interesting.

In the period ahead America is obviously going to reach into many of the "undeveloped" parts of the world, seeking the things that profit-making economies have always sought, but carrying also an increasing effort in raising living standards and underpinning democratic institutions. Clearly Negro American are already effective in this, and can in future do vastly more.

I suggest that Atlanta University contrive some direct link with this or some other program of training men for the influential and publicly esteemed places which events will inevitably open.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:s

6 - Clement, Rufus E.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
FEB 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

February 18, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

I sincerely appreciate your letter of February 15 and the clipping from the New York Times calling my attention to the Diplomacy School with the suggestion that we might work out some tie-up with the organization. I shall be glad to go into this matter at once.

Thank you again.

Cordially,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:t

6- Clement, Rufus B

GSM 4/25/49

April 25, 1949

President Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Clement:

I thought perhaps if your office shelves contained ten or a dozen copies of the new leaflet about the Council, you could help us get them into circulation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

C- Clement, Rufus

August 3, 1949

Dr. Rufus Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Clement:

You were so very kind at the Annual Meeting of the Council in November, 1948, as to undertake to find us $100.00 during this year.

I have got through the bottom of the barrel trying to find enought money to meet our payroll for the next few weeks until further funds become available.

If you can, without too great an inconvenience, find it possible to send us all or part of your generous gift pretty soon, it would be doubly welcome.

I am sorry to raise a matter of money, but we are in a hole.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Clement

May 1, 1950

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President, Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

I don't know that any of us have in words given you the Council's very deep appreciation for the letter which you and Mr. Hancock and Paul Williams sent out, and for the remarkably large sum it brought in. Final report on it will reach you in a few days.

Meanwhile, my admiration for your generous use of your friendships to help the Council. I am glad that we have shared in the admiration these contributors and others felt for you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Dict. April 25

October 16, 1950

Mr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Clement:

Here is a letter I got from Emory Ross.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

Foreign Missions Conference of North America

156 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TELEPHONE CHELSEA 2-3230

CABLE CODE: MISSIONS
CABLE ADDRESS: "FORMISCON, N.Y."

October 11, 1950

RECEIVED
OCT 13 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 27th.

So far we have not been able to get the money necessary for the general organization of the proposed Africa Seminars next winter or spring.

We are keeping at it, however, and the interest which you and Dr. Rufus Clement have expressed in having one of these Seminars in Atlanta is significant and encouraging.

I am sharing this news with others initially concerned.

Most sincerely yours,

Emory Ross

Emory Ross

er jh

6 - Clement

March 9, 1951

Mr. Rufus Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Clement:

I wrote Mr. John Fox at 45 Seventh Avenue, New York City, last Saturday to tell him that Paul Williams would be calling on him this week. The letter came back marked "Not Found."

I remember that you gave the further address of 14th Floor, whih I did not put on the envelope. My guess is that Mr. Fox is attached to a firm not bearing his name, and on that account the letter did not reach him. Maybe Paul had better luck.

Can your recollection supply more address?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Cl

April 6, 1951

Mr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Clement:

I thank you for your kindness in sending your 1951 Report.

I have read it all with care and with admiration of the University and your planning for it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Clement

July 12, 1951

President Rufus Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Clement:

I don't know whether Spelman offers sufficient physical education to qualify on this, but I thought you would be interested.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Clement

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
JUL 16 1951
Southern Regional Coun

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 13, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of July 12. I am calling this matter to the attention of President Read of Spelman College.

Cordially,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:t

C1

December 23, 1952

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Clement:

I mistakenly mailed you just a few minutes ago the NEW YORK TIMES story about the Fund for the Republic, instead of comments from WHO'S WHO on the Fund for the Republic members. This leaves us without a single copy of the TIMES story. Will you please send it back to me? And here is the WHO'S WHO information.

Sorry to bother you with this.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

Clement

RUFUS E. CLEMENT
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

February 4, 1953

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I want to thank you for your very kind expression of sympathy which you sent me at my mother's passing.

Expressions like yours from many friends have been a great source of strength to me.

With appreciation and with kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:c

FEB 6
RECEIVED
Regional Council

June 3, 1953

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Clement:

I don't know that you were present in the exact moments of the annual membership meeting of the Council, but they elected you to a place on the new Board of Directors of the Council. This Board of fifty elected persons will be buttressed by the head of each State Division, one person to be chosen from each State Division, plus the six or seven officers of the Council. In all, it is seventy-odd people. For the time being, we go along much as before, but the membership meeting authorized the Executive Committee to switch to new by-laws later on if need be, and under those by-laws, this Board would be the Council, correlating the work of active State organizations, each with its own Board and its own membership rolls.

The Board meeting after the membership meeting also chose an Executive Committee; much the same as the former one. And they want you kindly to continue as a member of the Executive Committee.

Do please write me that these two arrangements are satisfactory with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

February 6, 1956

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

preprint

Dear Mr. Clement:

Marion Wright some time back asked for a publication of a break-down of our Board Members by occupational classification. This has been done and is here supplied to Members of the Executive Committee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

August 8, 1956

Mr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rufus:

You will remember that the Executive Committee at its meeting April, 1956, directed the staff to apply here and there for money for Mrs. Tilly's program. You wrote me precautionsly as to this shortly after the meeting. Mrs. Tilly and I conferred, and I in full agreement wrote Mr. Kimball as attached. Here is his reply, received while you were gone.

Since then I have heard that there may be a chance that the William Green Memorial Fund (AFL-CIO) might shed something for a project from us, and I have recast much of the letter to Mr. Kimball into a letter to the W. Green Fund. Only went out a day or so ago, and shan't know results for a while. Results only barely likely.

So we are still urgently needing some guarantee that Mrs. Tilly can be enabled to keep on this Fall and for a year to come in doing her vital and most promising work.

Will you please put on your pondering, and write anyone you wish, or direct me to write to whom and in what manner you may think wise?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls. - 2

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU[redacted]
GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

October 22, 1956

From: Rufus E. Clement, Chairman, Executive Committee

To: Members of the Southern Regional Council

Subject: Proposals re Future of SRC

The Executive Committee, at its meeting of September 20-21, considered at length the orientation and emphasis of the Southern Regional Council's program in the period ahead. Staff members had submitted, in the form of a memorandum, proposals which were worked over by the Committee in great detail. At the conclusion of these deliberations, the Executive Committee voted unanimously to "approve in principle the suggestions made in the staff memorandum of September 12, 1956, to the effect that the Southern Regional Council move toward, and arrive at, by September 1957, a program which places major emphasis upon a centralized regional operation rather than, as heretofore, a state program."

The present memorandum, drafted by the staff at the direction of the Executive Committee, sets out the proposals and the considerations which led us to submit them to the full Council for decision. I hope that you will

find the opportunity to acquaint yourself thoroughly with this material so that our discussion at Williamsburg may reflect the most thoughtful judgments of everyone present.

End of Present Grant Program

The current three-year period of aid from the Fund for the Republic, which expires on September 30, 1957, has been largely devoted to decentralizing the SRC movement in terms of both use of funds and program emphasis. The original expectation was that once the legal principle of integration was established, the problems of adjustment would break down according to widely varying local circumstances. Thus the energies and resources of SRC have been largely directed to subsidizing and servicing state affiliates. Within the three-year grant period, SRC has sought to create strong, professionally staffed, self-supporting, integrated agencies in the 12 Southern states.

By October 1, 1957, this objective will have been achieved in considerable part. In a few states, the present affiliates have failed to get off the ground, and one or two others might not survive the withdrawal of major subsidy by SRC. But, in most cases, the state groups should be expected to have reasonably effective programs and enough fund-raising competence to continue -- though the first few years would be difficult for many of them.

In view of the special difficulties arising from the development of powerful, officially sanctioned resistance in the South, we believe the three-year state organization effort will represent a creditable achievement. But we also believe that the efforts of the state organizations alone cannot meet the critical challenge of this period in the South. A renewal of program through regional staff is also essential.

SRC in a Time of Crisis

Since May 1954 and particularly within the past year, a national crisis has been precipitated by political and private reaction to the Supreme Court's school decision. We will not attempt a lengthy analysis of these developments, which are well known to people in SRC, but we list a few of the highlights.

What began as attitudes of defiance in four deep South states has become a "united front" by eight states. This defiance is manifested not only in official actions and utterances directed at the Supreme Court and its decision, but has also taken the turn of oppressive measures against Negroes or whites within the states who favor a positive or even a more moderate course of action.

Accompanying this official posture have been the phenomenal growth of the White Citizens Councils and other resistance movements, set-backs in the churches and the labor movement, the deterioration of political campaigns, and in general conformity or silence by the more responsible elements in the South. The example set by state office-holders and others in high places has stirred excitable rank and file Southerners to violence in several instances - even in areas in Tennessee, Texas, Kentucky, and West Virginia where integration should have been expected to proceed without a ripple.

All of this has presented grave problems in national and international terms. The impact of this Southern revolt on the prestige of the United States abroad, particularly among Asians and Africans, is of great concern to every thoughtful American. Domestically, the assaults on the authority of the Supreme Court, respect for law and order, and recognition of the rights of minority group citizens are major threats to the national welfare.

It has been observed by the New York Times and others that what is needed is a mobilization of all the constructive forces the country can muster to deal with the problem of segregation wisely and effectively. Unfortunately, such a mobilization has not taken place - largely because of confused national opinion about the workability of desegregation, about the extent and depth of resistance in the South, and about the potentialities of Negro citizens.

The Citizens Councils and several Southern state governments are making an extensive and expensive effort to sway national opinion. The effectiveness of these efforts to sell the racial "status quo" are evident in various ways: The U. S. News and World Report has given major support to pro-segregation views, most notably through popularization of one psychologist's thesis that Negroes are inherently less intelligent than whites. Such nationally syndicated columnists as Dorothy Thompson and Walter Lippman have argued that the trend toward integration should be slowed or halted. The platforms of both major political parties failed to endorse the Supreme Court's school decisions.

In short the climate of opinion has worsened not only in the South, but in the rest of the nation as well. And instead of merely local problems arising out of local opposition to integration, we are confronted by a renewal of pro-segregation activity that is regional in its leadership and national in its impact. A measure of this fact was the nearly unanimous adoption of the "Southern Manifesto" by Southern members of Congress. It is true, of course, that some of the Congressmen signed under duress. But the fact that such duress was possible indicates the power of the monolithic approach.

This situation imposes a tremendous responsibility on the SRC. As the one South-wide body with experience, professional skills, and reputation in

the field of race relations, we must perform on a broader and more effective scale than ever before. And we must recognize that we are dealing with causes and effects which are truly nation-wide in their impact.

Our task, as we see it, includes but goes far beyond the stimulation of local action to deal with matters of desegregation and democratic racial relations at the community level. We must play a greater role in establishing a broad national and Southern climate of opinion in which positive local efforts can succeed. We must assume more of the leadership in educating and rallying those national forces whose action or inaction at this time is crucial.

Indeed, it is doubtful that the Southern Regional Council can secure further major financing unless it develops program aimed at meeting these broader needs.

Relationship with State Organizations

SRC, with the generous aid of the Fund for the Republic, has made an extensive and valuable contribution to the growth of skill and organization in the several Southern states. Our state affiliates, against sizable odds, have shown gratifying development. Given a workable climate of opinion and influence, they can contribute greatly in the years ahead to the orderly implementation of integration within their respective states.

However, their effectiveness - indeed, their survival - is imperiled by national and regional developments on which they can have little influence. If we are to protect our investment in them, we must necessarily apply the resources and skills of SRC to this broader arena of opinion and practical forces. To do this will require basic reassessment of our financing, organizational structure, and program emphasis.

Proposed Future Relationship

In the light of prevailing circumstances, it is our judgment that SRC should now plan for a period after October 1, 1957, of approximately three years of increased effort as a regional organization carrying on program activities through its own staff.

During the last two and one-half years, we have devoted most of our resources to building and assisting the state affiliates. We have, necessarily, had to forego the development and execution of many program activities by the regional staff. Under the proposed plan, SRC would maintain a cooperative and helpful relationship with the state organizations but it would undertake itself a number of functions that are now performed either sketchily or not at all.

Such a reorientation would be best accomplished if the current grant period ending September 30, 1957, were completed according to the terms originally set in 1954. This means that the state organizations would continue to work to become more autonomous, and that their relationship with SRC would thenceforth be one of cooperation between independent organizations of similar purpose and goals. It is intended that in every way practicable there will be a continued close relationship between the SRC and the state organizations particularly in regard to program service, financial grants-in-aid and counsel on fund raising.

Future Financial Aid to State Groups

We recognize that a measure of continuing financial aid from SRC to all or some of the state organizations would be warranted. Therefore, we should undertake to secure funds for this purpose, though the amount procurable would undoubtedly be on a smaller scale than heretofore. Instead of the method of outright subsidy which we have used, the method of assistance would more closely resemble that of grants-in-aid. A state organization would submit its request to SRC, justifying such an allotment on the basis of a proposed program and evidence of organizational effectiveness

sufficient to carry out the program proposed. SRC would judge each such request on its merits and take favorable or unfavorable action accordingly. The customary safeguards against the use of such funds for political or other improper purposes would, of course, be taken. Once such a grant-in-aid had been made, the responsibility for fulfillment of its commitment would rest squarely on the policy body of the state group.

Such a revision in the relationship between SRC and the state groups would require certain by-law changes, including alteration of the present arrangement for election of some SRC board members by the state organizations.

Structure of SRC

A reorientation of SRC along the lines described above would necessitate some redefinition of the present staff structure. Present positions and staff duties are largely geared to the needs of the current state organization effort. In taking on more direct program functions, it would be necessary to supplement the existing staff and to redefine the responsibilities and duties of some of the present staff members. We are not attempting here to propose a detailed reorganization of this kind. That could best be done perhaps by a special sub-committee of Executive Committee members working closely with the staff.

Functions of SRC

The following types of activity represent new or heightened program emphases which the Council might undertake:

1) Consultant services to established public and private agencies

The consultant service project under the direction of John Hope II has so far been used as a service exclusively to the state affiliates. It has proved to be an extremely effective technique. Already we contemplate making

these services available to interested private groups and public bodies concerned with desegregation, the expectation being that such groups would bear the cost of the consultant services to them. In the next phase of the Council's work, broader use of the consultant services deserves high priority. The range of consultants available should be increased to include educators, police officials, public administrators, and others with first-hand experience in integrating communities. SRC's role would be that of "broker" between community leadership and those experts whose counsel would be most helpful. These services should be provided free, if necessary, in those situations which are likely to produce the most effective results.

2) Coordination of Agency Leadership

SRC now has more opportunities than it can grasp to advise and coordinate the leaders of national, Southern, and local groups concerned with race relations. In the coming period, SRC should take the initiative in bringing together such leadership for joint thinking and planning, and in stimulating needed activities. This will take staff time, travel, and resources that have not been available in the past. The arguments for extending this function are very strong. SRC has information and insights that are not available to other agencies and groups, and it commands the respect of a host of such organizations of many different types. The effective mobilization of the religious, labor, civic, and other agencies should be a major part of the desegregation effort.

3) Speakers

Several of the staff members and officers of SRC are now heavily in demand for speaking engagements. In this case too the demand is greater than the supply, and the potential demand is greater yet. Many of these occasions

are invaluable opportunities to express our general point of view to important segments of the public. In the coming period, we should recognize assistance to groups in securing speakers as an important organizational function. In order to make the best possible use of speakers without unduly diverting from other activities we should systematically draw on our lay leadership. The selection and briefing of persons available for speaking engagements would be a staff function.

4) Free Distribution of Materials

SRC has in the past produced little in the way of free literature. Our budget alone has made it essential for us to sell our materials to interested people and groups, however worthy the use to which they are to be put. We should seek the resources to enable us to distribute without cost literature that will serve a specific, effective purpose and for which no purchasers are available. We do not conceive of broadside or indiscriminate distribution of free literature as a worthwhile method. More strategic uses, however, are often possible but must be forgone because there is no ready way for the cost to be borne from non-SRC sources. It should be noted here that the White Citizens Councils and other resistance groups are making wide-spread distribution of free material, with telling results.

5) Interpretation and Application of Social Science Findings

There is a considerable body of social science findings with positive implications for action in the South today. This knowledge is having little practical effect, mainly because of the communications gulf between academic social scientists and the lay public. SRC is peculiarly well fitted to bridge this gap. Working in collaboration with the social scientists and their professional organizations, we could play a key role in getting their insights interpreted through popular media and brought to bear in local situations.

Our consultant service program is a valuable beginning in this direction, but the precedent needs to be greatly extended and raised to the national level. To carry out this role we must be prepared to expend a substantial amount of staff time and effort, as well as some money.

6) Expanding present functions

Many of the activities now carried on by the central office should be intensified or, if temporary, continued on a regular basis. An outstanding example of this is the work with church women directed by Mrs. M. E. Tilly; the need for more funds and wider impact of this program is already recognized.

Another example of a different sort is the fact-finding program now being carried on under a special nine-months grant from the Fund for the Republic. The results of this program are now coming in and will be aired through SRC publications and general publicity. These findings should serve to shed new light on the nature of the South's problems and promising approaches to their solution. This special fact-gathering and interpretation should be a continuing part of SRC's program.

Additional examples in this category would be intensified work with the press, television, and other mass media; conferences of Southern leadership; and work with the college students and other young people in the region.

7) Finances

It will take much more detailed planning before there can be meaningful estimates of the budget that would be required to carry out a program of the sort here outlined for a three-year period. A rough estimate would be no less than $200,000. annually. In the last fiscal year, SRC raised approximately $60,000. from sources other than the Fund for the Republic. During the coming fiscal year, October 1956 - October 1957, we must exceed our past performance by a goodly margin. If we are successful in raising the larger amount from

other sources required for our operation in 1956-57 we believe that the Fund for the Republic will be more receptive to our request for future aid. By the same token, they will probably expect similar performance from us in subsequent years.

These facts, coupled with the resignation of the present Executive Director, make urgent the assumption of greater responsibility for fund-raising by officers and members of the Council.

It is also to be hoped that in financing the Council for a future period it will be possible to secure funds on a flexible basis, and that rigid allocations of funds for pre-determined purposes can be avoided. The situation in the South today is an extremely fluid one, subject to rapid and unpredictable changes. Our program and financing should be readily adaptable to these changes in need that cannot be anticipated far in advance.

Nothing said here is intended to conflict with the Council's wholehearted follow-through of the third and last year of the state organization program, which began October 1, 1956. If this general proposal should be approved, however, it might well be possible in the weeks and months just ahead to begin developing some of the additional functions contemplated and seeking additional financing for them.

* * *

Hof.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 8, 1956

RECEIVED DEC 11 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I am today recommending the Southern Regional Council for the Hotel and Club Employees Union Local 6 race relations award. I hope we get it.

Sincerely,

Rufus

REC:d

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

February 8, 1957

Mr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

see letter "off-air genuine"

Dear Mr. Clement:

Your letter of February 6th contains very heartening information. We shall follow through with Mr. Weaver promptly, taking care the while not to prejudice the formal request we will shortly be making to the AFL-CIO.

Your faithfulness in calling the work of the Council to the attention of the many valuable associations you have over the country is, I think, one of the greatest assets of the Council. I hope we can spread the precedent to more members of our Executive Committee and Board.

Enclosed is a copy of my reply to Mr. Wright's letter of February 1st.

With appreciation and best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
cc: Mr. Wright

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 6, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mr. Marion A. Wright has been kind enough, as you know, to send me a copy of his letter of February 1 to you.

I would think that the three suggestions he makes are very timely, and I would certainly approve them for your consideration.

I have this morning returned from Washington where I had a chance to meet Boris Shiskin and some other people in the labor movement. While I refrained from making any mention of the work of the Southern Regional Council and its needs in my conversations with Mr. Shiskin, I did talk with George L. P. Weaver at length about the Council's needs. Weaver is executive secretary of the Civil Rights Committee of the AFL-CIO and was attending the meeting I was in as the alternate for Walter Reuther. Mr. Weaver is sympathetic to the work and needs of SRC and promised that as soon as he returned from Williard Townsend's funeral in Chicago on Wednesday he would bestir himself in an effort to find an immediate contribution from labor funds for the Council's budget. I agreed with Mr. Christopher that the approach to the executive committee of AFL-CIO should be carefully laid and probably would not be acted upon for the next two or three months.

Meanwhile, if you should like to write George Weaver, he can be addressed at the Washington office.

With kind regards, I am

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

A Statement by the Incorporators (SRC)

REGARDING:

Origin and Aims of SRC

DATE:

April 21, 1957

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

SRC - Origins and Aims;

Also: Original copy signed by Incorporators in Safe - See RHA

Atlanta U - Clement
Board

April 26, 1957

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Office of the President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

This is a belated note of appreciation to Atlanta University for having made its facilities available to us for our labor conference in March. As on past occasions, the accommodations for meetings, meals, and lodgings were just what we needed.

We were very glad that you were able to take a few minutes out of your own busy schedule to speak to those attending this conference.

With best personal wishes in your current endeavors,

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

May 13, 1957

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

I am late in thanking you for your letter agreeing to initiate the signing of an appropriate statement on the founding of the Council. I expect to furnish you with a draft soon.

The original incorporators of the Council, in addition to yourself, were Bishop Moore, Ralph McGill, Dr. Charles Johnson, and Dr. Howard Odum.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Statement by incorporators of SRC (file attached)

May 21, 1957

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

Enclosed is a draft of a statement on the founding of the Southern Regional Council. I hope it is suitable, with such changes as you may wish to make, for you, Bishop Moore, and McGill to sign jointly.

I am enclosing four copies with the thought that each of you might sign the original and retain a copy.

Let me know if I can do anything else to facilitate this.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ack. 5-13-57

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 1, 1957

~~CHECKED MAY 2 1957~~
RECEIVED MAY 2 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I will be glad to dictate the kind of statement which you think will be most helpful in the matter of the beginning of the work of the Southern Regional Council. Let me suggest that you draft such a statement and send it to me, and then I can get in touch with Bishop Moore and Mr. McGill and ask them to sign it with me.

Who were the original incorporators, as you find the list in the record?

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:d

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

THE ORIGIN OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A Statement by the Incorporators

Within the past few years, we have noted from time to time the circulation of inaccurate and unfounded reports concerning the origins of the Southern Regional Council. It has been charged, for example, that the Southern Regional Council is the successor to the controversial Southern Conference for Human Welfare. More recently, a witness before a State legislative committee has alleged that the Council was founded by one James E. Jackson who has since been convicted for his activities in the Communist Party. These charges have absolutely no basis in fact and serve not only to bring discredit on the Southern Regional Council but to injure the reputations of the responsible men and women whose efforts led to the establishment of the Council.

As incorporators of the Southern Regional Council, we feel that it would be helpful for us to give this accurate account of the way in which the Council came into being. Having participated in these formative developments, we speak of them from first-hand knowledge.

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, itself founded in 1919 by prominent Southern churchmen, was the parent body of the Southern Regional Council. As early as 1939, the leaders of the Commission began to explore the possibility of a re-organization that would permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. In October 1940 the Commission instructed its Executive Committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the Commission and

other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South." These are matters of official record.

Meanwhile, a group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, North Carolina, on October 20, 1942, to set forth "what the Negro wants and is expecting of the post-war South and nation," and to enlist the aid of interested white Southerners. To consider the statement of the Durham conference, a group of Southern white leaders met in Atlanta in April 1943. They found the Durham statement "so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum," that they pledged their cooperation. "The need," they declared, "is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation, and mutual respect."

Representatives of both the Durham and Atlanta conferences met in Richmond in June 1943 to work out further details. As a result of these deliberations and those of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Southern Regional Council was incorporated on January 6, 1944. The incorporators were the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, then Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University, Bishop Arthur J. Moore of The Methodist Church, Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, and Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University.

On February 16, 1944, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met in Atlanta at a special meeting and took the following action:

"It being made to appear to the meeting that all of the Commission's obligations and liabilities have been fully discharged, and further that

the Southern Regional Council, having been duly incorporated to carry on the work with ideals and programs similar to those of this Corporation:

"It was, upon motion duly made and seconded - Resolved that the Corporation transfer and convey to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., a corporation of Fulton County, Georgia, all of its property of every nature whatsoever and wherever situated, absolutely and in fee simple."

It should be noted that the leadership which called together the April 1943 meeting out of which the Southern Regional Council grew was made up of some of the South's finest citizens. The Committee which issued the call to the meeting was as follows:

Bishop Arthur J. Moore, The Methodist Church
Ralph McGill, Editor, The Atlanta Constitution
Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian Minister
Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta
Dean S. Paden, President, King Hardware Company
J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary
Bishop John Moore Walker, The Protestant Episcopal Church
Goodrich C. White, President, Emory University
C. H. Gillman, Georgia Director, C.I.O.
George L. Googe, Southern Director, A.F.L.
M. Ashby Jones, Baptist Minister
Ryland Knight, Baptist Minister
Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta

It may also be noted that the first president of the Southern Regional Council was Dr. Odum and that he was succeeded in 1945 by Mr. Paul D. Williams of Richmond, Virginia, a prominent Catholic layman and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, who served continuously in that position until 1951. He was succeeded by Mr. Marion A. Wright, the current president.

It should be clear from this account that the Southern Regional Council was in no way the successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It should also be clear from the quality of the persons who gave

leadership to these developments that it would have been utterly impossible for any Communist or any Communist ideas to have played the slightest part in the formation of the organization. Although there is room for much honest disagreement in the complex field of race relations, there is no basis for any charge that the Southern Regional Council was founded by other than responsible, patriotic Southerners devoted to American principles.

Rufus E. Clement

Ralph McGill

Arthur J. Moore

4/21/57

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 27, 1957

The Southern Regional Council Staff
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

I want to thank you for your kind message regarding my renomination to the Atlanta Board of Education.

Let me assure you that I shall serve to the best of my ability in the important post for which the citizens of this great city have supported me.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:d

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 30, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am today raising with Bishop Moore the question mentioned in your letter of May 28, regarding the signing of the statement. I will let you know what his answer is. I have heard nothing further from Mr. McGill.

Sincerely,

REC:d

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

May 28, 1957

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

Thank you for your letter of May 25th informing me of Bishop Moore's reaction to your request that he join in signing the statement on the origin of the Southern Regional Council.

As I mentioned in our brief conversation the other day, Mr. Wright's feeling was that such a statement signed by the surviving incorporators, would be an important, historical, document. We should be perfectly happy to have Bishop Moore and, if he feels similarly, Mr. McGill sign the statement with the understanding that it will not be given publicity or any circulation whatever, but will become a part of the permanent files of SRC.

If you feel that such a further approach by you to Bishop Moore is warranted, I will appreciate your undertaking it and I am sure Mr. Wright will also.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RECEIVED MAY 27 1957

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 25, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have today received a letter from Bishop Arthur Moore in which he says that the letter which I presented to him concerning the origin of the Southern Regional Council is, in his opinion, factually correct. He prefers at present not to sign the additional statement. He suggests that the Council issue a statement of its own over its own signature concerning this matter.

Sincerely,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:d

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

RECEIVED MAY 24 1957

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 23, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for the very good statement concerning the founding of the Southern Regional Council. I am sending the statement to Bishop Moore and Mr. McGill for their signatures. It will be going to Mr. McGill first and from him to Bishop Moore.

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:d

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

See memo to MMW + R. E. Clement in Wright folder

RECEIVED JUN 8 1957

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 7, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

With reference to your memorandum of June 6 and the proposed method for distribution of funds to state groups after October 1, please be advised that I am wholly in agreement with the memorandum, copy of which you sent me.

I think that the memorandum should go out over Mr. Wright's signature.

With kind regards, I am

Cordially,

Rufus

REC:d

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

Run 9 extra copies
50

DRAFT - ~~R~~d
1cc To M.A. Wright
1cc to R.E. Clement
for Revised Mimeographed copy - see state file

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Chairmen

FROM: ~~Harold C. Fleming~~ M.A. Wright, President, SRC

SUBJ: FUTURE FINANCIAL AID FROM SRC

We have recently received the welcome news of a terminal grant to SRC from the Fund for the Republic, which enables us to make available some measure of further aid to the state councils for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1957. This matter was discussed in detail at the ~~last~~ conference of state staff members held in Atlanta on May 21 and 22. The purpose of this memorandum is to set forth the nature of the aid that will be available and the procedure that should be followed by the state organizations in applying for it. An information copy is being sent to each state executive director.

NEW GRANT TO SRC

At its last Board meeting, the Fund for the Republic made a terminal grant to SRC of $200,000. This amount is to be applied to the operating budget of SRC over a 39-month period beginning October 1, 1957 - that is to say, through 1960. The grant, while generous, was less than the amount requested and requires of SRC an unprecedentedly heavy fund-raising task. The $200,000 is approximately one-third of our projected budgetary needs for the period, leaving more than $400,000 to be raised from other sources. It should be noted that the Fund for the Republic grant is not earmarked for specific purposes, but is

to be applied toward the total budgetary needs of SRC. This information is for background only and should not be generally announced or publicized.

AMOUNT OF STATE AID

The amount of the new grant available to SRC for the coming fiscal year is $76,800. On the strength of this, we are setting aside a total of $40,000 to be available for aid to the state organizations. In order to do this and meet our own operating budget, we must raise approximately $100,000 from other sources. The amount to be available for state aid beyond the coming fiscal year will have to be determined at a later date, in the light of SRC's success in expanding its fund-raising from new sources.

POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

The policy basis for this further aid was laid down by the Board of SRC at its annual meeting of November 14th and 15th at Williamsburg, Virginia. The policy statement adopted at that meeting reads in part:

> "This means that the state organizations would continue to work to become more autonomous, and that their relationship with SRC would thenceforth be one of cooperation between independent organizations of similar purpose and goals. It is intended that in every way practicable there will be a continued close relationship between the SRC and the state organizations particularly in regard to program service, financial grants-in-aid and counsel on fund raising.
>
> "We recognize that a measure of continuing financial aid from SRC to all or some of the state organizations would be warranted. Therefore, we should undertake to secure funds for this purpose, though the amount procurable would undoubtedly be on a smaller scale than heretofore. Instead of the method of outright subsidy which we have used, the method of assistance would more closely resemble that of grants-in-aid. A state organization would submit its request to SRC, justifying such an allotment on the basis of a proposed program and evidence of organizational effectiveness sufficient to carry out the program proposed.

SRC would judge each such request on its merits and take favorable or unfavorable action accordingly. The customary safeguards against the use of such funds for political or other improper purposes would, of course, be taken. Once such a grant-in-aid had been made, the responsibility for fulfillment of its commitment would rest squarely on the policy body of the state group.

REQUESTS FROM STATE ORGANIZATIONS

In accordance with this policy statement, we ask that state organizations wishing aid from SRC for the fiscal year beginning October 1st, submit no later than July 15th a written request for such aid. The request should give the following information:

(1) A concise analysis of the situation in the state as your organization sees it - in other words, the context in which the state group is now working. (Insert #1 over)

(2) The role that the state organization sees for itself in the practical situation described above. This should include discussion of the ways in which the state group is fitted to fulfill this role.

(3) The specific program that the state group plans to undertake in the coming fiscal year. (This includes both program activities and organizational development.) What staff and facilities will be required to carry out the proposed program?

(4) A budget showing what will be required for staff salary, travel, office expenses, and so on. This should include a realistic estimate of what the state group will undertake to raise from other sources, and the amount of aid requested from SRC.

Insert #1

What is the climate of public opinion? What is the official attitude? What forces, positive and negative, are at work? What are the potentially constructive factors in the state? What important differences or shades of opinion are there? Etc

CONSIDERATION OF STATE REQUESTS

The requests for state aid will be considered by a committee of SRC Board members. Insert: Nor will the The $40,000 ~~will not~~ necessarily be equally divided among the state organizations ~~applying~~ assisted. Each organization's allocation will be based on the soundness of its proposal and general organizational and program performance to date. The amoun~~t~~ granted for the year will probably be distributed on a quarterly basis. We will undertake to let you know at the earliest possible time what your group may ~~count on~~ expect for the coming year.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

We should like to emphasize that we are not urging overly ambitious or elaborate proposals. The staff and Board of the Southern Regional Council well understand the difficulties under which the state groups have labored. We realize the difficulty of raising large sums of money for this work at this time in the South's history. Therefore, we would urge that proposals be held to what is honestly thought by the state group to be realistic in terms of fund-raising, organizational development, and program achievement. All of us may have erred on the side of too much diverse and scattered effort. A plan that focuses on a few specific and carefully though out objectives is sounder than one which tries to cover too much ground.

It may be worth noting that the quarterly method of distribution will require each state group to raise its funds from other

sources currently during the fiscal year. SRC will ask that state groups receiving aid submit quarterly progress reports, and financial as well as program considerations will be taken into account.

Under the new arrangement, the SRC allocation will be paid directly to the state organizations without any earmarking for special purposes. All salaries will be paid by the state organizations rather than, as at present, by SRC.

Since we are ending the affiliate arrangement, each state group will need to revise, prior to October 1st, that part of its bylaws which has to do with affiliation. Purely as a suggestion, we ~~will shortly send~~ have mailed you a set of sample bylaws revised to accomplish this.

INSERT #3

Finally, please know that along with this formal, procedural memorandum come our pledge of continued close friendship and working cooperation, and high hopes for the success of our common efforts in the months that lie ahead.

Attached is a proposed memorandum for distribution to state chairmen describing a procedure which the state groups may apply for SRC aid effective October 1, 1957.

You will note that the total amount we ~~will~~ are proposing to make available for this purpose is $40,000. This was reduced from the original figure of $50,000 in the light of the FFR reduced grant to us.

All of the points laid out in the memorandum represent the best thinking of the SRC staff. They ~~are all suggested~~ all suggest reconsideration and revision.

There is a strong argument for this memorandum going out over the name of Mr. Wright as president. If that seems to you wise and acceptable, let me know and we will make the change.

I shall look forward to hearing from you on this at your earliest convenience.

Best Regards

Board

June 13, 1957

Dear Dr. Clement:

I thought you would like to have a copy of this schedule of our investments purchased with the $200,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic.

Mr. Milton handled these transactions for us and was exceedingly helpful both in this respect and in giving us sound advice. I have, of course, written him a letter of warm thanks.

H.C.F.

COPY

RECEIVED JUN 25 1957

Office of the President
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

File

June 24, 1957

RECEIVED JUN 25 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your June 21 letter to Mr. Fleming. I am in full agreement with the statements which you have made in that letter.

Let me thank you also for your kind words about my renomination in the recent Primary election.

Looking forward to seeing you and with kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:d
cc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming

Board

June 25, 1957

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

Bishop Moore handed me today the original copy of the incorporators' statement signed by you, Mr. McGill, and himself.

Many thanks for your very effective handling of this matter.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Board

July 18, 1957

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

I was disturbed by the matter you raised in our telephone conversation today. It is our firm policy not to recruit personnel away from Atlanta University. This is clearly understood by Mrs. Alexander and Mr. Anthony, the staff members most immediately concerned with personnel.

Nothing is more important to us than preserving the friendly, and to us most helpful, relationship between SRC and the University. It is apparent to me that present arrangements are not sufficient to prevent possible misunderstandings over personnel recruitment. Therefore, I propose the following: Whenever we receive an application from a person employed by Atlanta University, although the applicant has not been solicited or encouraged by us, I will call you and be guided by our discussion at that time.

I am enclosing a memorandum from Mr. Anthony relating the circumstances of Miss Leverett's application to us. In any case, under normal circumstances, we would not consider employing an applicant if she had not given the required notice to her present employer. We will advise Miss Leverett that employment by us is contingent on this requirement being met.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

July 18, 1957

To: Harold Fleming

From: Paul Anthony

On July 5th Mrs. Alexander called Mrs. Leverett, wife of the manager of Waluhaje Apartments, to check on the record of a past Waluhaje employee who was applying to SRC for the position of clerk-typist. In the course of this call Mrs. Alexander explained the nature of the clerk-typist position, a routine procedure when determining the ability and qualifications of an applicant. In this manner Mrs. Leverett learned of the SRC opening.

On July 8th Miss Beverlyn Leverett called Mrs. Alexander and asked if she might be considered for the clerk-typist job. Mrs. Alexander, feeling she was not in a position to deal with a current Atlanta University employee, requested that the call be referred to Paul Anthony. In turn, Anthony agreed to interview Miss Leverett.

On July 11th Miss Leverett came to the SRC office and presented a formal application and background sheet. Her qualifications were in order. At that time it was explained to Miss Leverett that the major objection to considering her was that she was an Atlanta University employee. It was further explained that it would be necessary for SRC to notify Atlanta University prior to accepting Miss Leverett. To these objections Miss Leverett stated that she was planning on leaving Atlanta University in any case. This was later confirmed by Mrs. Leverett who stated to Paul Anthony that Miss Leverett had been seeking other employment for approximately three months and would probably leave the city if local employment was not available.

On July 18th Anthony called Miss Leverett and stated that SRC was willing to consider her for the position on a one-month trial basis. Anthony further stated that we considered it necessary to call Miss Leverett's superior at Atlanta University to explain that we were considering this action. Anthony asked whether Miss Leverett would like to first inform her superior of her decision. She stated that either was acceptable but that it might be best if she first told her superior of her intentions. Miss Leverett then volunteered that she could be available on July 24th since the time until then, plus her vacation period, would constitute sufficient notice of termination of employment. We got the impression from Miss Leverett that her position was a minor one and that her superior would not consider her leaving a matter of great consequence.

PA ✓
RHA ✓
file

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 19, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of July 18 and the enclosed copy of the memorandum concerning the conditions of Miss Leverett's employment by SRC.

We most certainly would like to maintain close and cordial working relations between Atlanta University and the Council. We have been embarrassed by the almost steady drain which the Council has made on Atlanta University employees. I cannot object to any employee leaving the University for whatever personal reasons he determines are sufficient, but I must insist that such employees give the required notice.

I am glad to note in your letter that Miss Leverett has been advised that employment by SRC is contingent upon her meeting our required notice.

With appreciation and with kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Rufus

REC:d

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

July 30, 1957

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rufus:

Our findings on Negro suffrage in the South have had even wider use since the executive committee meeting, including a full-page treatment in Time and the enclosed editorial from The Baltimore Sun. Our latest report was also introduced into the Senate debate on Friday and drew the expected fire from Senator Olin Johnston from South Carolina. Also enclosed is a clipping of an AP story from the Raleigh Times which gives a capsule version of Johnston's charges and our reply.

We have ordered copies of The Congressional Record containing this part of the debate and will send you a copy as soon as they arrive.

I am leaving tomorrow morning for vacation. Fred Routh and the other members of the staff will have things well in hand until I return. I hope that soon after that we can have further conversation about the proposed international institute.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

August 19, 1957

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

Here is the copy of the Congressional Record Harold promised you. I am sorry that it is so late getting to you, but we had quite a bit of difficulty in getting it. When you have finished, will you please return it as it is one of the few copies we have.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf
Enclosure - Congressional Record, Vol. 103, No. 133
Friday, July 26, 1957

File

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

August 20, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you for sending me the Congressional Record for Friday, July 26. I have read it with a great deal of interest and appreciation and I am returning it herewith.

I think the Council is to be congratulated, and Senator Douglas is to be thanked for getting our story before the Senate and the United States.

With kind regards, I am

Cordially,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:c
Enclosure

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

SRC Internship Program

REGARDING:

Employment of Machion Garrison

DATE:

September 20, 1957

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

New World Foundation - SRC Internship Program

November 8, 1957

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rufus:

Here for your consideration is a draft of the Executive Committee's report to the annual meeting. Of course, it should be revised or supplemented in any way that you consider proper. I am sorry that the press of events didn't permit me to get this done sooner, but I trust you will have a chance to review it before Tuesday.

If there is time for you to get it back to us for a retyping, embodying our changes and yours, we should be happy to do so.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

Presented by Mr. Rufus E. Clement Chairman Exec. Com.

Approved 11/22/57

~~DRAFT~~

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
TO THE
ANNUAL MEETING

The year that has elapsed since we met last November at Williamsburg, Virginia has been one of the most eventful in the Southern Regional Council's fourteen years ~~old~~ of existence. At our last annual meeting, we made policy decisions of profound significance to the future of the Southern Regional Council. We regretfully accepted the retirement of Dr. George S. Mitchell as of mid-January 1957 and chose as his successor to the position of executive director Harold Fleming of the Council's staff. We also adopted a comprehensive policy statement calling for major re-direction of the Council's program and for a new pattern of relationship with the state councils on human relations, which were to become independent organizations as of October 1, 1957. We recognized that the very continuation of the Southern Regional Council depended on the negotiation of a new period of support from the Fund for the Republic and the securing of sizeable additional funds from new sources. Finally, we recognized that the critical stage in the South's transition to a desegregated society made it mandatory that the Council not only continue its efforts but broaden and intensify them as much as humanly possible.

Your Executive Committee has addressed itself to the carrying out of these mandates of the last annual meeting during the year just past. We have held three two-day meetings, one in January, one in April, and one in July. The matters considered and acted upon in these meetings may be briefly summed up under five major headings, as follows:

1. Staff Reorganization and Re-direction of Program. In close consultation with the executive director and the staff, we adopted a staff structure and plan of activities suited to the new policies adopted at the Williamsburg meeting. Three major areas of operation were defined, with the responsibilities of the various professional staff members fixed, under the overall administration of the executive director. The first was field services, under the general supervision of the assistant director, Fred Routh, and including the work of the Consultant Service Program superintended by Chief Consultant John Hope II, the labor consultant Emory F. Via, women's work, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, and the associate for program development, Dr. C. H. Parrish. A second area of operation embraces the information functions, under the supervision of Director of Information John Constable, including the editing of New South and other publications, fact-finding programs, relations with the press and other media, and the work of the research assistant, Miss Marge Manderson. The third area includes all administrative functions carried on by the Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Ruth Alexander, and the ~~newly appointed~~ Administrative Assistant, Paul Anthony. Undergirding all of these operations is the clerical staff of five. Since the plan of organization was adopted, the staff has been augmented by an intern in field services, Mr. Machion Garrison, a recent graduate of Morehouse College. Moreover, the Executive Committee reviewed in detail and approved a redefinition of program activities, staff functions and salaries, in order to facilitate the kind of operation called for by the last annual meeting.

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Lest this report of heartening achievement in the financial area give rise to an unjustified complacency, the Executive Committee has reminded itself and would like to remind the Council as a whole of the large task that still lies ahead of us. In order to carry on the Council's work at its present level through 1960, we must still raise additional funds of approximately $400,000.

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about activities during the subsequent period. Two items, however, may be worthy of special mention. We may take justifiable pride in the wide-spread attention and effective use given to the findings of the Council's South-wide survey of Negro suffrage. At a time when the American public and the Congress were giving major attention to this crucial area of civil rights, the Southern Regional Council was able to make public the only detailed and documented facts in existence as to voter registration and the obstacles encountered by Negro citizens who seek to exercise their right to the ballot. A program proposal developed in the last meeting of the Executive Committee seems to us to hold special promise. This is a proposal that the Council, in cooperation with Atlanta University, sponsor a major institute on the international effects of race relations problems in the South. The object is to assemble on the campus of Atlanta University a group of the nation's leading figures in international affairs, as well as influential leadership from within the South. Such a conference, thoroughly publicized through the press, radio, and television, could do much to make clear the threat to the national welfare posed by irresponsible leadership which insists on perpetuating segregation and discrimination in defiance of the law of the land.

In summary, the Executive Committee sees the past year as one in which the challenge to and need for an organization such as ours have been greatly sharpened. The accomplishments of the past year should serve to assure us that we have in the Council an instrument through which we can work together effectively for the principles and aims which we share. Giving our conscientious support and participation, it may play a decisive part at this crucial stage in the history of the South.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 9, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am returning the draft of the Executive Committee's report with no suggestions or corrections. I think that it is both adequate and well done.

Sincerely yours,

Rufus

REC:c
Enclosure

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

RECEIVED DEC 16 1957

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 3, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You may count on my being with you on Monday, December 9. I will be at your office around 1:30 p. m.

Sincerely yours,

Rufus

REC:b

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

December 31, 1957

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rufus:

Enclosed are copies of several things that have brightened the Holiday Season for us. I thought you might like to have several copies of the New York Times story for your own use.

In addition to the letters of grant enclosed, we have had verbal notice of a $5,000 grant from the Aaron Norman Fund, in support of our interagency work.

All good wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures. Thermofax copies of William C. Whitney Ltr.
Thomas W. Young Ltr.
John H. Wheeler Ltr.
Steelworkers Ltr.
Presbyterian, USA, Ltr.
12 copies - N. Y. Times Reprint - 12/25/57

Clement Boone

RECEIVED JAN 14 1958

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 13, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your recent letter and the enclosures. I am delighted to know about the financial assistance which the letters report.

With kind regards, I am

Cordially,

Rufus

REC:b

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

November 7, 1958

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rufus:

Enclosed is a draft report of the Executive Committee for such use as you may wish to make of it at the Annual Meeting next Tuesday. I know you understand that we offer it with no thought that it's necessarily what you will wish to say as chairman of the Executive Committee.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

DRAFT

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE ANNUAL MEETING

Present By

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Chairman

November 11, 1958

Since the full Council was last assembled your Executive Committee has met four times to carry out the mandates of the 1957 Annual Meeting and to give policy direction to the staff.

Problems created by resistance to desegregation remain critical in much of the South. So long as this is the case, none of us can afford to be content with our efforts, individually or organizationally, to promote just and lasting solutions. Yet we can take some satisfaction from the fact that the Southern Regional Council has made significant achievements in the past year, and that it is today operating on a larger and more effective scale than ever before in its fifteen years of existence.

One mark of the Council's importance to the South in this troubled time has been the unprecedentedly full attendance and active participation of the Executive Committee. Another is this meeting itself. We are strengthened and gratified by the presence of most of the new members elected last November. Those who accepted election are:

Dr. James A. Colston, Knoxville, Tenn.; Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim, Dallas, Tex.; Mr. S. E. Duncan, Raleigh, N. C.; Mr. Paul Green, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Mrs. Austin Kimball,

Gainesville, Fla.; Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Hattiesburg, Miss.; Mr. Benjamin Muse, Manassas, Virginia; Dr. Samuel Proctor, Richmond, Va.; Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, Atlanta, Ga.; Mr. Dan Whitsett, Sylacauga, Ala.; Dr. Bell I. Wiley, Atlanta, Ga.; Mr. Irving Carlyle, Winston-Salem, N. C.; Mr. James Stokely, Newport, Tenn.; Mr. Walter Sharp, Nashville, Tenn.; Dr. Stephen Wright, Nashville, Tenn.; and Dr. Riley B. Montgomery, Lexington, Ky.

If one measure of an organization's effectiveness is the willingness of able, influential persons to give it their leadership and support, then most certainly the Southern Regional Council's worth is well attested.

You have all received periodic reports on the program activities of the Council, and it would be superfluous in this report to review in detail the many and varied activities which the organization has carried on.

Your Executive Committee has counseled closely with the staff on program activities during the past year. We can note with some pride that the Council is called upon for an ever-increasing range of services to those who are working constructively on Southern problems, at local, state, and national levels. Gratifying as this may be, however, it raised difficulties which we cannot ignore. The very number and magnitude of the demands which are made upon the Council put a great strain on our personnel and financial resources. Although both our staff and our budget have

grown appreciably, the problems and opportunities which confront us have grown even more. The Executive Director will have more to say about these considerations, which call for the best judgment of every one of us.

The financial condition of the Council has been substantially improved. Many of you will recall vividly the time, not long past, when our solvency was measured in days, or even hours. Now we can at least discuss our financial needs in terms of the coming year. As you will observe from the financial reports to be presented shortly, the Council has gained support from important new sources during the past year. The question is whether we can hold this support and supplement it as needed to continue our operation at the same level in the period ahead.

One measure of our improved financial stability is the consideration given by the Executive Committee to added staff security and benefits. We are conscious of the fact that the Council, unlike such established institutions as universities and business organizations, can offer little in the way of long-range prospects of tenure, advancement, and retirement. Accordingly, the Executive Committee has given consideration to additional staff benefits that are within our means and may compensate in part for the lack of more permanent job security. The Committee's recommendations will be placed before you in today's session.

Regretfully, we report the impending loss to the staff of Emory Via, who for the past two years has served as the Council's Labor Consultant. As of January 1, Mr. Via will join the faculty of the School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin. The new position affords him an opportunity to advance his career in the academic field which he could hardly forgo. His able and devoted services to the Council have earned him the appreciation of our organization and of the Southern labor movement as well. We are grateful, also, to the Trade Union Program for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties whose generosity made this special project possible. Although the position of Labor Consultant cannot be continued, the Executive Committee will later present recommendations for other means of strengthening the Council's staff.

The other matters to which the Executive Committee has addressed itself in the past year have been made known to you in various reports and mailings. We have given the staff direction and assistance in countering extremist attacks upon the Council's reputation, in continuing program and financial aid to the state councils on human relations, and in expanding our central offices in Atlanta.

One action taken by the Executive Committee perhaps deserves special mention. At its August meeting, the Committee adopted a letter to President Eisenhower, calling

on him to express unequivocally the Executive Department's determination to see that the orders of the Federal Courts are upheld. The Director was instructed to deliver the letter personally to the White House and to reinforce its contents by discussions with administration officials. The Executive Director subsequently presented the letter to the Assistant to the President and later discussed it as well with the Attorney General and the chief of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division. It is a tribute to the Council's recognition in its field that these interviews in Washington were granted within a few hours after they were requested. And, while leadership in these matters may leave much to be desired, the Council's representation played a substantial part in the issuance of one of the few strong statements on law and order so far issued by the President.

This, then, is the report of your Executive Committee as the Southern Regional Council nears the end of its fifteenth year of existence. There is much to be done if the Council is to live up to the challenge of its sixteenth year. Its area of influence and effectiveness needs to be broadened, its financial base needs further solidifying, its staff structure needs to be strengthened to meet the staggering demands which a time of crisis makes upon an organization like ours. But as we confront these needs, we can rest assured that we have in the Council an instrument in which

we can confidently invest our hopes and our efforts. It has been tested by time and has proved its worth by solid accomplishments. Given our best leadership and imagination, there are no limits to the contribution it can make.

- : -

November 7, 1958

February 9, 1959

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

The enclosed form requires the signatures of those persons having access to the SRC safety deposit box at the First National Bank.

At your convenience would you please sign the form - on both sides - where the signatures of the three staff members appear. We are enclosing an addressed envelope so that the form may be mailed directly from your office to the bank.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 12, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I clipped this enclosed article from the NEW YORK POST of June 11. Evidently, Josephine Wilkins did a good job for us.

I was delighted to receive a copy of the letter to you from The New World Foundation. Congratulations!

Cordially,

Rufus

REC:b
Enclosure

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

December 1, 1960

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rufus:

At the Annual Meeting the Members requested that I convey to you their deep appreciation for the facilities and services of Atlanta University. This I am happy to do, for these facilities and the efforts of the Atlanta University staff contributed substantially to a very successful meeting.

We were very sorry that you could not be with us. I trust that during the year we can consider some way to resolve this conflict of schedules between the SRC Annual Meeting date and those of the Atlanta University and Morehouse College boards.

We will be in touch with you soon about possible dates for the January meeting of the Executive Committee.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 2, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Atlanta University has always been pleased to make its facilities available for use by the Southern Regional Council.

I hope that we can resolve the conflict which continues to make it impossible for me to be present at SRC's annual meetings.

Thank you for your kind letter.

With warm regards, I am

Cordially,

REC:b

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

bc: Mr. Harold Fleming

PA ✓

RECEIVED
FEB 10 1961

February 7, 1961

Dr. Rufus Clement
President
Atlanta University
Chestnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

I don't want to let the time get by without saying to you how much I appreciate the years of time and energy and concern which you have devoted to the leadership of the Executive Committee. I have often wondered how you have managed to do it along with all the other responsibilities which you carry. The fact that you have done it and done it so well is a measure of your devotion to the cause of the Council. So this is just one man's personal word of thanks.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin
Director

JAG/gp

November 20, 1961

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

The members of the Council have requested that I convey to you their appreciation for the excellent hospitality of Atlanta University, which contributed so much to the success of the Annual Meeting.

A resolution to this effect was unanimously approved, along with a statement of regret that you could not be present.

In both of these sentiments the staff thoroughly agrees. Please express to Mrs. Murphy, Mrs. Kennedy, Mrs. Anderson, Mrs. Comer and the others of your staff our deep appreciation.

We are very hopeful that our meeting can be planned next year so that it does not conflict with your Board Meeting. Your contributions have been greatly missed these past two years.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mm

August 12, 1963

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

Some time ago I received a copy of your 1962-63 annual report, which I have just now been able to read through. It is a chronicle of impressive and intelligent advance toward the educational challenges of our day.

Report filed in Research

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Board: R. E. Clement

November 9, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you for sharing Vernon Eagle's letter with me. This is very good news.

With congratulations and kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

REC:c

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

Rec'd 8/13/64
Lunch-fyi

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA

Found - Rufus Clement

file

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

August 12, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

I am acknowledging a copy of your letter of July 27 to Dr. Braisted of the Hazen Foundation. I hope that the Foundation will be able to make the grant you have requested.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Rufus

REC:c

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

October 14, 1964

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

I found it interesting that this particular issue attracted Mr. MacGregor's special attention.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Rufus Early Clement

Born: Salisbury, North Carolina, 1900.

Formal education: A.B. Livingstone College 1919; B.D. Garrett Bible Institute, 1922; A.M. Northwestern University 1922, PhD. 1930.

Occupational history: Instructor of history, Livingstone College, 1922-25; professor of history and dean, Livingstone College 1925-31; dean, Louisville Municipal College for Negroes (University of Louisville) 1931-37; president of Atlanta University 1937 - ; Awarded Kidder Prize Garrett Bible Institute); Northwestern University fellowship, 1928-29.

Member of: Trustee, Livingstone College, Morehouse College, Spelman College, Atlanta University School of Social Work; Southern Conference for Human Welfare (member of the executive committee); Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation (chairman); director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1937-44; member of the board of directors of National Public Housing Conference, 1940-44; Citizens Conference on International Economic Union (vice president); member of colored work department, Committee National Council, Y.M.C.A.; member of the advisory committee, U.S. Office of Education, Survey on Higher Education for Negroes; member of the advisory committee of Southern Youth Conference; advisory committee, Planned Parenthood; executive committe member, United Negro College Fund; Committee on Citizenship, Association of American Colleges; second vice chairman, American Council on Education 1945-46; president National Association of Deans and Registrars, 1932-34; American History, American Academy of Political Science, American Association of School Administrators, Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; National Urban League (advisory committee); Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes (member of the executive committee, 1934-40, president 1938-39, chairman of the council on graduate study 1938-39); National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (president, 1935-36, chairman of the general council, 1936-37); Kappa Alpha Psi, Sigma Pi Phi; editorial board of Phylon.

Publications: contributing editor, Journal of Negro Education; contributes to various publications on subjects of Negro education; editorial board of Phylon.

Presented by Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Chmn Exec. Ctee

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 33
TO THE
ANNUAL MEETING 28 Chairman

The year that has elapsed since we met last November at Williamsburg, Virginia, has been one of the most eventful in the Southern Regional Council's fourteen years of existence. At our last annual meeting, we made policy decisions of profound significance to the future of the Southern Regional Council. We regretfully accepted the retirement of Dr. George S. Mitchell as of mid-January 1957 and chose as his successor to the position of executive director Harold Fleming of the Council's staff. We also adopted a comprehensive policy statement calling for major re-direction of the Council's program and for a new pattern of relationship with the state councils on human relations, which were to become independent organizations as of October 1, 1957. We recognized that the very continuation of the Southern Regional Council depended on the negotiation of a new period of support from the Fund for the Republic and the securing of sizeable additional funds from new sources. Finally, we recognized that the critical stage in the South's transition to a desegregated society made it mandatory that the Council not only continue its efforts but broaden and intensify them as much as humanly possible.

Your Executive Committee has addressed itself to the carrying out of these mandates of the last annual meeting during the year just past. We have held three two-day meetings, one in January, one in April, and one in July. The matters considered and acted upon in these meetings may be briefly summed up under five major headings, as follows:

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5. Program. Although the past year has required major attention to matters of organization and finance, your Executive Committee has also worked closely with the staff on program development and implementation. We will forego in this report any detailed accounting of program activities. You have already received a detailed report by mail of the activities of the first six months and will hear further today from the Executive ~~Committee~~ Director

about activities during the subsequent period. Two items, however, may be worthy of special mention. We may take justifiable pride in the wide-spread attention and effective use given to the findings of the Council's South-wide survey of Negro suffrage. At a time when the American public and the Congress were giving major attention to this crucial area of civil rights, the Southern Regional Council was able to make public the only detailed and documented facts in existence as to voter registration and the obstacles encountered by Negro citizens who seek to exercise their right to the ballot. A program proposal developed in the last meeting of the Executive Committee seems to us to hold special promise. This is a proposal that the Council, in cooperation with Atlanta University, sponsor a major institute on the international effects of race relations problems in the South. The object is to assemble on the campus of Atlanta University a group of the nation's leading figures in international affairs, as well as influential leadership from within the South. Such a conference, thoroughly publicized through the press, radio, and television, could do much to make clear the threat to the national welfare posed by irresponsible leadership which insists on perpetuating segregation and discrimination in defiance of the law of the land.

In summary, the Executive Committee sees the past year as one in which the challenge to and need for an organization such as ours have been greatly sharpened. The accomplishments of the past year should serve to assure us that we have in the Council an instrument through which we can work together effectively for the principles and aims which we share. Given our conscientious support and participation, it may play a decisive part at this crucial ~~point~~ stage in the history of the South.

January 14, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole,
Department of Sociology,
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

Dear Dr. Cole:

Your salary check for the first half of January, less the Victory Tax, is attached hereto. According to information which I have seen in the papers, five per cent of all over $26.00 for the half month may be deducted, or a set schedule of deductions may be followed. I requested the office of the Collector of Internal Revenue to send me the instruction sheet, but it has not yet been received. As I recall, the deduction under the schedule provided is slightly less than when figuted on the five per cent basis. If I find, after receiving the instructions, that the deduction this time is incorrect, ad adjustment will be made in the next check.

I regretted having to ask you to postpone your visit until Sunday, and I hope very much that this will not greatly inconvenience you. We shall at least have an opportunity for uninterrupted discussion with Dr. Alexander!

Your reservation at the Central Y. M. C. A. has been changed to Sunday. After finding no vacancies in any of the hotels, I called Mr. Weisiger in desperation yesterday. He knows the new Secretary Mr. Parker quite well and suggested that I call to ask whether it would be possible to get a room there. Mr. Parker said that the guest room would be available and that he would be very happy to have you occupy it. I assured him that we expected to pay for the room, but he insisted that it would be a pleasure to have you as a guest and that he would look forward to meeting you. The room has been newly furnished, he said, and it has a private bath, so I hope you will be comfortable there.

I'll see you Sunday morning!

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

Memo FROM EMILY CLAY

January 20, 1943

Dear Dr. Cole:

Miss Matthews tells me that our supply of the attached Information Test is almost exhausted and that we are having requests for it in response to a letter which Mr. Eleazer sent out earlier in the winter.

Will you please let me know whether you think the blank should be reprinted, possibly with alterations, or whether it should be discontinued.

Perhaps I should say that there has been some criticism of the Test. One college professor, Dr. Harry Moore of the University of Texas, expressed the opinion that it was too elementary for college students (although Mr. Eleazer found that many of them were unable to give correct answers). Another professor, Dr. Belle Boone Beard of Sweet Briar, said that her students offered these criticisms: First, that #13 is an "isolated and unimportant fact;" second, that in #17 there should be a change of wording to "Name one internationally known Negro school." She said that her students also questioned whether Hampton Institute and Fisk University might not compete with Tuskegee Institute, which is listed as the correct answer.

Sincerely yours,

January 20, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole,
Department of Sociology,
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

Dear Dr. Cole:

I copied the report yesterday, but did not complete it in time to have someone check it with me. That job is over now and I am enclosing a copy for further editing. As you will see, I have made marginal comments on some things which occurred to me as I copied or as I checked the report this morning. The page numbers in references have been omitted, but these will be caught in the finished report, as will the numbers for footnotes.

Dr. Alexander asked me to include somewhere in the report, perhaps as an exhibit, a list of the present Commission membership, Board of Directors, and Officers. What would you think of including it as a part of Personnel of the Commission, Part IV, or maybe at the end of Part IV? In listing the officers, what shall I do about Dr. Reid?

Please don't be too critical of the typing and spacing! They are not so good, but all this will be taken care of in the final copying. I shall be very glad, however, to have any suggestions which you may have to make concerning the report.

It was a real pleasure to have you here this week; in fact, I don't know when I have enjoyed a day's work more than the past Sunday. I was glad for my family to have the pleasure of meeting you, too.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

January 22, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Miss Clay:

I have gone over the manuscript, which appears to be in good shape, and am returning it to you.

I shall write you next week about the test. Perhaps there is a demand for it and with some changes it could be improved. I shall make these and return it to you.

Is it based on any particular bulletin? I presume that it might well be sent out as a tool to be used with Understanding Our Neighbors.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Cole

WEC:tm

January 22, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole,
Department of Sociology,
University of the South,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

Dear Dr. Cole:

Dr. Alexander sent me a telegram this morning, asking me to meet him at the Terminal Station as he passed through on the Crescent Limited from New Orleans to Washington, so that he could sign the letters to accompany our report. I felt that it would be much better to have his personal signature, and he had planned to stop here today, but at the last minute could not do so. I omitted the date, of course, and will add it at the proper time.

I asked Dr. Alexander what he thought of our crediting the study of the AAA program with the establishment of the Farm Security Administration as we did on Page 12. He felt that the statement should be modified, perhaps as follows: "Not only this, but the final program of the Farm Security Administration was very largely influenced by the study," or something to that effect. I question the word "final," but there was no time to discuss this with him, as the train was late and he had only ten minutes in the Station. What do you think?

Dr. Alexander also was of the opinion that it would be well to include a Table of Contents. I am attaching a copy showing the Part headings, only, but I wonder whether some of the subheads should be included.

I find that in my pencil notation on Page 11 I wrote "Lynching and Court Action," rather than "Legal Aid and Court Action." In glancing through the report, Dr. Alexander made this comment on the subhead "Court Action Inspired," "We didn't inspire it; we did it!" He suggested, therefore, that we use the title "Legal Aid and Court Action," unless you decide to call this #6 and make a heading parallel with the other numbers.

Mr. Embree was in New Orleans and was greatly interested in the report, so at Dr. Alexander's request I have sent him one of my very rough carbon copies. It will be interesting to see how he reacts to it.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

CONTENTS

PART I. AN APPRAISAL OF THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, Page 1

PART II. THE CASE FOR THE CONTINUATION OF A SOUTHERN INTERRACIAL ORGANIZATION, Page 15

PART III. FUTURE PROGRAM, Page 25

PART IV. 1- PERSONNEL OF THE COMMISSION, Page 30

2- PERSONNEL OF THE STAFF, Page 32

PART V. BUDGET, Page 34

January 28, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole,
Department of Sociology,
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

Dear Dr. Cole:

Since our supply of letterheads is almost exhausted, I have pulled out a few sheets of old stationery to use on the "family!" If the Tennessee Legislature delays action on your request for a leave of absence - or causes a delay, rather, we may be writing on blank paper! I hope, though, that we can hold out until new letterheads can be lithographed. Do you think that we shall have an answer from Dr. Reid by the time you authorize us to include your name on the letterhead?

Thank you for sending me a copy of Mr. Bragdon's letter, which will be treated as confidential. I think that you and I agree with him as to much, if not all, of his criticism, but I hope all grounds for it can be removed now that we have a new set-up.

Dr. Alexander called from Washington yesterday to give me the green light on our report, but I have been so snowed under this week that I had to clear up some things before beginning the job of copying. I hope to get started on it tomorrow. Your suggestion that we capitalize the numbered headings in Part I is good. This will avoid confusion, I think.

I am sorry that the comments in my letter of January 22 could not have reached you before you returned the manuscript, and I am wondering whether you can settle the questions from memory, or whether I should send the copy back to you. On second thought, I am of the opinion that it would be much safer to send my copy to you herewith for reference, and you need not return it to me but can make your comments by referring to certain pages if necessary. The main thing that you need this for is in considering the form of the Table of Contents. I do not know whether it should include merely the Part headings, or whether the subheads should be listed, also. In view of the uncertainty, perhaps I had better wait until Monday to begin the copying. By that time I can have your final comments.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

P.S. I am thoroughly disgusted over our Legislature's action in changing Georgia's time. This will cause endless confusion. Such politics!

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

January 26, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Miss Clay:

I am sending you a copy of Mr. Bragdon's letter which I wish you folks in the Commission would treat as confidential.

I have gone over the tests and have decided it would be better, perhaps, to write a new test based upon Understanding Our Neighbors. I would send out, however, whatever copies of the test you have.

I am working away and will have the bulletin in your hands within a few days.

Cordially yours,

William E. Cole

WEC/m
Encl.

COPY

777 East St.
Walpole, Mass.

January 15, 1943

Dear Dr. Cole:

You asked me, you remember, to set down on paper the reactions I had from my examination of the work of the Commission on Education and Race Relations in Atlanta. Here goes, for whatever it may be worth to you. I shall forgo the temptation to prefact criticism with polite assurance that I found much to be admired. I shall assume that you take that for granted.

1. Administration of the Office- It struck me that there was some degree of inefficiency, of two prime sorts: first, a somewhat "bureau-drawer" system of filing informations received by the office; second, a lack of coordination between Mr. Ames and Mr. Eleazer, with consequent duplication of work and failure on the part of each to make full use of the resources provided by the other. The import of replies from superintendents, of requests for materials, of units of work submitted to the office has not been brought out as clearly as it might have been with a bit of relatively simple clerical manipulation and indexing. Materials put out by Mrs. Ames which are quite as useful for teachers as material put out by Mr. Eleazer are not got into the hands of teachers. I am not even sure that a single policy giverns the work of both offices. At least I found no evidence that effort has ever been made to make it easy for teacher A and Churchwoman B in City X to work together in City X. Again, the postage bill alone is out of all proportion to the good done, it seems to me, by the circulars it pays for.

2. Nature of Materials- I feel that there is room for a good deal of weeding, some rewriting, considerable new writing. Some of the phamphlets are simply way out of date, not only in terms of the informations contained in them, but also in terms of the policies which they expound. Others, while perfectly sound doctrine, are so familiar to the people who have been in contact with the office, that they have outlived their usefulness. Such, I think, should simply be put out of circulation entirely. Obviously, a number of things have occured in the world since some phamphlets were written which furnish new reasons for dealing by education with the problem of race relations, and call for new data and new processes of thought on the basis of such data. I feel that there is very little material which looks to the immediate future for its meaning. Almost everything takese so general and long-term a view of the ends of education for better race relations that it lacks both impact and focus. I am not recommending high pressure or scarr-head or sensational materials, but only more forceful and times-conscious ones. Incidentally, too, I suspect that a series of pamphlets could be worked out which, taken in series and together, would add up more clearly. Suppose, for instance, that a single sizable handbook of essential informations with regard to the social, cultural and political and economic condition and status of the Negro in the South were prepared for teachers- as the first step in preparing themselves to do an informed as well as sympathetic job in teaching for better race relations. Suppose that another booklet or several booklets were worked out centered on the theme of the various reputable school-objectives of work

(continued)

in the field; another centered on the theme of promising experiments in conducting such work. I mention this only as a way of suggesting that some sortof cumulative, patterned order might be got into pamphlets— to the greater benefit of teachers and the lessened expense of printing.

3. Services- Something is wrong when a particular mode of approach secures a 25/480 return. Are the right people being contacted? Are they being contacted in the best way? It looks as if most of the effort to stimulate and implement schoolwork in the field were being done by correspondence, and that the stimulus which good implementation provides were being neglected. Again, I am not suggesting high-pressure selling, but I am wondering if fresher selling might not be wise. People who do not know the Commission's product are not being reached; people who do know its product only too well are not being offered a "vitamin reinforced" product, so to speak. There seems to me too little face-to-face selling, too much reliance on filtering of demand from the top down, from superintendents down to teachers, too much "here is a product if you want it" and not enough "here is why you need this product."

4. Policy- What can I say here maybe, of course, of not worth whatever. I feel, however, that the following policies might help to increase the usefulness of the work: (a) a policy of promoting and implementing coordinated work in communities on the part of schools, churches and civic groups. (b) A policy of persuading schools to try experiments and report on their success to the Commission. (c) A policy of promoting conferences or workshops which do not seek to inspire so much as to inform teachers. (d) a policy of getting influential Southern groups and individuals behind an effort to persuade teacher-training institutions to provide study in economics, sociology and anthropology which must underlie special training in the teaching in race relations. (e) a policy of publicity which makes full and courageous use of the notion that not moral principle but social and economic sense demands work in the field of race relations (which implies reference to America's responsibility for securing the confidence of Asia by indicating at least a concern to improve American democratic practice, and reference to the fact that Southern white well-being calls for re-examination of attitude and practices).

On the theory that you wanted to speak out just as I reacted, I have done just that, running the risk of saying things I might not be able to substantiate. The only use I can see for what I might say is that it could serve to pile up opinion which agrees with your own observations.

It is my belief in the worth of the Commission's work which allows me to say these things.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Clifford Bragdon

February 12, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole,
Department of Sociology,
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

Dear Dr. Cole:

The job of writing our report three times, including the full list of Commission members, officers, and Board of Directors, trimming and mounting the magazine articles, and assembling the whole thing was greater than I really had anticipated. However, it is all out of the way now, and we shall have to await the pleasure of the various Boards! I certainly hope that our requests will be granted, so that the Commission's program can be developed as planned.

I understood that the Legislature was not responsible directly for your being granted (or not being granted) a leave of absence, but that you thought it well not to push the matter too vigorously until after the adjournment of that body. I still hope that this will not cause any upset in our plans and will not delay the decision too long, first, because I am anxious to be assured that you can come on the Commission's staff as Executive Director and, second, because we need some letterheads! If I allowed myself to sit down and think seriously about the possibility of your having to give up this work, because of failure to get the leave, I should be positively ill, but I have tried to follow Scarlett O'Hara's practice of "thinking about that tomorrow!" Meanwhile, I certainly hope that the leave will soon be granted and that you will be coming down more frequently to direct our work.

Of course, I don't know what Dr. Alexander would say, but I do not see how we can offer Dr. Reid even a part-time salary until we have secured a grant for his budget. Our appeal to the American Missionary Association Division of the Congregational and Christian Churches was for funds for his budget. It was my understanding that the addition of a Negro Associate Director to our staff was contingent on our finding the money especially for that purpose. That is what Dr. Alexander said when we made up our <u>minimum</u> budget for 1943. As you know, we have barely enough money in sight to cover that. Dr. Reid 'phoned the office several days ago and asked that I let him know the next time you are in Atlanta, as he is anxious to talk with you.

Our stock of <u>Understanding Our Neighbors</u> and <u>America's Tenth Man</u> is rapidly going, and the supply of the Study Guide for the former has been exhausted.

When you were here, you said that you would like to have a Negro (perhaps Dr. Reid) revise America's Tenth Man. I wish that we could do something about this soon. We have been "swamped" with literature requests recently, and nearly everyone wants Tenth Man.

Dr. R. L. Russell was in the office earlier this week and asked when you would be here again. As you may remember, he is a member of the Board of Directors and also Chairman of our Georgia Committee. I told him that you would be here on February 18 to attend a Y.M.C.A. Conference, but I did not know whether you would remain here over Friday, the nineteenth, or not. He is anxious to see you and would like to have a little time with you while you are in the city, and I have promised to let him know what time would be convenient for you. He lives in McDonough, which is nearby, but comes into Atlanta frequently. Mr. Killam told me that the conference would be from 10 A. M. to 4 P. M., but I was afraid to suggest a definite time for Dr. Russell to come in without consulting you. Please let me know, or send a note directly to Dr. Russell, McDonough, Georgia, telling him when you can see him.

By the way, I have said nothing to Mrs. Ames about the possibility (which I hope is very remote) of your being unable to get a leave of absence. I knew that it would upset her terribly, so I decided to say nothing until there was something definite to say! I was upset enough myself without having to console her!

We are losing another member of our staff. Miss Matthews who has been with the Commission almost from the beginning, was called to the Civil Service Office yesterday to be interviewed about a position. When she came back, she announced that she had accepted it, so she will be leaving in ten days or two weeks. She says that she will have a better salary, with the promise of an opportunity for advancement. Now, I must hustle around and find someone else to help us. I am glad that this did not happen while I was busy with the report, for I had my hands full with it.

Please let me know whether or not you would like to have a reservation at the Piedmont for the eighteenth, or possibly for the night before. I shall be glad to call the hotel as soon as I hear from you.

So far as this office is concerned, Dr. Alexander has dropped off the face of the earth; I haven't heard one word from him since he passed through Atlanta on his way from New Orleans to Washington, except for the telephone conversation a few days later when he said that I might put the report in final form. But he has probably been very busy trying to save the Farm Security Administration.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

January 29, 1943

Miss Emily Clay, Secretary
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Miss Clay:

I really believe that it would be adequate simply to include the part headings in the report, although I have no objections to including some of the subheadings. I believe, however, that Items 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., in Part One of the report would not make good subheadings.

I am getting Understanding Our Neighbors into pretty good shape and shall get it to you next week, along with the test.

As soon as our legislature adjourns, I will again ask for a leave of absence. I failed to indicate to you that the legislature has nothing to do with the leave, but that the President's attitude was unfavorable to its being granted; I believe he may be willing to change his mind after the legislature has adjourned. In the event that he will not give me a leave, I will be faced with the problem of either resigning or else giving up the prospect of serving as Director.

After you spend twelve years at a place, you hesitate to leave unless you can see five or more years of continuous work in prospect. On the other hand, the prospect of working with the Commission is a thing which appeals to me immensely. Our legislature should certainly adjourn by February 15th.

In the event that I cannot get a leave and cannot talk myself into quitting, won't you scan the South for someone else who might carry on the work? I should be very willing to aid such a person, without cost, to institute the program which we have outlined.

As soon as I get a definite answer, we can go ahead with the new letterheads.

I had a letter from Dr. Odum, telling me that the final employment of Reid was dependent upon Dr. Johnson and myself. I have indicated to Dr. Johnson that we are willing to close with him at a salary of $3000 for approximately half-time. I assume that we can obligate ourselves, at least temporarily, for this amount of money, hoping that Rosenwald will add some additional funds to the budget, if we should run out before the end of the current year. We hope, of course, to have some success with other foundations, prior to any prospect of scarcity of funds.

I am having to fill a number of speaking engagements relative to the race problem. These are taking some time, but I shall be able to finish the bulletins shortly.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Cole

CC: Dr. Howard W. Odum
Dr. Chas. S. Johnson
Dr. W. W. Alexander

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

February 3, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Committee on Inter-Racial Cooperation
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Miss Clay:

I am enclosing a copy of the letter which Charles Johnson sent me in reply to my letter indicating that I was ready to approve Dr. Reid as soon as he gave his approval.

Dr. Odum feels that it is none of his business and that Dr. Alexander had already given his approval. I have indicated that the employment of Dr. Reid will upset our budget, however, I believe we should go ahead with his employment and have him begin work immediately. I would like your reaction so that I can close out the negotiations with Reid.

I have to go to Memphis for a two or three day meeting dealing with the impact of the war on the South. Unless there is some urgent need for me to come to Atlanta before the 17th, I shall be there for the 18th.

Cordially yours,

William E. Cole

WEC:tm
Encl.

(COPY)

Fisk University
Department of Social Sciences
Nashville, Tennessee

January 30, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Cole:

Thank you for the copy of your letter of January 19th to Dr. Odum. I am very glad that you seem to be working out a satisfactory arrangement on the Atlanta situation.

With Best Wishes,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Charles S. Johnson

February 12, 1943

Mr. William E. Cole
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

My dear Mr. Cole:

I note with interest your letter to Miss Clay indicating that you had encountered difficulty in securing a leage of absence from the University. I hope you secure the leave but if you cannot, you will accept the directorship of the Commission nevertheless. We perhaps did not discuss tenure with you in as much detail as the situation demanded.

The Rosenwald Fund is committed to a long-time program of race relations in the South through the Commission on Interracial Cooperation to which they have already made a preliminary grant. Mr. Embree and I have interviewed representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation regarding the possibility of support from them for this program. These interviews were very encouraging and we fully expect support from these sources for a minimum five-year period. Last week in Chicago, talks were had with Marshall Field on the same subject and Mr. Embree and I are encouraged to believe that he will support such a program for a five-year period.

In view of these and other possible sources of support, I feel that you are safe in coming to the Commission insofar as tenure is concerned and also insofar as support for the progrm which you have outlined is concerned.

One of the things that will make this support possible is your leadership. Without that, I do not know what we could do. I know of no one else to whom we could turn, or in whom these financial agencies would have equal confidence. Therefore, I certainly hope that the position will continue to appeal to you and that you will allow nothing to interfere with your accepting this leadership.

I assume we had better not go forward with the financial discussion with Reid until the whole question of your own future is absolutely clear. When that is settled, we can then close with Reid.

With assurances of high regards, I am,

Sincerely,

cc Dr. Odum
cc Miss Clay

Will W. Alexander

Memo FROM EMILY CLAY February 15, 1943

Dear Dr. Cole:

It was good to have your letter this morning, saying that you would reach Atlanta Wednesday by plane, and I am glad to say that I have been fortunate enough to get a reservation for you at the Piedmont. When I told Mrs. Tilly that I was going to call about a reservation she said that I could not get one -- that she had heard the clerk turn away one person after another today, and that the hotel was filled for the week. This time, Atlanta is host to a Social Security conference and also to a conference of seventy Methodist women from over the South. I was greatly relieved when our friend Mr. Bland, one of the Assistant Managers, said that he could find a place for you, for I certainly did not want to have to send you to the Y.M.C.A. again.

The copy of Dr. Alexander's letter to you, which also came this morning, made me feel very much happier. With his assurance of at least a five-year program, I hope that you will be able to say when we see you this week that you definitely will become our Executive Director!

I am glad to know that you have been able to complete the revisions on the several pieces of printed matter. As I said in my letter on Friday, we shall be needing another supply of "Understanding Our Neighbors" very soon, and the Study Guide supply has already been exhausted.

We shall look forward to seeing you Wednesday.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

February 12, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Miss Clay:

I plan to come to Atlanta by plane on Wednesday of next week and remain over through at least Friday noon. I will spend whatever time is necessary at the Y.M.C.A. conference on Thursday.

While I am fully aware of the fact that I have not been giving the Commission the time it deserves, I have been doing a few things inclusive of the following:

(1) Speech on the "Negro and the War Effort" before the Knoxville Technical Society.
(2) A speech on "Minority Groups in a World at War" before the Maryville College Faculty.
(3) A talk on "Negro Tensions and Adjustments" before the Shrine Club and one of the Y.M.C.A. groups here.
(4) A talk on "Color and Post-War Planning" before the personnel of the Knoxville Y.W.C.A.
(5) Lobbying as intensively as I dared for the repeal of the poll tax in Tenn.
(6) Revision of "Understanding Our Neighbors, which is finished and which I will bring along with me.
(7) Revision of the test to accompany Understanding Our Neighbors.
(8) Revision of the study guide which is to accompany Understanding Our Neighbors.

I have accepted invitations to speak before the Alabama Inter-Racial Commission and the Mississippi Inter-Racial Group. I have been advised that I should not discuss the racial issue in public sessions any more in this community. However, I do plan to discuss some of the Inter-Racial problems on the 22nd before one of our student forums. This is a continuation of a session which we had on February 7th.

I am not sure that Mrs. Ames will be in Atlanta next week but if there are points or problems which she wants to discuss with me, I shall be glad to return at her convenience.

I have been awaiting word from Dr. Johnson as to the employment of Dr. Reid. I hesitate to go ahead with arrangements until I hear from him. I also hesitate to go ahead until I get your opinion on the matter of budget. With our commitments, we do not have enough funds to employ Dr. Reid without over drawing our budget. I hope, however, that we can reach an agreement and see our way clear to close with Reid. He is being offered employment elsewhere, consequently, if we are able to finance his salary I should like to see him begin work on February 15th.

With all good, personal regards I am,

Sincerely yours,

William E. Cole

WEC:m
CC:Dr. Howard W. Odum
W. W. Alexander
Dr. Charles Johnson

Memo FROM EMILY CLAY February 25, 1943

Dear Dr. Cole:

Not until today have I had an opportunity to sit down quietly and read the magazine article which you and Mr. Baker wrote. It is excellent, and I wish that we might order reprints when it is carried in the magazine. The article is not only informational, but is written in such an interesting style. I am returning it herewith, and I thank you for letting me read it.

When you were here you raised the question of the use of the term "spit and polish" Navy. I agree with you that this might be offensive to some people and might, therefore, better be omitted.

On Page 11 you speak of the "17 Southern States." Are you including here the border states - Ohio among them? I can never think of Ohio as a Southern State, but I think Dr. Odum has included it as one in some of his writings.

On Page 13 you mention the "National" Interracial Commission. Does this refer to our organization? If so, shouldn't it be "Southern," or, better still, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which is the exact name. (You see, I am still worrying over our nearly losing Miss Smith's bequest because of having the name of our organization used incorrectly in her will!)

I was glad to have an opportunity to read Mr. Weisiger's article, which is enclosed. He has made a good case and I hope that it will influence the YM.C.A. in this area to develop a good interracial program. I wish, too, that he would be a little more active in our work!

Here is more trouble for you! Yesterday Miss Matthews called my attention to the fact that our supply of "The South--Child Rich--Dollar Poor" is almost exhausted. We have nothing to take its place when it is gone. Please let me have your recommendation. Also, please let me know whether we should have "America's Obligation to the Negro," a copy of which is enclosed, reprinted. The sup-

ply of this leaflet has been exhausted this week.

Mrs. Ames agrees that it is advisable to include the Durham Conference report in the next edition of "Understanding Our Neighbors." It is our opinion, however, that the names of those who attended the meeting are an important part of the report. If you agree, therefore, we shall include the names, also.

Thanks for the copies of your letters to Dr. Odum and Dr. Johnson. I still refuse to even think of the possibility of your giving up the plan to become our full-time Executive Director! So far as we are concerned, it would be a tragedy if such a thing should happen. I hope, therefore, that you will find your president willing to grant the request for a leave.

Mrs. Ames left for Texas today and will come back by way of Alabama for the State meeting. She has left enough work behind, however, so that Mrs. Park and Miss Johnson will not find it difficult to keep busy!

Things are beginning to clear up a little in my work, but I shall have my hands full after Miss Matthews leaves, I imagine, getting someone else trained to do her work. According to present plans, tomorrow will be her last day. For the past week we have had a young girl working half day, and we have about decided to keep her on this basis until she completes her business course in three or four weeks and then take her on a full-time basis. If we do this, it will probably be necessary to get another half-time worker, but Mrs. Park and I feel that for the kind of work to be done in that job it will be better to get a beginner and train her for the job. At least, we are going to give this a trial.

If I remember correctly, you said that you would come to Atlanta next time on March 10, in order to be here for the Georgia meeting the next day. Shall I make a reservation at the Piedmont for you?

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

February 23, 1943

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Department of Social Science
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I had a good talk with Reid when I was in Atlanta. With the assurance with which you have already given us with respect to funds, I believe we should go ahead and employ Reid and have him start work on the first of March.

We would first of all like him to rewrite: "America's Tenth Man" then do some exploration toward the possibility of building up a depository of materials for reference, etc. in the Commission's offices. We believe there is also some possibility for a short pamphlet dealing with the utilization of Negroes in the war effort in the South.

Reid has also indicated his interest in promoting interracial organizations and, consequently, in this capacity can perhaps do for the whole South what Mrs. Ames wanted Mr. Bynum to do.

I talk with Administrative officials this morning and will know this week whether or not I can get a leave of absence. Irrespective of this, I think it wise to employ Reid immediately or else he is likely to slip away to some other position.

If this arrangement meets with your approval will you let me know. I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Odum and Dr. Alexander so that they can register their objections or approval.

Cordially yours,

William E. Cole

WEC/tm
CC: Dr. Odum
Dr. Alexander

February 22, 1943

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Sciences
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

My dear Dr. Odum:

I contacted Administrative officials this morning and I am told that I could expect an answer to my request for a leave this week. I doubt, however, if we will hear so soon inasmuch as we are in quite a turmoil preparing to take care of some 1200 pre pre-flight people who will be here the first of March.

I spent Thursday with the Y.M.C.A. Regional Council. They are willing, I believe, to push the following interracial program in their organizations:

(1) Staff meetings between the White and colored Y.M.C.A.
(2) A Negro representative on Y.M.C.A boards in cities having only one board.
(3) Y.M.C.A. work with young Negroes in communities having no colored Y.M.C.A.
(4) The active promotion of local interracial study groups
(5) The application of a fair labor policy, hours, etc. in handling of Negro employees working for white Y.M.C.A.'s

I had a good talk with Dr. Reid. He is anxious to start work immediately. We are about to exhaust our supply of "America's Tenth Man" which is our most requested publication. I have suggested to Dr. Reid that he revise that and that we clear everything so that he can start work March 1st.

I am now working on some materials for Negro Health Week and shall write a brief statement for the Commission to release to the press on the significance of Negro Health Week.

We have had a good many requests for materials on Negro crime, consequently, I am putting together a few things to be mimeographed; we are also ready to go ahead with the publication of revisions of "Understanding Our Neighbors", the study guide and the test which accompanies it.

"Singers in the Dawn" is being reprinted and we are ordering another supply of "Songs of the South" from the publishers. Theseare all very much in demand, consequently, we want to keep them up-to-date as much as possible and to iron out duplication between publications.

I am going this month and next to talk before the Georgia, the Alabama, the Mississippi and the South Carolina Interracial Conferences, discussing in each instance the thing that they have asked me to discuss.

While in Atlanta, Dr. Noble Bell, who represents the Baptist Congregations, asked me if we would be willing to service his organization with bulletins if they would make a contribution to the Commission. I assured him that we would. We are very anxious to line up the church leadership in other denominations in the fine way that it has been lined up in the Methodist Churches.

The Atlanta office is running smoothly and I think everybody is engaged in significant work. We are having one resignation from the staff, but I believe we will be able to find someone else perhaps for a little more money to take her place. The Georgia Committee appears to be "going to town" with the new Governor. They expect, of course, a day when they will be expected to pay off, which may or may not come. I rather feel that the Georgia group have convinced the Governor of first, their good purpose; second, their sincerity; and thirdly, their strength.

I am sorry that I raised the issue which I may be called on to face with respect to my leaving here or remaining here. Please do not worry too much about it. We know this--that the work has to go on. There are good men available. I know of at least two and perhaps I could even do as much for the Commission outside its employment as within it. I hope that I will be granted a leave. It's no less a protection to you people than to me to try out the work for a period of a year. I am not good in working with groups and organizations and carrying on the appeasement policies which are so often expected from persons dealing with controversial subjects. If at any time I feel that I am having to compromise with my conscience on the work, I shall certainly do you the honor by immediately informing you, rather than continuing to hang a millstone around the interracial work, in the South. As I indicated to Miss Clay, or perhaps to you, what I am now doing for the Commission is so meager as to make me unworthy of my hire, but on the other hand, it is about all I can do in addition to a 15-hour teaching load which will even increase after March 1st. since we are releasing Mr. Jones from two courses of Sociology in order that he may teach history to pre pre-

flight students.

On account of offending the President, I am having to drop all discussion of interracial matters in this immediate vicinity.

I shall look forward to seeing you at the Atlanta conference.

Cordially yours,

William E. Cole

WEC:tm

(COPY)

FISK UNIVERSITY
Department of Social Sciences
Nashville, Tennessee

February 27, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Cole:

I saw Reid briefly in New York, and I am expecting to talk with Dr. Alexander the first of the week, when I see him in Chicago. I continue to be strongly in favor of Reid's appointment.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Charles S. Johnson

Memo FROM EMILY CLAY March 5, 1943

Dear Dr. Cole:

Here are the copies of "Child Rich--Dollar Poor" which you requested.

I am sending, also, two copies of "Democratic Processes at Work in the South," which is our report for 1939-1941. The stock of this pamphlet is almost exhausted. Do you think that we should begin to work on a new report, or what would you suggest? We need something that tells specifically of our work, it seems to me, but it is rather difficult to prepare a report each year in view of the slight change from year to year.

Mr. Googe, one of our printers, does quite a bit of work for Atlanta University, especially for Dr. Reid and Dr. DuBois. He was going from our office to see Dr. Reid the other day, so I asked him to take along two copies of "America's Tenth Man." I have talked with him since and he thinks that the pamphlet will be revised in two or three weeks.

It is too bad that there has been a conflict in the Mississippi and South Carolina dates. I am rather surprised at that, for I was under the impression that the dates had been set after consulting Mrs. Ames, so that there would be no conflict. She is away this week, but will be here Monday. I notice by a card which has just come from Mississippi, however, that you are being advertised as the speaker for their meeting! Mississippi needs help so badly just now that it will be quite a shock when they hear that you cannot be with them.

Has there been any progress with reference to the leave of absence? I hate to be a pest, but I am eager to have a favorable answer! I am looking forward to having some definite word from Dr. Alexander

and Dr. Johnson about Dr. Reid's employment, too.

I have checked with the Piedmont and they have your reservation all right for March 10. We shall look forward to seeing you then.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

Dr. William E. Cole,
Department of Sociology,
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

WILLIAM E. COLE
UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

Saturday Night.

Dear Miss Clay:-

Thanks for the suggestions. They were fine.

We need "The South – Child Rich – Dollar Poor" to keep whacking away at federal equalization. Population & Educational Sociology are my fields so – I can revise it this month, i.e., March. Can you send me two copies. Americas obligation to the Negro I will do. Its handy as an enclosure. Americas position now is different than when it was written.

I got messed up on the Miss. Commissions conference. They are having thirs on March 24th, so is S.C. Since Dr. Odum had asked me specifically to go to S.C., and had made an less committed me to going, I showed go there.

WILLIAM E. COLE
UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

kind respect to the Dunham report. I believe it is wise to include the names of participants.

I hope you are successful in getting someone to take Miss Matthews place. It is very difficult to find experienced people. I believe your plan of training inexperienced ones is best.

Yes, I have the dates are the afternoon plane March 10th. and return the afternoon of the 11th. I'll spend the afternoon of the 10th in the office. I judge the Georgia group will not need me after 12. The evening train is running late now & does not get into Knoxville until about 3 A.M.. I hate to spend money for plane fare but considering the fact I have to make 3 J.C. groups this month & keep my work going here, I almost have to use the plane. Dr. Jones, one of my assistants, begins teaching army fliers Monday

WILLIAM E. COLE
UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

Miss Clay I made a reservation for the 10th. If you would check on it prior to that time, I shall be glad.

Sincerely
Cole

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

March 18,1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Miss Clay:

I plan to spend Thursday morning, the 25th, in the office on my way back from Columbia. I hope it will be possible for me to meet with Mr. Gillian for a minute. If not, would you assure him that we would like to service him with whatever publications he needs to reach his Y.M.C.A. groups. I have been going over Mr. Wiserica's talk before the Y.M.C.A. group. I will have it for him in a day or two. I am making certain revisions and believe that we should go ahead and print it.

Cordially yours,

William E. Cole

WEC/m

March 25, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole,
Department of Sociology,
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

Dear Dr. Cole:

After leaving you this afternoon, Mr. Weisiger came back to the office to talk with me about your suggested changes in his article. I turned to get the revised copy and was unable to find it anywhere. Is there the slightest chance that it got into your brief case by mistake?! I certainly hope so, for it has completely eluded me. In case you have the article, please send it to me, as Mr. Weisiger is anxious to get it "in the mill" as quickly as possible. I shall continue to search my papers, but I have already gone through the things on my desk several times without success.

I wish that we had had more time to talk about circularising the summer schools, but we can do that the next time you are here, I hope.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

March 30, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole,
Department of Sociology,
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

Dear Dr. Cole:

Copies of "The South---Child Rich--Dollar Poor" were sent to you yesterday, as requested.

I am now enclosing a copy of Mr. Weisiger's article as it was finally handed to him. When he came back by the office after talking with you, we discussed the paper and I told him that when you and I talked about it we thought that he would either have to make an introductory statement to the effect that the article was written for white people or else say "white people" instead of "we." He expressed a preference for the introductory statement, so I did not change the "we" in making the copy! He asked whether I had any other criticisms and I told him that I did not like the part about the "black mammy" and the sentimentalism. He thought it was good, but was willing to take the criticism under consideration! You and I had already decided, of course, to omit that paragraph!

Mr. Weisiger talked about having this thing printed only over the name of the Commission, leaving his off completely, but I don't think that we could use it in that way. Do you? In discussing it with him today, I told him that I thought it wouldn't do at all to inject into the meeting of white Southerners, on April 8, anything bearing the imprint of the Commission. He had not thought of that, but agreed that I was right. I suggested, then, that if he wanted to make use of it in that meeting he could have it mimeographed to hand to the people attending the conference. I don't know what he will decide to do, but I am sure that it would be a mistake to pass out anything that would make it appear that the Commission is trying to run that conference. Do you agree? Whether we like it or not, we have to admit that there are still lots of people in the South who disapprove of the Commission and would not follow anything that we outwardly sponsored. Mr. Weisiger understands that, I think.

I saw Mr. Killam today and told him that you were sorry not to see him when you were here last week. He expressed regret at missing you, too. You will probably have a chance to talk when you are here on the eighth. He will be attending that conference, also.

Mrs. Park, who is handling the reservations for the April 8 conference, has reserved a double room for you at the Atlantan Hotel, for April 7. Are you planning to come in early enough on the seventh to spend some time in the office, or will you arrive at night? I am hoping, you know, that we can have some time with Dr. Alexander and Dr. Odum while you are here. I don't know when they will arrive, however, but maybe Dr. Alexander will let me know in advance.

The letterheads were printed just in time. Dr. Odum wrote to ask for a small supply, to be used for special letters which he writes from time to time.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

P.S. I am forwarding two communications addressed to you from Mr. Noble Beall. He sent a copy of his letter to Mrs. Ames, I think, and also to Dr. Russell. Mrs. Ames says that he did quite a bit of editing on his speech and omitted the parts which I mentioned to you when you were here. The man must be crazy. This is the third time, I think, that he has resigned from the Commission or the State Committee - and later asked to be reinstated! Of course, he isn't even a member of the Commission at the present time, as he was not reelected after resigning the last time. He certainly puzzles me.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

March 26, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Miss Clay:

I am wondering if you would send me three copies of "The South, Child Rich, Dollar Poor". I want to use this in connection with the division.

I enjoyed very much seeing you and enjoyed my conversation with our mutual friend of the Southern Bell Telephone.

Cordially yours,

Dr. William E. Cole

3 - #48
E.K.
3-29-43

WEC/m

Wm E. Cole

April 2, 1943

Dr. Noble Y. Beall
Department Cooperative Mission with Negroes
315 Red Rock Building
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Beall:

[redacted]

I appreciated very much your sending me a copy of your [redacted]. I can not praise it as a religious document, although as a social document I am quite frank in saying that I do not agree with you in many respects. This, however, is beside the point. It seems to me that what you were trying to do, although I have possibly judged ih wrong, was to build up a religious basis for racial inequality and this, of course, I can not agree with. I cannot see how a program of interracial cooperation which is reasonable would cause anyone to have to give up his fundamental convictions as to what the Bible teaches.

I would, of course, hat to see one withdraw from an interracial commission just because of difference in opinion. I am not sure what you mean by the "Southern Committee". If this means the Interracial Commission, I believe you indicated to me, at one time, that you were not a member of it.

When I am in Atlanta, I would like to talk the whole thing through with you.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Cole

WEC/m

Wm E. Cole

April 6, 1943

Dr. Edwin G. Clark
Rollins College
Winterpark, Florida

My dear Dr. Clark:

I have had a chance to go over your manuscript very carefully. My candid opinion may be placed in four or five remarks.

(1) The plan of suggestion by grades and levels is very good.
(2) There is much specific enlightening material.
(3) The organization could be improved upon thus rendering the material a little more useful to the teachers.
(4) Some attempts to bring the Negro into fields where relevance is supplied, would, I believe, improve the manuscript in spots.

(5) Perhaps questions, suggested projects, etc. would be more useful if somewhat of a more uniform plan was used in designating them.

(6) Since, of course, you wrote this several years ago and as you indicated to me the manuscript could be improved by indicating some more recent illustrations, facts, etc.

I think the manuscript is worth publishing. We at present do not have the funds for publication but I shall keep the manuscript in mind as attempts are made within the next few weeks to find new funds.

If you have a plan of publication in mind, I wish you would write me. I think you have done a good piece of work which should be put into service as soon as possible.

Cordially yours,

William E. Cole

WEC/m

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

April 6, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Miss Clay:

I am sending you Weiseger's article. I have made a good many changes in it. You are quite right in every detail. This should not be injected into the conference on the 8th. We should not publish it except under his name. If he wants to give it out, we can mimeograph it and he can do so. Above all, the Commission should not be injected into the Southern Conference or should not appear as trying to run it.

I am coming down by plane on the 7th, consequently, will be in the office that afternoon and early next morning.

I am sending you a copy of the letter which I wrote Dr. Beall. The whole thing is confusing and disgusting to me. If he poses as a liberal who, as he says, is going beyond where 95% of his congregation would go, I hate to think what the 95% would stand for.

Cordially yours,

William E. Cole

WEC/m

April 22, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole,
Department of Sociology,
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

Dear Dr. Cole:

The enclosed check for $49.76 covers your expense accounts to the Southern Conference and to the Land Grant College meeting.

In looking through our literature supply this morning, I discovered that we have only a small number of copies of "America's Tenth Man" on hand — not more than three or four hundred. Would you feel inclined toward writing Dr. Reid to ask how soon we might expect to have his revised copy? I thought of doing it, but decided that he might prefer to have the query come from you, rather than from me.

When you were here Monday I intended asking whether you had made any progress in reducing the length of the unit on race relations which was prepared by the two men in Kentucky. I promised to send one of them some copies as soon as we could have the paper mimeographed.

And may I ask a favor? Please don't promise any budget shifts to Mrs. Ames until you and I have had an opportunity to talk about them. You know, of course, that even though we have the budget set up for the whole year we still haven't assurance of appropriations and contributions to cover the whole amount, so that we need to hold to the present figures as closely as possible for the time being. I don't mean to infer that Mrs. Ames has asked for any shifts, but she has mentioned once or twice talking with you about the budget, especially with reference to the Southern Conference expense, and since I am responsible for keeping a check on the funds I thought I'd better mention this before you are called upon to make a commitment. It is the first time that I have ever had to watch dollars so closely, but we have never been "in the red," and I don't want to be if I can help it!

Do you have any idea how many pages your article in SOCIAL FORCES will cover? I thought that I might be having envelopes addressed to the Commission members, but I am not sure of the kind of envelope to use. Are you planning to send a letter along with the article? If so, please let me have it and we can be getting it ready.

We shall look forward to seeing you again before very long.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

I'll try to send the memo. on finances — for Dr. Alexander — tomorrow.

April 29, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole,
Department of Sociology,
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

Dear Dr. Cole:

Your letter of April 27 and the unit on race relations have been received.

I shall be glad to ask Dr. Odum to prepare a letter to the Commission members to go along with the Social Forces article.

Was I correct in understanding that you thought we should ask Mr. Markert for permission to edit the unit, or do you think it will be all right to make the slight changes which you have made without getting his approval? If you want to write, I shall be glad to send a letter in your name.

I think that you are entirely correct about our bearing the expenses of the Southern Conference, but I wanted to have an opportunity to talk with you about any shifts in the budget before they are promised. After that, if it seems evident that more money will be required for these expenses we can ask Dr. Alexander for a special grant. We shall probably have to do this for the expense of printing the statement. The thing which caused me to mention the budget to you in my last letter, however, was another item about which Mrs. Ames had spoken to me, but I think this has been straightened out all right.

After it was decided to include the statement of white Southerners in "Understanding Our Neighbors," Mrs. Ames and I suddenly realized that it would not be clear to do so and at the same time to omit the preamble to the Durham statement. You will no doubt recall that the statement of white Southerners contained two references to the first section of the Durham statement. Without waiting to consult you, therefore, we agreed that the complete Durham statement should be carried and we just did get word to the printer before that part of the booklet was run off the press. I hope that you will not disapprove of our making this decision. We are also waiting until the closing date (May 1) to give the list of signers to the printer.

Before taking the matter of finances up with Dr. Alexander again, let's wait to find whether or not the Smith legacy will be paid within the next week or so. I am hoping to have a check for this next week and if it doesn't come I shall write the executors again.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

April 27, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Miss Clay:

I have put aside the unit on race relations. Very frankly, I seem to have lost it but I hope that I can find it tonight in my possessions at home. I carried it to Washington with me and believe I have it in one of my brief cases at home. *

With regards to budget, I have never indicated but two things to Mrs. Ames, (1) that I would talk with you about the possibilities of shifting funds to her travel account to repay expenses of the Southern Conference and (2) that I thought the Southern Conference was a legitimate expense for the Commission. My point in these conversations is that it seems to me we are losing a most significant moment in race relations work if the field organization, and by that I mean the building up of interracial groups, is neglected at this time.

I am willing to ask Dr. Alexander for a small stipend to cover expenses of the Southern Conference.

The article in Social Forces, folded, will conveniently go into a legal size envelope. I should be glad to prepare a brief letter to accompany the reprint but I believe Dr. Odum or Dr. Alexander could do it--preferably Dr. Odum. Would you not ask him to prepare a brief note which could be mimeographed to go along with the reprint.

Cordially yours,

William E. Cole

William E. Cole

P.S. Will you please hand the enclosed clippings to Mrs. Ames. 4/28

* Have found this. Will send it tomorrow

WEC/m
Encls.

May 4, 1943

Dear Dr. Cole:

The article entitled "Little Farmers Dig in for Victory," which appears in the April FRONTIER, is so fine that it seemed to me it would be of interest to a great many people who do not ordinarily see the paper. I wonder what you would think of our having a reprint of the article, which the printer tells me we can get in quantities of 3,000 for about $26.00 and 5,000 for about $29.00. I mentioned this to Mrs. Ames and she said that she would like very much to have extra copies of the article to distribute through the various State Committee chairmen. It seems to me that this might be especially helpful just now when the politicians are trying so hard to kill the FSA, but I am wondering whether you think it would be worth while. Please let me know as soon as possible, before the type for the April FRONTIER is torn down.

Dr. Alexander called me from Chicago this morning and expressed some concern for the follow-up committee of the Southern Conference. He wondered whether you and Dr. Odum would be included on it. I told him that I thought both names were on the tentative list, and that Mrs. Ames told me this morning she hoped that you would be coming to Atlanta before she leaves for Texas on May 20, as she was anxious to talk with you about the committee. Dr. Alexander asked me to call you and urge you to come as early as possible, but I'll send this note to save both expense and use of busy wires, and the sooner you can come the better! Please don't let it be known, however, that Dr. Alexander has urged you to do so!

You will be interested to know that we now have 238 signatures to the statement of white Southerners. Mr. Spahr sent in twenty-nine signatures of representative Knoxville citizens.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

Dr. William E. Cole,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

May 5, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole,
Department of Sociology,
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

Dear Dr. Cole:

Ralph McGill was anxious to get a letter out to those persons selected for membership on the Committee to confer with the Negroes, sbchh completed the list today. I was glad to find that both you and Dr. Odum were included.

Our supply of "America's Tenth Man" is almost exhausted; we have less than a hundred now, I think. You will decide that I am a pest, but I do wish that something could be done to hurry Dr. Reid along a little!

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

May 5, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Miss Clay:

I plan to spend Wednesday, the 12th, in the office. I shall come down on the morning train and spend the day. I think you are quite wise in carrying the complete statement relative to the Durham Conference in "Understanding Our Neighbors".

I want to talk over with you what I should do this summer and fall. It seems to me that I have made about all the contribution which I can make to the Commission without going into the work on a full time basis. I do not see how I can do this under existing circumstances. I am wondering if it would not be wise to drop out of the picture on June 1st* and continue to give any aid which I can on an unofficial basis during the summer. If the Commission feels then that they need my services beginning September 1st, in an official capacity, I am wondering if it would not be wise for them to ask the University to permit me to come along as consultant for a stipend of we'll say $100 a month. This would enable me to do several things: retain some connection with the Commission, give whatever services I am able to give and aid in keeping the organization intact until funds could be obtained for a full time director.

Let me have your reaction to this plan when I come to Atlanta.

Cordially yours,

William E. Cole

* as far as remuneration is concerned.

WEC/m

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

May 6, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Miss Clay:

I think it would be an excellent idea to reprint the article, "Little Farmers Dig In For Victory". I would order 5000.

I am sending you a bill for work which Miss Campbell did. She is in the College of Education here.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Cole

WEC/tm

May 21, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole,
Department of Sociology,
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

Dear Dr. Cole:

Mr. Googe our friend at the Printing Company, has finally succeeded in getting the America's Tenth Man copy from Dr. Reid for us. He suggested that I send it on to you in rough form, instead of doing any copying, as his printers are accustomed to getting material like this from Dr. Reid. As soon as you have time, please examine the copy and return it to me with any suggestions which you may have for its improvement. Please note especially the places which I have questioned.

It seems to me that Dr. Reid has done an awfully good job and that the revised pamphlet will have much more style, as well as more information. I have made a list of the new division headings. As you will see from the attached copy, they tell a story, and Dr. Reid wants them to be set over to the left and to be followed by dots across the line, I think Mr. Googe said, to make them more outstanding. I like this idea very much, but there is one question in my mind; that is, on Page 13 the heading was written first "And Fought for Their Country." Then, it was changed to "Fight," but this doesn't fit in with the past tense which is used in the other headings. I suppose Dr. Reid's idea was to include the present fighting, but how can we fix it?

I talked with Mrs. Ames about whether or not to send a letter with Understanding Our Neighbors to the Southern Conference people, or maybe I should call it the Atlanta Conference. She thinks that the pamphlet might be better timed if we wait to send it until after the joint conference next month, when it would be all right, in her opinion, to send a letter. What shall I do?

I have not yet heard from Dr. Odum, or from Dr. Alexander and Dr. Johnson, with reference to your connection with the Commission after June 1. Neither have I received from Dr. Odum the letter to go with Understanding Our Neighbors to the members of the Commission and of the Southern Sociological Society. However, Miss Moering sent a note to tell me that Dr. Odum was out of the city and would not return until May 19. Maybe I shall be hearing from him early next week.

The bill for our big pamphlet has come, and our guess wasn't bad. The price was $605.00. The Study Guide was $135.00. That sounds like quite a bit, but we have two good pamphlets! Understanding Our Neighbors, with your revisions, is far better than it has ever been before.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

Mrs. Lilly suggest that it might be effective to use this as a Table of Contents. What is your opinion? Eiz

IN THE BEGINNING .....

THERE WAS ENSLAVEMENT .....

OF PEOPLE WITH A CULTURAL PAST .....

WHO BROUGHT THEIR FOLKLORE AND MUSIC .....

THEIR POETS AND ARTISTS .....

TEACHERS, PREACHERS .....

AND SCIENTISTS .....

NATURALLY, THEY WORKED .....

THEN CAME EMANCIPATION! .....

AND RECONSTRUCTION .....

AND LIFE BEGAN ANEW! .....

THEY CONTINUED TO WORK .....

THEY WENT INTO BUSINESS .....

AND FIGHT FOR THEIR COUNTRY .....

THEY BEGAN TO IMPROVE THEIR LIVING .....

TO LEARN .....

TO ENJOY A FREEDOM OF RELIGION .....

TO WRITE .....

AND SING .....

AND ACT .....

AND PLAY .....

AND TO DO THIS AND THAT, EVEN AS YOU AND I .....

SO, ON AND ON HE GOES .....

Miss Clay:-

It just occured to me that if we sent "Understanding our Neighbors" to the Members of the Southern Conference, we had perhaps better not send a letter. My thought is that they might then think, we were trying to dominate them. I'll abide by your & Mrs. Jones decision.

Sincerely

Lee

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

May 27, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Miss Clay:

I have returned under separate cover the manuscript of "America's Tenth Man". I think Reid has done an excellent job. I have penciled in my notes in a few places. I also enclosed with the manuscript the usual evasive type of letter from Dr. Odum, the penciled notation of which is significant. I rather consider that he feels that I do not understand the administrative set up of the Commission. The thing, of course, I was trying to do was to get some action from whatever sources.

I think it would perhaps be better if we waited until after the next conference to send a letter accompanying "Understanding Our Neighbors". I would not worry too much about the printing costs. I think the quality of the pamphlet will more than outweigh the monetary costs.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Cole

WEC:tm

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

May 18, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Cole:

Dr. Johnson returned to the office on May 13th, after an absence of some three weeks, only to be advised to report immediately to the hospital for a very necessary check-up and period of recuperation. He is therefore now at Hubbard Hospital and will be there at least through the 20th. Your letter of the 12th will be brought to his attention as soon as he is able to resume his duties at the office.

Sincerely yours,

Bonita Valien

Bonita Valien
Administrative Assistant

bv-p

WILL W. ALEXANDER
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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SECRETARY-COMPTROLLER

KENDALL WEISIGER
TREASURER

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING

Atlanta, Georgia

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
DIRECTOR OF FIELD WORK

May 19, 1943

Dear Cole:

Thank you for your letters. I did not see Dr. Alexander this week to talk over matters.

There seems to be one point, however, on which you and I differ very greatly. My viewpoint is that as President of the Commission I have only relationship to the Board, and that the ideal board never makes any suggestion whatever to the executive and administrative officers. You understand, of course, that they give advice, legislate to make possible effective work, and cooperate when requested.

My idea is that you should accept or reject this appointment in time on the assumption, first, that you are to be the boss and do it the way you think it ought to be done within the framework of the organization.

And, second, in accordance with your own judgment as to whether the Commission will have enough money to make it a first-class organization.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Dr. William E. Cole
Department of Sociology
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

ENCLOSURE:
Copy of letter to
Miss Clay

I'm just talking to Alexander. I think we all agree that we hope you will stand by until we see how good an organization we can create! Go ahead, of course, with [illegible]

COPY FOR PROFESSOR COLE

May 19, 1943

Dear Miss Clay:

The letter that Mr. Cole has suggested for sending out is, of course, just about right. I have no suggestions or amendments.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

ENCLOSURE:
Suggested letter

June 4, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole
Department of Sociology
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Cole:

Thanks for going over the copy for AMERICA'S TENTH MAN. It is now in the hands of the printers and I hope that the completed pamphlet will be ready for distribution toward the end of this month. With your approval, I am going to omit the picture at the bottom of the outside cover. My sister and I have decided that it gives the cover a rather unbalanced appearance, and it seems to me, anyway, that we should make it perfectly evident from the outside that this is a new edition. Do you agree?

Here is more trouble for you! We have only a very small supply of THE INTERRACIAL COMMISSION COMES OF AGE, and this is the only leaflet which tells of the beginning of the Commission. It has been suggested by several people that this leaflet should include more names of early members or organizers of the Commission. What do you think of the suggestion, and do you think that other changes should be made? I am enclosing a copy in case you do not have one convenient.

I have just written Dr. Alexander to ask for another payment from the Rosenwald Fund, as we have only about enough money to carry us through this month, and to remind him that he has not yet answered my inquiry about your status beginning June 1. Dr. Charles Johnson has written as follows:

"Although I am planning to discuss the matter with Dr. Alexander when I see him in Chicago on the 31st of May, I might say, meanwhile, that the second of Dr. Cole's alternatives strikes me as the better of the two. (That's about going on quarter time. E.H.C.) My hope is, however, that we shall see ourselves soon in better position to guarantee the security of the program in a manner that would warrant his full time activities with the Commission."

I told Dr. Alexander that this was a little encouraging, but that we need something more definite. I hope that he and Dr. Johnson will soon be able to give us definite assurance.

You and I have exactly the same reaction to Dr. Odum's evasive letters. He certainly has demonstrated to both of us that he has no intention of taking responsibility for the future financing of the organization, and he doesn't seem to be bothering himself about our real problems, at least. He is a puzzle to me.

I am wondering whether you have begun your TVA work, and when you will be coming to Atlanta again. I seem to remember that you will come down to teach a course at the Atlanta University Summer School, but I can't remember the dates. We are beginning a house-painting job on Monday at home and I hope to take a few days of my vacation in order to relieve my mother of some of the responsibility of this awful job. However, I shall be available whenever you can arrange to come to Atlanta, and I want to be sure to see you. The painting job may drag on for a couple of weeks, but I shall be back and forth between home and office during that time and shall not take the full two weeks.

Being so short-handed so far as office help is concerned has delayed us in getting UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS out to the members of the Southern Sociological Society and of the Commission. The former have just gone, and the latter will go next week, however. The reprint of your article in SOCIAL FORCES has not yet come.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

June 17, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole
Department of Sociology
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Cole:

Here is the suggested addition to THE INTERRACIAL COMMISSION COMES OF AGE:

> Others who had an active part in organizing the Commission and planning its program were Dr. John Hope, President of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia; R. H. King, Regional Director, International Committee of the Y. M. C. A., Atlanta; Dr. R. R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama; Dr. Plato Durham, of Emory University, Georgia, and Dr. C. B. Wilmer, Rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Atlanta. In 1920 a Department of Woman's Work was added, under the direction of Mrs. Luke G. Johnson, of Griffin, Georgia. Among those who pioneered with Mrs. Johnson in this work were Mrs. Booker T. Washington and Mrs. R. R. Moton, of Tuskegee Institute; Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown of Sedalia, North Carolina; Mrs. T. W. Bickett, of Raleigh, North Carolina; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, of Daytona Beach, Florida; Mrs. Marion B. Wilkinson, of Orangeburg, South Carolina; Mrs. W. C. Winsborough, of St. Louis, Missouri; Mrs. Janie Porter Barrett, of Peak's Turnout, Virginia; Mrs. J. G. Jackson, of Little Rock, Arkansas, and Mrs. W. A. Newell, of Statesville, North Carolina.

I showed this to Mrs. Ames when she returned from Richmond today and she thought it was a sufficient number of names to use. Do you approve?

It seems to me that we should also include "1940" beneath the title of the leaflet, since that was the year of our coming of age.

Please make any changes which you think would improve the leaflet and let me have it back as soon as convenient.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

The Interracial Commission Comes of Age

COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, INC.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Revised, February, 1942

The Interracial Commission Comes of Age

A week before the Armistice, November 11, 1918, a traveler in the South would have been struck by the apparent solidarity of the population, white and Negro. In support of the war they were united as never before. Two hundred thousand Negro men were fighting in France and many more were preparing to go over. The millions of Negroes at home were responding heartily to every wartime appeal and, in proportion to their means, quite as generously as any other group.

A week after the Armistice one might have observed a subtle but ominous change. Distrust was awakening. What would be the attitude of the Negro troops when they returned from France? Rumors filled the air and by the time the soldiers began to return, suspicion and fear had taken deep hold upon both races. Mob violence, which had greatly declined during the war, burst out afresh. In city after city race riots flamed up, with casualties on both sides. The tension tightened everywhere, and with dread suspense the Nation awaited the outcome.

Oppressed by the dangers inherent in the situation, a small group of Southern men met day after day in Atlanta seeking some means to avert racial conflict. At the center of this group were John J. Eagan, manufacturer and churchman, Will W. Alexander, who as a representative of the Y. M. C. A. War Work Council was in close touch with the returning Negro troops, and Dr. M. Ashby Jones, pastor of a leading Atlanta church—representatives of the three strongest Southern denominations, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist.

Out of the thought and prayer of these men and others like them, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was born early in 1919. There was no thought that the movement was other than temporary. However, after the immediate crisis following the Armistice had been met, it was apparent that conditions affecting the relation of the races in the South were not caused by the War—war had merely served to bring the situation to the surface. The founders of the Commission saw that future crises were inevitable. Thereupon, it was decided to increase and intensify the original program of education of the population, both white and Negro, making the Commission a permanent peace-time movement.

With this in mind, a change in method of approach was developed. Representatives of south-wide and state organizations were elected to membership on the general Commission and on state and local committees. As members of the Commission, these representatives learned of existing conditions; as leaders of civic and religious organizations they presented to their constituencies the racial situations of which they had been made aware; as citizens they and their constituencies have appeared before boards of education, health departments, city councils and legislatures with requests

for more equitable consideration for Negroes. Sunday schools, churches, medical associations, women's clubs, teachers' associations, colleges, and high schools have become participants in the education of the South in interracial cooperation.

Now after twenty-one years, at almost every conference and convention of young people, organized civic and church groups, and professional men and women some speaker presents a program of work for better race relations. Inspired by knowledge, citizens unaware of the influence of the Interracial Commission work for more adequate educational opportunities for Negro children, for the extension of health and hospital facilities to Negro citizens and Negro doctors, for the inclusion of Negro areas in city improvement, and for the establishment and maintenance of recreational centers for Negroes. Though the Commission itself accomplishes none of these improvements, from it has come the motive power which is prerequisite to action. Because inequalities, injustices, and persecutions on the basis of race still afflict the South, the work of the Commission continues.

The methods adopted by the Commission in developing its program have caused confusion in the minds of those people who have always worked in organizations with by-laws, constitutions, and instructions handed down by the parent organization. But the members of this parent organization, being Southern, knew from their own experience that racial attitudes were individual attitudes; that conditions varied in each community of every State according to local prejudices. Until men and women investigated their own civic problems and were moved to act to eliminate them, no hope of progress could be entertained. As a result, always the Commission has refused to bind either itself or the state committees with rigid rules and regulations. It still refuses to dictate a program to any state or community. It does, however, assist in setting up state and local committees and, if they request help, will cooperate in the development of a program upon which the community agrees.

The Commission has had six presidents. Mr. John J. Eagan, of Atlanta, a founder and the first president, held that office until his death in 1924. Mr. Eagan was succeeded in turn by Dr. M. Ashby Jones of Atlanta; Dr. W. C. Jackson, President of North Carolina College for Women, Greenboro; Dr. John Hope, President of Atlanta University; Dr. E. McNeill Poteat, Jr., of Raleigh, North Carolina; and Dr. Howard W. Odum of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, who has served as president since 1937.

While the Commission is primarily concerned with discriminations affecting Negro life, every effort is made to see race problems as bi-racial. Those conditions which are patently the result of racial discrimination. which injure the South economically and culturally, and which defy or nullify the principles of democracy and Christianity are the major points of attack. Education of the people to recognize these self-imposed limitations and to work to remove them is the major purpose of the Commission.

Officers

~~1941-1942~~ 1942-43

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Howard W. Odum, *President*, North Carolina
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Memo FROM EMILY CLAY June 21, 1943

Dear Dr. Cole:

Enclosed herewith is your expense check for the Richmond Conference. On the little slip of paper which was attached to the envelope, you wrote "Total Expense $56.26. Itemized on envelope." Then, on the envelope the items listed totalled $50.62, according to your figures as well as the adding machine's. I am, therefore, sending the latter amount and if it is incorrect we can make an adjustment when you come down later in the month.

I am glad to know that you thought the meeting was worth while. Dr. Alexander wrote that he "felt that the meeting was definitely encouraging," in spite of the fact that "So far as the white meeting was concerned it was largely the same old crowd that comes to the Commission meeting, with the exception of some Catholic leaders, the CIO representatives, and Mr. Dabney. On the Negro side it was definitely a meeting of the younger Negro leaders. Apparently we have yet to find broad Southern white support. Perhaps this committee, which apparently will continue and develop into a permanent organization, can accomplish that." As I look over the list of those who attended, it seems to me that the age groups were about the same in the two races, with the exception of possibly two Negroes - one a representative of the Negro Youth Movement, I believe. I still cannot understand why Dr. Alexander thinks a new organization should develop. This certainly does not seem to be Dr. Odum's opinion, and I cannot see why it should be necessary.

Thanks for returning the form letter. I'm sorry that you didn't improve it more, however! We shall get it out in the next day or two.

Sincerely,

TVA 45 (OSD-8-41)

INTEROFFICE MAILING SLIP Date _____

TO _____

_____ Fold here for return _____

FROM _____

Address _____

☐ Attention	☐ Comment	☐ Note and Return	☐ Approval
☐ Information	☐ Handle	☐ See Me	☐ Signature
☐ Per Conversation	☐ Prepare Reply	☐ Call Me	☐ File

Total Expenses $56.26
Thought on Envelope.

TVA 45 (OSD-8-41)

INTEROFFICE MAILING SLIP Date 6/17/43

TO Miss Clay

_____ Fold here for return _____

FROM Minnie E. Cole

Address _____

☐ Attention	☐ Comment	☐ Note and Return	☐ Approval
☐ Information	☐ Handle	☐ See Me	☐ Signature
☐ Per Conversation	☐ Prepare Reply	☐ Call Me	☐ File

Dear Miss Clay:

I am enclosing expense acct to Richmond. The meeting was worth while & should result in something concrete. Perhaps too much time was spent going over old

TVA 45 (OSD-8-41)

INTEROFFICE MAILING SLIP Date _____

TO _____

_____

_____ Fold here for return _____

FROM _____

Address _____

☐ Attention	☐ Comment	☐ Note and Return	☐ Approval
☐ Information	☐ Handle	☐ See Me	☐ Signature
☐ Per Conversation	☐ Prepare Reply	☐ Call Me	☐ File

territory but wherever there are few foreos in a group they have to get things off their chest. Jackson Dixie is interested in the Wank

Sincerely

Cole.

Acknowledged over phone 6/23/43

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

June 21, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Miss Clay:

I wanted to extend my remarks about the Richmond meeting.

First, I thought it was immensely worth while. The morning session, highlighted by Mr. Hancock's statement, was necessarily a prelude to the afternoon performance.

I felt that the afternoon session was characterized too much by generalizing and that the group did not have ample opportunity to get all their ideas into Dr. Odum's report. The important thing, however, was the appointment of two committees, one from the Negro and one from the white group to meet together and plan a program. This was accomplished and, as I see it, the future rests with what comes out of the committee reports. Dr. Odum's name was not on the committee at first, but Dr. Alexander suggested that his name be placed on the list, and this was done.

With reference to the Commission, I talked a bit with Charles Johnson and Dr. Alexander. The suggestion made is that we continue as we are until the Collaboration Committees meet. I gather that the southern Negro leadership is not too strong for the continuation of the Commission and that this has perhaps been one reason for the lack of more definite commitments. Anyway, I think that something should be decided soon, and formally, so that all of us can get busy on something else. Unless the Negroes want us, I see little reason to continue, unless our white support overweighs this. One problem I cannot determine and that is, how widely the heads of the colleges are representative of the Negro leadership of the South. This I do know, and that is if the collaborating groups are to go far, they must have an organization to which they can delegate responsibility for carrying out their program.

With respect to Newbold's letter, I think we can give him what he asks.

Also, with respect to Reid, I think we should write him a check for $100 after he reads the proof on the bulletin.

Could you take Sunday afternoon, the 27th, or July 11, off to go over several matters? I could come down either Sunday. It is awfully hard to be away from here on a weekday, as we are working as a group - which means that the absence of one breaks up the functioning of seven or eight. I was trying to steer the possibility of a meeting around the 4th of July.

As soon as I get your comments on "The I.C. Becomes of Age," I'll write it.

I hope I am not unduly pessimistic about our work. The real problem appears to hinge upon the Negro support and confidence. I seriously doubt if this exists undivided in any organization.

I want to talk with Mrs. Ames when I come to Atlanta, so if these arrangements are not satisfactory, let me know.

We are getting some real interracial materials into our postwar documents. Although their preparation is a grind and a financial sacrifice, it is worth while.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Cole

WEC:c

WILLIAM E. COLE
UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

Dear Miss Clay:

With regard to "Understanding our Neighbors" I suppose we will have to fulfill our obligations to the Sociologists by letting them have whatever publications we offered them in our letter.

With respect to Miss Henderson & the letter to the Summer School directors why cant we say:

~~Sample~~ Desk Copy free
10 Copies or less – 10¢ per Copy
More than 10 Copies 7½¢ per Copy

I believe this will get around the problem of having to supply large quantities gratis and at the same time will produce

1.

WILLIAM E. COLE
UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

some revenue. On the "Tenth Man" we might print a similar statement.

I am very glad to have you and Mrs. Ames agree on any other plan you think valuable.

I am enclosing a letter from Dr. Odum which to me is encouraging.

Sincerely Yours

William E. Cole

WILL W. ALEXANDER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

C. H. TOBIAS
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

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J. SHERRARD KENNEDY
TREASURER

Commission on Interracial Cooperation

INCORPORATED
710 STANDARD BUILDING
Atlanta, Georgia

R. B. ELEAZER
EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
GENERAL FIELD SECRETARY

TELEPHONE
WALNUT 7963

Please improve this! EHC

(Director of Summer Schools)

Dear Friend:

For a number of years, through our Conference on Education and Race Relations, we have made available to teachers of sociology, history, government, literature, and related subjects materials to be used in units of work on the race problem. In these critical days, when interracial tensions seem to be increasing, the need for such an educational program is even greater than in the past. With this in mind, we have revised and enlarged the pamphlet UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS, a copy of which we are enclosing along with the Study Guide. We should like to call attention especially to three new features of the revised edition:

1- The statement regarding the international implications of race (Foreword)
2- The statement of Negro Southerners following the conference in Durham, N. C., in October 1942 (Page 31)
3- The statement of white Southerners following the conference in Atlanta, Georgia, in April 1943 (Page 38)

We shall be glad to send desk copies of the pamphlet and the Study Guide, without charge, to each member of your summer school faculty who is planning to direct a unit of study of the racial situation. If you will return the blank below, or send a postal card, indicating the number of teachers who would like to have these complimentary copies, your request will be given prompt attention.

In case the pamphlet is desired for classroom use, it will be supplied ~~in quantities of a dozen or more,~~ at seven and one-half cents (7½¢) a copy, the actual cost of printing and mailing.

at 10 cents a copy, $1.00 in lots of 10 or less ~~at ten cents per copy and~~ in quantities of more than ~~10 copies~~ charge.

We shall look forward to an early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay
~~Howard W. Odum~~ Why dont you sign as Secy.

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
710 Standard Building, Atlanta (3), Georgia

Please send without charge desk copies of UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS and the Study Guide for _____ teachers who will direct units of study of the racial situation.

Name _____

School _____

Address _____

_____

In the past Mr. E. has offered a limited no. free of charge for class-room use, but I wonder why student would not pay the small charge for this elementary text.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

June 17, 1943

Dear Cole:

I intended to see you after the meeting yesterday and tell you why we did not introduce in the resolution a recommendation that these two committees provide for the action program to be implemented through the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Miss Wilkins particularly did not want this to be done, and the Committee thought that perhaps we ought not to try to instruct the continuing committees specifically what to do. Since, therefore, throughout our resolution we decided not to bring up details for long discussion we left it out. I saw Jackson Davis, and he was satisfied that we did not mention the university research.

It will be our next subject to get the permanent committee, if possible, to focus on the Interracial Commission and perhaps to let the permanent part of this organization work through a study committee.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Dr. William E. Cole
Department of Sociology
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

I hope you and Dr W Johnson have a great conference

For Your Information

March 23, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole, Executive Secretary
Southern Interracial Commission
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Dr. Cole:

I am enclosing copy of copious notes used in my address at the annual meeting of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, March 11. The manuscript does not include all that I said, but carries the heart of the message.

In preparing the manuscript, I deliberately included certain fundamental doctrines held by Southern Baptists. In delivering the address, I purposely emphasized certain of these doctrines. It was somewhat of a trial ballon which I sent up in order to get reactions from the extreme liberal white people who were present and the Negro leaders. I understand that there were many who disagreed with what I said, and some wished to attack what I said rather violently. I think any thoughtful person who listened to what I said or who will read the manuscript will find that I was quite liberal when it comes to the matter of cooperation in aggressive movements in our social order. I know quite well that I went further than ninety-five per cent of Southern Baptists would be willing to go. As a staff member of one of our major denominational agencies, I took a long chance in what I had to say.

I have been advised by one of our Negro leaders that many, if not most, of the interracial leaders were quite dissatisfied with what I said. On this account I feel sure that it will be best for me to withdraw my membership from the Fulton-DeKalb County Committee, the Georgia Committee, and the Southern Committee. I feel sure that I can accomplish more by working through the Home Mission Board than I can otherwise. I am interested in interracial cooperation, but not at the expense of giving up fundamental convictions as to what the Bible teaches.

Under separate cover I am sending you a marked copy of HOME MISSIONS in which you will find an editorial by

COPY

the Executive Secretary on Race Relations and Home Missions. There had been no collaboration between us, but you will observe that he says some of the same things which I said in my address.

Wishing for you every success in your undertaking, I am

Sincerely yours,

Noble Y. Beall

Department, Cooperative Missions
With Negroes

NYB/s
cc/Dr. Russell, Dr. Rumble

COPY

June 14, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole,
Department of Sociology,
University of Tennessee,
Nashville, Tennessee.

Dear Dr. Cole:

As no instructions to the contrary have come through, I am enclosing your check for the usual amount for the first half of June. Dr. Alexander wrote a note last week, saying that you, Dr. Odum, Dr. Johnson, and he would meet in Richmond on June 16 and would discuss your status. I do hope that they can send the kind of news I want to hear after the conference -- that provision has been made to offer you the full-time position. Please let me know what happens.

I stayed at home Friday to watch over the painting job, so have not had an opportunity to think about THE INTERRACIAL COMMISSION COMES OF AGE. I shall try to make some suggestions by the time you return from Richmond, however.

Another letter has come from the North Carolina Commission, through Mr. Newbold, asking that we continue our cooperation during the next quarter and increase the contribution from $100 to $150. A copy of Mr. Newbold's letter, with my acknowledgment, is enclosed.

I am glad that you are enjoying the TVA assignments, but don't work too hard during this hot weather. It won't pay to burn the candle at both ends!

We shall look forward to a visit from you toward the end of the month.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

P.S. The proof of AMERICA'S TENTH MAN has just come back, but I have not had time to check it yet. As I recall, we are to send Dr. Reid a check for $100 when the job is completed. If this is correct, will you please send me a note instructing me to send a check to him. I understand from Mr. Googe, the printer, that Dr. Reid wanted to see the galley, and I think that's a good idea.

TVA 45 (OSD-8-41)

INTEROFFICE MAILING SLIP Date

TO Mrs Clay.

Fold here for return

FROM [illegible]

Address

☐ Attention	☐ Comment	☐ Note and Return	☐ Approval
☐ Information	☐ Handle	☐ See Me	☐ Signature
☐ Per Conversation	☐ Prepare Reply	☐ Call Me	☐ File

Lets revise "The International Commission becomes of age." Wont you and me rough text of any items you think should go into it and I'll submit tentative copy to you within 10 days. I'll not bother with the

TVA 45 (OSD-8-41)

INTEROFFICE MAILING SLIP Date

TO

Fold here for return

FROM

Address

☐ Attention	☐ Comment	☐ Note and Return	☐ Approval
☐ Information	☐ Handle	☐ See Me	☐ Signature
☐ Per Conversation	☐ Prepare Reply	☐ Call Me	☐ File

list of Officers etc.

WILLIAM E. COLE
UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

Dear Miss Lehay:-

Please write me or call me if you need anything. My TVA number is 2-7181 - Extension 414.

I am really on a grind - 48 hours week including Sat afternoon but I like it. I am doing three documents on post war planning for the region.

I pick up my mail daily at the university. Do you may continue to write me there.

I'll see you the latter part of June. Sooner, if you need me.

Sincerely
Cole

June 16, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole
Department of Sociology
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Cole:

It seems to me that a different kind of letter from that sent to members of the Southern Sociological Society should go to directors of summer schools. Please use the red pencil on the attached suggested letter and send it back by return mail. The envelopes have been addressed, so the letter can be sent as soon as it comes back from you.

I am not sure that you will approve of the paragraph about charging for quantity orders. Mrs. Ames and I discussed this Monday, after several requests for from twenty to fifty copies had come from some members of the Sociological Society -- Roy E. Hyde of Louisiana State University, A. and M. College; E. H. Lott, Louisiana State University, College of Arts and Sciences; Harold D. Meyer, University of North Carolina; H. C. Brearley, George Peabody College. It seemed to us that students would be willing to pay such a nominal charge - 7½¢ a copy, and it would be a great help toward the expense of printing and mailing. However, I should like to know what you think about it. We certainly should establish some sort of policy, for it is difficult for me to know how to answer some inquiries that come in. For instance, Miss Ruth Henderson, Supervisor of Elementary Education in Virginia, has acknowledged the pamphlets which were sent to her and says:

> "In our revised edition of our State course of study we have this problem in our seventh grade: 'How Do People of Different Communities, Nations, and Races Establish and Maintain Friendly Relations?' The two pamphlets which you sent would be very useful to seventh grade teachers in working with children on this problem. Could you tell me what charge there would be per copy for these teachers? If the material could be made available from the Atlanta office, we could call the material to the attention of our superintendents, supervisors, and teachers and they could write directly to you for this material."

This seems to be a real opportunity, and yet I don't know whether to tell Miss Henderson that the pamphlets will be sent free of charge, or whether we should charge 7½¢ or 10¢ a copy. In other words, please help me to decide when the pamphlet should be sent free and when a charge should be made. I wish that I could talk with you about it now, for the letters need answering!

I am wondering what is happening at the Richmond meeting today and am hoping that something really worth while will result from it.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

WILL W. ALEXANDER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

C. H. TOBIAS
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

M. ASHBY JONES, HONORARY PRESIDENT
HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
MRS. MARY McLEOD BETHUNE, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
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RUFUS E. CLEMENT, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-ASST. TREASURER

J. SHERRARD KENNEDY
TREASURER

Commission on Interracial Cooperation

INCORPORATED
710 STANDARD BUILDING
Atlanta, Georgia

R. B. ELEAZER
EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR

MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES
GENERAL FIELD SECRETARY

TELEPHONE
WALNUT 7963

Dear Friend:

For a number of years, through our Conference on Education and Race Relations, we have made available to teachers of sociology, history, government, literature, and related subjects materials to be used in units of work on the race problem. In these critical days, when interracial tensions seem to be increasing, the need for such an educational program is even greater than in the past. With this in mind, we have revised and enlarged the pamphlet UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS, a copy of which we are enclosing along with the Study Guide. We should like to call attention especially to three new features of the revised edition:

1- The statement regarding the international implications of race (Foreword)
2- The statement of Negro Southerners following the conference in Durham, N. C., in October 1942 (Page 31)
3- The statement of white Southerners following the conference in Atlanta, Georgia, in April 1943 (Page 38)

We shall be glad to send desk copies of the pamphlet and the Study Guide, without charge, to each member of your summer school faculty who is planning to direct a unit of study of the racial situation. If you will return the blank below, or send a postal card, indicating the number of teachers who would like to have these complimentary copies, your request will be given prompt attention.

In case the pamphlet is desired for classroom use, it will be supplied in quantities of a dozen or more at seven and one-half cents (7½¢) a copy, the actual cost of printing and mailing.

We shall look forward to an early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Howard W. Odum

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
710 Standard Building, Atlanta (3), Georgia

Please send without charge desk copies of UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS and the Study Guide for _____ teachers who will direct units of study of the racial situation.

Name_____

School_____

Address_____

_____

July 9, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Cole:

Here are the copies of Mr. Willcoxon's letters, which I mentioned when writing you yesterday. After receiving his second letter, I decided that it would be a good idea to let him have 100 copies of your article, instead of "50 or 75," as he seemed so anxious to have them for distribution in Mississippi. Mrs. Ames had ordered reprints of Ralph McGill's article especially for the Clip Sheet and for the July issue of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, so that she could spare only 50 copies for Mr. Willcoxon. I am writing him, however, that we can order more for him if he still would like to have them.

If we get other requests for copies of your reprint, we may wish that we had ordered a larger number. Do you suppose it would be possible at this late date, if it should appear that we need more? Of course, the supply which we have may be entirely adequate; I'm just thinking!

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

P.S. We received a contribution of $10.00 from one of our Negro members - Mrs. Long of South Carolina - who has held the subscription blank ever since the annual meeting last fall. Wasn't that a fine surprise?

3

July 8, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Cole:

As you will see by the enclosed copies of correspondence between Miss Elvidge and this office, the second check for $5,000 has come from the Rosenwald Fund. Although the envelope was addressed to you, I opened it, as I could see the end of the check extending beyond the letter! You will notice that again Miss Elvidge calls it a "contribution toward the current expenses." I wish that she would say "another payment on the current appropriation," or something of the kind; that would make me feel greater assurance for the future! Whatever the name, however, I am grateful for the check!

The reprints of your SOCIAL FORCES article were finally received and were sent out several days ago to the Commission members, with a note from Dr. Odum. Is it your idea to send this, with UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS and AMERICA'S TENTH MAN, to a special list of members of boards and foundations, in accordance with our conversation when you were last here, and are there others to whom you would like to have it sent just now? AMERICA'S TENTH MAN, by the way, should be off the press next week. Do you think it would be a good idea to send it to the people who have asked for additional copies of UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS?

Mr. Willcoxon of Mississippi saw your article in SOCIAL FORCES and wrote to ask whether he might have several hundred copies for distribution in his state. I told him that we had only a small supply of reprints, but that we could let him have some, and I sent 100 copies. Was that all right? It seemed to me that if he thought it was a good idea to distribute this in Mississippi we should let him have them. On second thought, I think I'll enclose copies of his letters. Maybe we have been misjudging the man, for it appears that he doesn't intend to sever relations with us, as Mrs. Ames thought he planned to do. I am afraid that some disagreement between Mrs. Ames and Mr. Willcoxon or other men of the Mississippi Council may have arisen. I hope that we can work along with him, though, and help him to build up the work there.

We continue to get good letters about UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS. I get so thrilled over them that anyone would think I had written the pamphlet myself!

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

P.S. Someone came in for a visit and interrupted me. It is nearly 6 P.M. so I'll send Mr. Willcoxon's letters tomorrow.

July 16, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Cole:

The new edition of AMERICA'S TENTH MAN has just come from the press, and I am sending you a copy herewith. One is being mailed to Dr. Reid, also.

Since Dr. Odum wrote the covering letter for UNDERSTANDING OUR NEIGHBORS (or it went out over his name, rather), I am sending him a copy of the pamphlet and asking him whether he would like to prepare a letter for us to send with it - to Commission members and others.

Now that we have the two new pamphlets and the reprint of your article, I am ready for the letter which I think you said you would prepare for members of church boards and foundations who have given us support from time to time. Whenever you have the time, please let me have it. There is no great rush, of course.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

July 24, 1943

Miss Emily H. Clay
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Miss Clay:

Would you send me five copies of the Tenth Man and five copies of Understanding Our Neighbors?

Also, would you send Mr. Horace Robinson, 820 Spruce Street, Knoxville, one each of our publications? Robinson is a Negro doing good work with labor and deserves all possible encouragement.

Cordially yours,

William E. Cole

Dr. William E. Cole

WEC:c

5 - #5
5 - #23 (new)

4-5-10-12-47-NWT-23-55-52-27-FSA
So. J. July 1943 - List
E.K. 7-27-43

August 19, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Cole:

Here is a copy of a letter which I have just written to Dr. Alexander. I thought that I'd better have some understanding about expenses for the Council before the actual need arises. Do you feel that the formation of the new organization calls for special action on this, or am I wrong?

Copies of the SOCIAL FORCES reprint have been sent to Bishop Scarlett and Miss Strong, as requested by Bishop Bratton, and to Mr. White. I included a few other pamphlets, also. I am acknowledging Bishop Bratton's letter, as requested.

What do you think? We received an order Monday from Woman's Press of the Y.W.C.A. in New York for 2,000 copies of SONGS OF THE SOUTH, with a request that a bill be sent before September 1! I almost fainted when I opened the letter! AMERICA'S TENTH MAN was sent out last week to the Commission members with a letter from Dr. Alexander. (I did not send one to you, since you already had the pamphlet.) Already we have had some good responses. Mrs. J. H. McCoy of Alabama College, Montevallo, wrote that she read it through immediately on receiving it and found it most interesting and better organized than previous issues. She ordered a dozen copies, sending a check with the order. Mr. C. C. Spaulding expressed appreciation for the pamphlet and sent a check for $4.00 for 100 copies. Mr. Brownlee of the American Missionary Association congratulated us on the pamphlet, reminded us that his organization was one of our "cooperating agencies" and asked for fifty copies "of this excellent pamphlet" for general distribution. These have all been sent.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

August 30, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Cole:

A reservation has been made for you at the Piedmont Hotel for Monday night September 13, and we shall look forward to seeing you the next day.

You know, of course, that I agree wholeheartedly with Dr. Odum about your staying with the Commission. It would be a terrible blow to our morale here if you should withdraw. Anyway, I was under the impression that you were being thought of as the man to head the new Council, with Dr. Reid as your associate; at least, that's what Dr. Alexander seemed to think.

I wrote Dr. Odum that, because of some national meetings, I had been asked to suggest October 13-14, instead of earlier or later in the month, as the time for the Commission meeting. He has not referred to the suggestion yet, so I don't know whether he approves or not.

Even though the information given in Dr. Odum's letter to the Commission members last week was stale news to you and others who attended the meeting on August 4, I sent it to you, anyway. As I wrote Dr. Odum, I hope it will serve to pacify some of the members who were disturbed by the announcement of the new Council. I could understand their feeling, for the plan had been approved twice by the Commission and yet this organization was not mentioned in the publicity. Of course, the reason for this is clear to me, but people on the outside would have a right to think it was strange, it seems to me, and I didn't want them to be "stewing" until the annual meeting!

Thanks for thinking about the vacation. I have had none yet, but may take a few days this week and some later in the month or in October. I hope that you are having time for some relaxation before the new term at the University begins.

Sincerely yours,

Emily H. Clay

P.S. Dr. Alexander writes that a check from the Fund will come to us soon after September 1. That relieves my mind!

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Dear Miss Clay:

Can you reserve me a room at the Pickwick for the night of ~~Aug.~~ Sept. 13th. Monday. — 8/27/43

Thanks
Cole

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Aug. 23, 1943.

Dear Miss Clay:-

As Secretary-Comptroller of the Commission you are an excellent book agent. Really I am elated over the success of the publications. Maybe if we could get a best seller we could finance the Commission out of it.

Your letter to Dr. Alexander was very appropriate. I agree heartily with all its contents.

I recently expressed the thought to Dr. Odum that I was becoming very useless to the Commission and should quit. He thinks I should stick on awhile.

Dr. Odum & Johnson are meeting in Sept. at which time they will discuss plans for the new Council. Hallowing that I suppose I will do some work on it. I believe Dr. Alexander will head the new Council.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Have you had any vacation. I believe you should take off a few days at least.

I plan to spend the 14th in the Atlanta Office.

Sincerely

Vernon E. Cole

September 11, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Cole:

Even though you will be coming down Monday night, I am going to send this letter to tell you that at Dr. Odum's request Dr. Alexander paid us a visit today. He tried to call you from Chapel Hill to ask whether you could meet him here, but was unable to reach you. We called again this afternoon, but still got no answer from your 'phone and concluded, therefore, that you had not yet returned from your brief vacation.

The purpose of Dr. Alexander's visit was to talk with Mr. Haas about including in the charter for the Southern Regional Council a statement which would tie the Commission in with the new organization, on the basis of actions taken by the members in approving Dr. Odum's original recommention for such a Council in 1938 and again in 1939. He and Dr. Odum felt that this was an important thing to do, but they did not know whether it could be done or not After looking over the Commission's charter and by-laws and the Council's statement, Mr. Haas assured us that this could be provided for all right. He will be very busy with other things next week, but will work up a suggested charter week after next.

On Monday, at Dr. Odum's request, I shall send a letter to the members of the Continuing Committee, saying that their names will be used in the application for the charter unless they have objections. This is just a bit of advance information, as you will, of course, receive the letter.

Without mentioning your suggestion, I told Dr. Alexander I had heard that there was a possibility of his heading the Council. He replied that there was nothing to it, as he was too old and a younger man was needed for the job. I then asked whether you would be the man, and he said "That's what we hope" - with Dr. Reid as the associate.

The prospects for support of the new program are much brighter. Dr.Odum has talked with Dr. Mann and Dr. Johnson with Jackson Davis, and these men have asked that a request for an appropriation be prepared as quickly as possible. The Rosenwald Fund is committed to support of the Council, Dr. Alexander says, and he and Mr. Embree feel confident that Marshall Field will make a substantial contribution over a period of five years. Then, they think that if the Rockefellers' General Education Board and the Rosenwald Fund give their support the Carnegie Corporation will do likewise. I hope that it will work out that way.

Meanwhile, we shall try to get through the year with our meager funds on the present basis, with the expectation of having the new program start at the first of the year.

This is, of course, just an unofficial report, but I felt sure that you would be interested in having it right away.

We are looking forward to your visit next week.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

October 1, 1943

Dr. William E. Cole
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Cole:

Here are two letters which I opened, even though they were addressed to you, because I thought they were requests for material which I could send without bothering you. As you will see, however, they were intended for you, personally, and Bishop Wing wants your reply as soon as possible, addressed to him at the Hotel Statler, Cleveland.

When I wrote to Dr. Alexander recently, I said that I wondered why you had not been included in conferences which he, Dr. Odum, and Dr. Johnson had had relative to the plans for the Council, as it seemed to me that a man who was to head an organization could do the job much more easily if he had been one of those to make the plans. (Perhaps I was somewhat presumptuous, but Dr. Alexander does not seem to object to my making my thoughts known to him!) I thought that you would be interested in his reply, which is as follows:

> "I note what you say about Dr. Cole; however, all that has been done now is in connection with an attempt to get finances. I am sure that Dr. Cole is glad to be relieved of this. Until that is cleared up the other matters that you refer to will have to be held in abeyance anyway. When we get the money Cole and Reid will have a free hand in using initiative in developing the organization."

My brother, the Navy doctor, arrived this morning for a short leave, after being detached from his duty in Washington - much to his delight. His next tour of duty will be most interesting. After a few weeks' special training, he will leave, as the representative of the Surgeon General, with two photographers and two corpsmen, for an inspection trip in Europe to find how the wounded men are being cared for. After that, he will probably be sent to the Pacific for the same kind of inspection. It all sounds most interesting; I almost envy him the opportunity! All this is a preface to the announcement that I am planning to be away from the office next week for the long-delayed vacation, but this probably will not make any particular difference so far as you are concerned. If I should be needed for any reason, I shall be glad to come to the office any day, as I shall be at home. Just let Mrs. Park

know and she will get in touch with me - Mrs. H. A. Park, is the name!

At the rate our pamphlets are going out, by request, only, we shall not have a great deal left on the shelves at the end of the year, I think. This week we have received the check for $144 in payment for the 2,000 copies of SONGS OF THE SOUTH which were ordered by the Woman's Press of the National Y.W.C.A. I really could not believe they actually wanted that many copies until the check arrived! Checks like this are especially welcome just now when the bank account must be watched so closely. When Dr. Alexander was here, as I may have told you, he said that he would like to have us get through the year, if possible, without having to ask the Rosenwald Fund for more money. Unless something unforeseen comes up, I think that we shall <u>just barely</u> get through, with the church appropriations and personal contributions which will be coming in before the end of the year.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

January 10, 1944

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

The selection of Guy Johnson as Director of the Council is a milestone in the new Council's program. He is well liked and has a splendid reputation regionally and nationally. His vision is broad yet his knowledge in the area of race relations specific. This is a fortunate combination.

I am sending you two copies of my suggested thoughts on the Council. Also, a manuscript from a young Negro in West Virginia. He hopes there is some way in which it can be used. I am sending it to you because I am not sure where Guy is.

Ivey is located and doing nicely. We were fortunate in finding just the right apartment in an excellent neighborhood.

I am much interested in the work of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies. I hope it can tie in closely with the Council. This is the type of work which H. A. Morgan and I did for Tennessee before he went with TVA.

I have suggested that you and Vance be retained here as consultants. TVA needs your help.

I want to be of any real help to the Council which I can. Don't fail to call on me.

Sincerely,

Bill Cole

CC: Dr. Chas. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville
Dr. Guy Johnson, University of N. C., Chapel Hill
Dr. W. W. Alexander, Cosmos Club, Washington
Miss Emily H. Clay, 710 Standard Bldg., Atlanta

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(08)

A. N. WILLIAMS
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CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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DL = Day Letter
NT = Overnight Telegram
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QA43

FM ATLANTA GA

KVA676 17=KNOXVILLE TENN 18 354P

MRS JESSE DANIEL AMES=

PIEDMONT HOTEL ATLA=

CAN YOU GIVE ME WORK WHICH 4 OR 5 INTERACIAL GROUPS ARE DOING NEEDED TUESDAY FOR SPEECH=

WILLIAM E COLE.

4 5.

Mrs. Ames gave this to me Feb. 19 and asked me to handle it. I sent Cole some Frontiers containing material on work of State & local Comm.; also leaflet about N.C. Council of Churches; also note about a "Bath Room Fund" at Winter Park, Fla. (See letter of Fred S. Hall to Mrs. Ames, 2-10-44.

S. B. J.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

FOR VICTORY
BUY UNITED STATES WAR BONDS AND STAMPS

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

Department of Agricultural Relations
January 31, 1945

Mr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I appreciate greatly the report of the Executive Directors which is an excellent statement of accomplishment during the past year. One of the things that has interested me most has been the type of publicity which the Agricultural College at Raleigh is giving to the accomplishments of Negro farmers in the State. The enclosed statement is of the type that I have referred to.

I shall be in Atlanta for a couple of days about the middle of February and will call at the Council office for a brief visit.

He did not come in
G.B.J.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Cole, Chief
Program Review and Analysis Staff

WEC:bs

May 4, 1945

Mr. William E. Cole
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Bill:

Thanks for your note about the conference. It is good for our soul to feel that we do something good once in a while.

Do you have any suggestions about personnel for the Council staff? We are especially in need of: (1) an administrative assistant who can relieve us of a lot of office work so that we can get out and do a better job of selling the Council; (2) a competent editorial and publicity man. Any leads will be very much appreciated.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON

GBJ:j

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

April 27, 1945

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Guy:

I've been wanting to write and congratulate you upon the excellent conference which you sponsored recently. This conference, to me, sets a highlight in the South as far as the question of presentations were concerned.

I think the Council is to be congratulated upon a conference of this type.

Sincerely yours,

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

William E. Cole, Chief,
Program Review and Analysis Staff
Department of Agricultural Relations

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

May 16, 1945

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I find that Mrs. James went along with John Ivey when he moved his office to Chapel Hill.

Sincerely yours,

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

William E. Cole, Chief,
Program Review and Analysis Staff
Department of Agricultural Relations

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

June 1, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I had the pleasure of spending sometime yesterday with Mr. Hughes who is coming with you after the first of September.

I was very much impressed with Mr. Hughes and believe that he will make you an excellent man.

Sincerely yours,

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

William E. Cole, Chief,
Program Review and Analysis Staff
Department of Agricultural Relations

October 19, 1945

Mr. William E. Cole, Consultant
Department of Agricultural Relations
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Bill:

I am very sorry to hear that you will not be able to attend the annual meeting. We shall certainly miss you.

Be sure to look us up when you are here during the week of November 6. I shall probably be away on the 7th, but expect to be around the rest of the week.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

October 18, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 19 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I cannot possibly get to Atlanta for your meeting, but will be there for three days during the week of November 6. I shall be around then to call on you if you are in town.

As you perhaps know, I am teaching eighteen hours at the University and devoting my spare time to TVA. This schedule limits the amount of time which I can spend outside of Knoxville.

Cordially yours,

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

William E. Cole
Consultant
Department of Agricultural Relations

"RACE AND RELIGION"

The address which has just been given on "Race and the Social Order" might well be accepted as a practical message on this subject.

Let us stand and sing "The Solid Rock" as an experience of race and religion - I think it will help.

It will be observed that the theme of this meeting is "Laborers Together With God." The phrase is taken from that marvelous chapter in I Corinthians (3), where the writer, Paul, emphasizes the fact that he could not speak to the Corinthian Christians on a spiritual basis because they were so carnal minded. He went so far as to say that he must address them as babes in Christ, and that it was necessary for him to feed them on milk rather than meat. He further points out that in building the church at Corinth, others contributed their part, and that God had given the increase. He says, therefore, that we are "laborers together with God." We are God's husbandry, we are God's building, and that each man's work will be tried as by fire. The fire will reveal what sort of work it is and if any man's work abide, the same shall be saved. The laborers were builded together as a house, or a temple of God.

In the Book of Ephesians, the writer, Paul, using the same figure of speech, says that we are saved by grace, and that we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, and that in Christ, we who sometimes were afar off are made nigh by the blood of Christ, and that he is our peace who has made both one, having abolished the enmity of the flesh and made of the two one new man in Christ. And that we are builded upon the foundation of missionaries

and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief one. The building is fitly framed together, growing unto a holy temple in the Lord. Builded together for a habitation of God through the Spirit.

This building which God has built, whether we think of it as churches or the Kingdom, is made up of redeemed human souls. It is from this point of view that I approach my subject. From the reading of my New Testament, I am thoroughly convinced that each redeemed person has a place ordained of God, and that each one, in terms of the building, is to be joined together with all others of like nature in the construction of the Kingdom of God in this world. One is no more important than the other, one is no better than the other, each is a child of God by faith in Christ. Therefore, in terms of the home, each a son of God and a member of the household of God. (This constitutes the true teaching as to the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.)

I prefer to take my position on these fundamental teachings rather than upon the phrase which we sometimes hear quoted, certainly out of its context, to the effect that God made of one blood all nations to dwell on the face of the earth. A statement which is true so far as creation is concerned, and we are, therefore, of one Father and are all brothers.

I, for one, do not believe in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man if the term is to be applied to all peoples of the earth indiscriminately. I do not believe that the Bible so teaches it. God is the creator of all men. He is the Father of those who have been begotten again by a lively hope from the dead through the belief of the truth and the inter-working of the Holy Spirit. (John 1:12)

There is a vast difference in a Creatorship of God and the Fatherhood of God. I have no confidence in blood or flesh. Each person must be converted, must be born again, before he can become a child or son of God. (John 3) A brotherhood based upon blood will not suffice. It must be of the Spirit - this gives vitality to the relationship. It is of the Spirit and the Word of Truth - thus we are bound together not by blood, but by a new life, a new spirit, a new nature, and a new task.

I take it that most of us in this presence are Christians, therefore, are of the household of faith, and that the theme of this meeting is accepted in good faith.

My topic is "Race and Religion." Ordinarily in these meetings we use the word "race" to refer to Negroes. I wish to give it a cultural rather than a biological meaning. I am making bold to use this phrase in this connection based upon the scriptural references which I have given, and the convictions I have about these teachings, for I am interested in a quest for a new order for interracial comradeship emphasizing the importance, not merely of religious convictions, but the spiritual and social as well. Because, after all is said and done, the kind of human relationships for which we will strive depends upon what we accept as the will of God and the teachings of God for mankind. The foolish notion that it makes no difference what a man believes breaks down religious convictions, but does not draw together those of differing beliefs. It is my conviction that the more deeply and strongly flows the current of one distinct religious faith and belief, the more helpful is likely to be his contribution to a wholesome, human relations with those with whom he differs, both in race and culture.

I am not concerned that we shall become one in our religious affiliations; neither am I concerned about our becoming one racially. Clearly, it seems to me, the races and religious groups will maintain their distinctiveness for a long time to come, if not forever. As I see it, the primary need is for Christians of each group to understand, sympathetically, how individuals in other groups feel, how they cherish their group loyalties, how they take pride in their heritages, and how they earnestly want to add prestige and glory to their own cultural, religious and racial group.

Self-restraint need not deny self-expression, but it should moderate pride so that the sense of one's own conviction will never reach the point of arrogance. There is so much that is false and selfish in us all that we need to be careful in our appraisal of others. This will enable us to have fellowship and work together with one another and God.

Upon one occasion Jesus said, "Judge not that you be not judged, for what judgment you mete, you shall be judged." As we work together, differing in our racial and cultural lives, we are learning that because the customs of people are different from our own, they are not, therefore, necessarily inferior; that because there are differences in the language or belief one is not, therefore, less intelligent than the other. We have come to the place where we recognize that all groups are possible co-laborers with one another in attempting the difficult, perplexing, and age-long task of building a social order in which the elements of the Kingdom of God are at play.

I have a firm conviction that religion as revealed in the Lord Jesus Christ should be basic in the social order which we desire. We have listened to papers this morning on education, labor, and the

social order with respect to race. It is my conviction that our religious heritage, our religious convictions at the present, and our religious lives in the future will determine the sort of education, working conditions, and social order which we shall have for ourselves and others.

I shall make no attempt to sketch or give a blue-print for intergroup relations. Certainly I do not propose a Utopia. I am not an idealist or a dreamer, though I have ideals and I sometimes dream; I am a practical religionist. I know that there was a time when many Christians assumed that our social order lacked only goodness to qualify it to become the City of God. Many believed that they knew what the diminsions of that city should be, and that, in the course of time, human imperfections would be overcome and the Kingdom of God would be built where mankind would dwell in a heaven on earth from which flux and change would be forever excluded. It has not worked out that way.

Thoughtful people no longer think of human relations or race relations in terms of permanency. They do not expect that the time has come, or will ever come, when every problem will be solved and our social order will become fixed and static in its form . There is a lot of silly talk about peace at this point. The world conflict which we face today, we are told, is based largely on race antipathies. I think it is based on human depravity - and not until individuals are converted will we ever have peace in this country or abroad. The religion of Christ is the only basis upon which peace can come in this world. On the other hand, there is a group which does not believe that the existing relations of racial and cultural groups one to another need be or should be accepted as final. There should be

room for growth.

If the relationships of racial and religious groups to groups within our social order are to be wholesome and mutually helpful in days to come, the basic and minumum requirement is that justice should characterize them at every point. This means that each racial and religious group, both the minority and the majority, should be given its American rights as citizens, credited with all that is worthy in it, and secure from all defamation. This is basic in this matter of "race and religion." False interpretations, arrogance, condensation, and the doubt and misgivings of a dissimilar group, or group of another's faith, will work injury if directed against the majority or dominant group, as well as a minority group, in a social order. A generous effort, therefore, to understand and to assume that there is in others the sincerity which one claims for himself, is the duty which each individual owes to every other individual, and the members of one group owes to the members of another group. And unless these are observed, wholesome relations are impossible. To me this fundamentally religious.

We make a grave mistake when we give to the Gospel of Christ a purely social instead of a definite spiritual meaning and purpose. It is very easy to become confused right here. The religion of Christ is not purely social - it is spiritual with a social outlet; the churches of Christ are not primarily social institutions - they are religious institutions with social contacts. No one church can provide a social program that will satisfy all types of people for the simple reason no church can provide a spiritual program which will satisfy all people.

Let us look at the picture from this point of view. We should

not assume that if we have spiritual fellowship we will have, or should have, social fellowship. Spiritual fellowship does not demand social fellowship, nor does it necessarily imply such. This is true in all racial groups. People from various social levels can be one in Christ Jesus and have spiritual fellowship, but by education, training, and cultural advantages they may be vastly different in their customs, habits, and tastes, and, therefore, not be able to have social fellowship. What to one group might be crude and out of place in worship, to another might be pleasing and profitable religious devotion. Possibly it is this difference in religious and social culture that accounts for the difficulty we encounter in getting all Christian people to unite in one church. It is evident to me that by the very nature and culture of people, we need churches to minister to the people in all strata of social life. It is possible that this is true with respect to race. If so, why should we fuss at one another.

There will always be different strata of society; there is likely to be racial barriers, and social conditions which will make it difficult, if not impossible, for local churches to serve all people. All of our churches, great city churches with rich and cultured memberships, small country churches with a membership made up of farmers and working people, churches in industrial centers made up of struggling, under-privileged classes, can work together in preaching the Gospel of Christ to the masses, but never be united upon a cultural basis. It seems to me that this is natural and logical, and does not of itself destroy the essence of religion, but makes religion for all peoples of races and classes and kinds.

The Christian religion centers in personal relationships. The

individual is by nature given to enmity and strife, wrath, sedition, heresy, murder, drunkenness, uncleanness, and such like, of the which it is said that such shall not in anywise inherit the Kingdom of God. Each individual needs to be changed. It is no wonder to me that with a vast majority of our people possessing such qualities of heart and mind, there are always conflicts one with another. It is not racial in nature; it is human in nature. I am satisfied in my own mind that most of our conflicts between races are traceable to human depravity and not to differences in race. But I would not judge.

There is a sense in which we need to project religion into the various phases of our social order. But the Kingdom of God will not come into this world until Christ has been enthroned as Lord in the hearts of men and made regnant through them in the arts and sciences, literature and life, culture and civilization - in fact in all of our social order. Jesus Christ reigning in the hearts of men puts God in individuals and through individual on the inside of the municipal life, the civic life, the social life, the educational life, the political life of our nation. I believe that is what Jesus came into the world to do, and that is what it means to enthrone Christ in our social order. This means we are to bring our civilization under the sovereignty of Christ through the conversion of individuals. We are to bring the Christian influence to bear on the educational, labor and social problems. We are to build up virile, functioning churches which will of themselves develop a Christian community in every town and countryside, generating spiritual enthusiasm, transforming all of the life forces of our social order by the spiritual powers in the kingdom of God.

This puts religion at the heart of things, fortifying us with all the spiritual resources of the Kingdom of God in our battle against the evils of this world. No one can look at our social order objectively without realizing that forces are at work on a gigantic scale to give it a new set socially, economically, culturally, and religiously for generations to come. A new world is being created in our midst.

Forces at work in our social order are mighty and in many respects sinister. There is the modern world spirit of indulgence, the passion for possessions, the revolt against the traditions of the home, the throwing off of the restraint of civil and spiritual authority, crass materialism, atheistic communism, racial antagonisms, and the blightening influence of caste. The spiritual forces of religion let loose through redeemed personalities are the only forces in the universe which can possibly counteract such a horde of evil spirits working in the hearts of people.

I repeat, Christianity means the bringing of Christian influence "to bear on the great populations of our industrial centers, helping racial groups to realize the life in Christ, building up of virile churches, developing a Christian community life, creating denominational consciousness and morale, fencing against the inroads of spiritual disintegration, generating spiritual enthusiams and the will to win."

To bring this to pass we must ever keep in mind that our racial contacts are in cities, country, towns, homes, schools, banks, stores, churches, everything which has to do with our lives; therefore, religion must be put into play in every contact of life, in all of our thinking and planning for the future.

On account of certain evil forces and ungodly practices in this world of ours, we as Christian people of all races and classes are to work together with God in the building of a "new order." We must not let our feelings run away with us, we must keep our temperature at normal and be fair and honest in all of our dealings one with another.

Most of us come to these interracial meetings with an ax to grind. We are critical of one another. We are sometimes too sensitive. We drag out all of the old grievances against groups. We fall into the old evil of grouping, or lumping, all Negroes or all whites into one group and speaking as if all were of one kind. Nothing but religion helps us over these difficulties. At times, because of certain evils, we tend to doubt the good faith of each other, talk as if God had failed, as if religion had failed, and as if there were no hope.

I sincerely deplore these facts. It is my honest opinion that we must come back to the point of view of our forefathers who, in their passion to extend the Kingdom of God, founded our schools and churches, and gave to us practically all that we have in our social order that is worth while. We need not only to preserve these assets, but we need to increase their usefulness, until we all come to the unity of the faith and all are able to conform to the teachings of Christ and in that way I believe the race problems will be at least minimized, if not solved.

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Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Route 1
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

This is notice, pro forma, that your term on the Board as an elected member ran out at the time of the meetings the other day. The nominating committee didn't press the matter of reelecting you, because you were still on the Board ex-officio as the head of the Honorable the South Carolina Division.

That Board is a company of just about the best in these Southern States, and I cherish your presence on it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

November 16, 1950

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Route 1
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

We do appreciate your interest in coming to the Council's annual meeting. It was a great pleasure to meet you.

Thank you for returning your expense account. You will be reimbursed as soon as possible, but we ask your patience.

Our kindest regards and thanks for your active participation and interest in the Council.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

NH:bj

C
O
P
Y

December 2, 1947

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Route 1
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

This is to advise you by that unanimous vote of the membership at the annual meeting of November 12, you were elected to the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council for a full four-year term. This term will expire at the time of the annual meeting which will fall on the second Wednesday in November of that year.

We are very happy to welcome you to membership on the Board and shall look forward to seeing you at its meetings. There are two such meetings each year, one being on the day preceding the Annual membership meeting, the other on the same day as, and immediately following, the membership meeting. It has been customary for the Council to issue expense blanks on such occasions and to pay for travel and maintenance of Board members who attend these meetings.

For your further information, I am enclosing a copy of the by-laws, with paragraphs concerning the Board especially marked. Please do not hesitate to write if we can be of service.

With every good wish, I am

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

AM:ee

Dabbs

February 19, 1951

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Route 1
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

We are much interested in your letter of February 12, and want to help.

We are told here in Atlanta that state breakdowns by race of the 1950 Census are not expected to be available before July 1951. We suppose that the detailed facts that will help you most will hardly be out before the end of this year. So you are probably without the resources at this time to do an article the main prop of which is statistical information. That does not mean that a good article cannot be done; we certainly think it can, and that you can do it. But the figures are going to be less uniform and less authoritative than what will be available later from the Census.

Here is some material we got up a couple of months ago for Jonathan Daniels, who had a debate on his hands and wanted some facts. It will show you the kind of statistical material that can be had.

Other things that would support the argument of progress are the passage of anti-mask bills by various legislatures -- Alabama last year, I believe, and Georgia a strong one this year; the decay of the poll tax, for which South Carolina is the best of instances and Tennessee another good one; and the rapidly growing movement for equalization of school facilities. I imagine that if the facts could be had, the growth of consolidation of Negro schools and of bus transportation of Negro school pupils would be startling.

Harold Fleming tells me that it is customary for magazines as important as Collier's to pay persons who are to write for them a goodish sum in advance as expense money. I know, for instance, that George McMillan was given $500 by Life Magazine for advance expense money on a story about the Council which has not as yet appeared. So I

would think Collier's would provide you with a sum in advance for what travel and inquiry you might need to make.

If you could make a tour of even five or six Southern state capitals, there is a lot of state statistical information that could be had which could only be got with any freshness by personal contact with state officials. That goes for registration figures, for gains in trade education, and most importantly for all the changes in the school system. The central source on that is the U. S. Office of Education, which is generally two years behind in the figures it grinds out. But the state agents in charge of Negro education have excellent current figures. I don't think much could be had by writing them, but a visit to each office would yield a plenty to show the trend. No need to get it from all states. If you chose Virginia, Tennessee, South Carolina, Louisiana, and either Georgia or Alabama, that is pick enough.

I am not very sympathetic with your suggestion that you be aided on finding human interest material. I am sure you and Rebecca Reid contain enough yourselves. But there is certainly more to be had over here, and it would be thrust at you in your conversations in Southern state capital cities.

Indeed, you might possibly weave an article in and around state capitols. The trend these days is (too much) back to the states, and it would be very interesting to see what you could find in the way of real responsiveness within the states to their expanding duties. The theme of state responsibility could keep coming back through the article.

We have no belief that you could get much by correspondence.

An able reporter for the Associated Press who lives in Atlanta, whose name is Bem Price, did a tour of the South in 1950 and printed what he found. It was pretty good. We could put you in touch with Bem Price when you come over here for the March 3 meeting.

I found in working on the business about veterans that office after office would deny having any statistical breakdown by race. But if you talked companionably with the right official and asked what his own estimate was of the percentage of Negroes getting this or that benefit, he would say, "Well, if you put it that way, it is 7.32." I accept statistics like that as close enough!

I am sure you can do a bang-up article, and I do hope you go ahead with it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMter
Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

cc: Harold Fleming

HCP - GSM wants your advice

JAMES McBRIDE DABBS · RIP RAPS · MAYESVILLE, S. C.

February 12, 1951

RECEIVED
FEB 14 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I'm writing for some information entirely distinct from my job with the Southern Regional Council.

A friend of mine in Greenville informs me that one of Collier's editors is eager for a statistically supported article on "The South Is Meeting Its Own Problems". In her conversation with him she said that perhaps I could do it for him. So far I haven't heard from him, and will not write him until I hear from you. As you may know, my strong point, if I have any, is interpretation not fact gathering. Still, I certainly shouldn't mind doing an article for COLLIER'S, even if it involved certain efforts that I am not accustomed to make. To what degree could I get the proper facts in the SRC office in Atlanta? Or possibly also elsewhere in Atlanta? To what degree could I get the human interest stories there, or get there the names of the people over the South who might supply such stories? In your opinion, to what degree could I get such stories by mail and to what degree would I have to travel over the South to interview such people?

In brief, give me your opinion as to whether I could write such an article, supposing that COLLIER'S wishes me to do so, without spending in travel and time--but my time isn't worth much--all that COLLIER'S might pay me.

I'm sorry to bother you with these matters; but, as I recall it, this is the first time I've asked the SRC to do anything for me in my nearly four years of association with it!

We received your nice note, and were delighted that you got to visit Maude in New York. Your letter lies on the table here, to take to Maude when we write again your complimentary remarks about the little girl.

~~Sincerely,~~

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs.

Feb. 14, 1951

To: GSM

From: HCF

Re: J. M. Dabbs' queries

I've never written for Collier's, but I do understand that it's customary for them to pay the expenses involved in the preparation of an article they've contracted for. That's in addition to the flat fee that may be paid for the article itself. So Mr. Dabbs shouldn't worry unduly about spending up his fee in expenses. What he will have to worry about is selling Collier's on the idea of his writing the article.

To take up his questions in order:

1. SRC could supply Dabbs with a variety of statistical data, but, as you know, the 1950 Census dope is not yet available in satisfactory breakdowns. Further, lacking research staff, what we can afford that is at all recent is patchy indeed. Seems to me his best bet is to talk Collier's into contracting with him to do such a piece as soon as the Census breakdowns come through. What he would do, I guess, would show the statistical gains between '40 and '50, spiced up with human interest examples of how the gains have come.

2. Dabbs could get some human interest material by talking to appropriate people in Atlanta (which has probably the greatest concentration of do-gooders). He probably also should plan a couple of itineraries that would put him in direct touch with representative slices of the South. (You're the best person I know to help him plan such itineraries, WAI.) Collier's should be willing to pay for the necessary travel.

3. Unless Mr. Dabbs knows people unlike any I know, he should count on getting virtually nothing by correspondence.

HCF

P. S. - Come to think of it, Bem Price did just such a series during the past year. Maybe you remember, since you talked with him about where he ought to go on his tour. Dabbs could draw on Bem's articles, I suppose, for some of his background. If the deal should go through, I'd be glad to put him in touch with Bem.

HCF

Sent JMD Mr. Granger's letter

D-Misc

March 24, 1951

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Route 1
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I had written Lester Granger and asked him to talk with your daughter and steer her some.

I was in Ruston, Louisiana, one day last week for a small meeting. A most pleasant Mr. and Mrs. Smith, sometime of South Carolina, appeared. He was a USC man, and they both knew you and Mrs. Dabbs admiringly. I am sure their South Carolina link will help in getting them to be active in working up an interracial body in Ruston.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

8-D-Misc-
Dabbs, J.M.

December 14, 1948

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps
Hayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thank you so much for the list of the Baptist ministers. We will get to work on those that you so kindly had checked.

To JS
12/14/48
MET

I can claim no connection to the late Professor Wesley Mitchell. I knew him slightly at Columbia, and will someday tell you an amusing story of some of the confusion of our names.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

JAMES MC BRIDE DABBS · RIP RAPS · MAYESVILLE, S. C.

December 13, 1948

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn St., N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am returning with this the list of Baptist ministers in South Carolina which you sent me some time ago. It has been checked by two young Baptist preachers, both members of the SRC and both at headquarters in Columbia and pretty well acquainted with the preachers of the State. One of them, in returning the list to me, said it would hardly be worth the money to send SRC pamphlets to those on the list not checked! Best wishes with the rest of them.

I read recently in the NATION a notice of a memorial service to be held in honor of Wesley Mitchell, "Dean of American Economists." I immediately had the feeling that you had a brother named Wesley, and I wondered if this was he, but could hardly see how he could be of an age to be called dean of American economists. I was fairly sure Broadus was your eldest brother. I hope this is not your brother who has died recently; it it is, I am very sorry.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs, Chairman,
S. C. Division of the Southern Regional Council.

8 - Misc
Dabbs, J. M.

August 3, 1949

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I have just finished dictating a stretch of six letters to people who were kind enough to pledge this or that sum at the Council's Annual Meeting in November, 1948, and who have not, as yet, paid it all in.

Last on the list is your offer of twenty personal dollars for 1949. I have already imposed upon your time, gasoline, tires, and patience in a quantity the money value of which would be far more than $20.00. Still, we are in a particularly tight spot to meet our payroll for the next couple of times--though I feel fairly secure that we have goodly sums coming up ahead.

I shan't pester you, but if cotton brings a good price or if you have a nice crop of this fifty-cent tobacco, and when you get five minutes at your desk, your check would be doubly welcome.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

8-D-Misc.
Dabbs, J. M.

July 13, 1949

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I greatly thank you for sending the names of the ministers and for your exertions again on the matter of Collier's.

Miss Reid has written me that she is getting fifteen or so of them out. I have sent her the list.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

8 - d - Misc
Dabbs, James M.

July 1, 1949

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
RFD #1
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Most kind if you can work out the arrangement I asked Miss Rebecca Reid to talk with you about.

It is being done in Alabama, Kentucky, Florida, and Virginia also.

Marion A. Wright had correspondence from Mr. Craig Wall, and I have sent Wright a copy of the Collier's article which Wright will probably send Wall. Therefore, no need to send him one.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

8-D-Dabbs, J.M.

June 17, 1948

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thank you very much for writing us June 5.

I envy you those toiling days on the farm.

It is good of you to make time to look after these other matters.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

South Carolina Division of Southern Regional Council, Inc.

A Council to Attain Through Research and Action the Ideals and Practices of Equal Opportunity for All Peoples in the South

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ORANGEBURG
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CONWAY
REV. A. J. WRIGHT
BENNETTSVILLE

June 5, 1948

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director,
The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUN 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Please pardon my delay in complying with your request in regard to information about civil rights meetings. I have been, and still am, terribly busy on the farm. When I'm through working for the day, I'm too tired for anything but sleep--sometimes too tired for that. I am enclosing the reports of two civil rights meetings that I attended. As I learn of others, I will let you know.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

P.S. I note I have another letter from you; of May 18. I am sending today, to five newspaper editors I know personally--or perhaps six--a copy of the NEW SOUTH publication you sent me, "Housing in the South", and am writing to each of them a personal letter.

J. M. D.

J. M. D.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE—Mrs. F. Clyde Helms, Chairman

Rev. E. A. Adams, Rev. A. T. Butler, Rev. H. H. Butler, Earle R. Britton, Franz Daniel, Mrs. Beautine DeCosta, Marguerite DeVore, Mrs. Louise J. DuBose, Dr. Carl B. Epps, A. C. Flora, Dr. J. E. Grant, Lil Lou Gray, James H. Hammond, Rev. A. W. Hill, J. M. Hinton, Mrs. Leon S. Holley, A. T. Jamison, Mrs. Iola Jones, Mrs. J. Roy Jones, Dr. Peter Kelly, Mrs. Camille C. Levy, Mrs. Norman Lynch, John McCray, Mrs. Sarah McCullough, Juanita Neely, Mary Helen Oetzel, J. F. Potts, Mrs. Maude M. Rogers, Mrs. Audrew Simpkins, Mrs. Albert Simonds, Mrs. T. B. Stackhouse, Dr. Rosamonde E. Wimberly.

Dabbs

August 10, 1951

Mrs. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Dabbs:

One of the youngsters at the Fisk Institute said he was driving South and east, and where could he go to find out about things. So I sent him (and I hear from you now, also a couple of his friends) on to you and Mr. Dabbs. But he had stringent instructions that he was to work. I hope he did!

I am sure that you and Mr. Dabbs were more than dutifully kind to them, and I do greatly appreciate it. 'Tis matter enough, my own wife finds, to have a hospitable husband, without having friends who open one's home without warning. Many thanks for the names of Mr. Sharper and Mr. Hardin. I sent them each the last several issues of New South and asked them to join the Council.

I have forgotten what I heard about Pee Dee Panorama. 'Tis a book?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

JAMES McBRIDE DABBS · RIP RAPS · MAYESVILLE, S. C.

August 7, 1951

Dr. George Mitchell

Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

If one measures friendship by the richness of experience diffused throughout one's life by acquaintances, then you must be, without knowing, one of our dearest friends. Thank you indefinitely for sending the boys. They were delightful and we wouldn't have missed the experience. The first came in last Wednesday, the other two on the following morning. Even though it was in the middle of James' final rush on Pee Dee Panorama, they afforded him the greatest stimulation as well as sheer pleasure. They left only yesterday. I think perhaps, in the light of that experience we may work out a sort of Cornell Summer Seminar here next summer. If so, you must come look in on us then.

I have discovered, much to my chagrin, that the two enclosed names have not been forwarded to you as I expected when I turned them over to Miss Reid and my husband in May or June. These two men, both Negroes, were attending a Baptist Ministers' Conference at Morris College where I was asked to speak ~~to them~~ on interracial understanding. They asked to be placed immediately on the mailing list of Southern Regional Council. I promised to see to it before night! Now I must write them explanations. Could you send them a New South or some information in print as to the full nature of S. R. C.? They just could make worthwhile members. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Edith Dabbs

E M D/ Enc. 1

Dabbs

August 14, 1951

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Chairman, South Carolina Division
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thank you very much for sending the check for $25.00 which was the contribution of Mrs. Spearman. We are most grateful for her generous gift to the Council and I will see that the $15.00 gets to the South Carolina Division as she has requested.

Contributions during July and August have been very low. However, we are hopeful that as vacations are over and fall activities begin, our members and friends will come to our aid.

We cherish the loyalty of the South Carolina Division.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Acting Secretary-Treasurer

SOUTH CAROLINA DIVISION
OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

A COUNCIL TO ATTAIN THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION THE IDEALS AND PRACTICES OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH

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CHARLESTON

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HONORARY LIFE BOARD MEMBER
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MRS. MARION B. WILKINSON
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MRS. MARIAN B. PAUL
COLUMBIA

WILLIS I. PEEK
ANDERSON

DOROTHY PENLAND
COLUMBIA

MRS. A. W. SIMKINS
COLUMBIA

PAUL WEBBER
ORANGEBURG

August 12, 1951

Mrs. Norma Huff, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Huff:

K.S.

Enclosed you will find my check for $25 to cover the contribution of Mrs. Alice N. Spearman, Newberry, S. C. She wishes $15 of this to be returned to the South Carolina Division, and $10 to remain in the treasury of the Council.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs, Chairman,
S. C. Division.

August 29, 1951

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I would like to buy a copy of Pee Dee Panorama. So when it comes out, have them please send me a folder about it.

Thank you for seeing what can be done about the McCray case.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Dabbs

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RECEIVED
AUG 28 1951
Southern Regional Council

August 26, 1951

RECEIVED
AUG 28 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Coumcil, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George;

I am taking up the matter of the McCray case to see if we can do anything about it.

You inquire in your letter to Mrs. Dabbs about "Pee Dee Panorama." It's one of those fancy picture books that sell from $7 to $10, and so is priced clean out of your and my reach. I suppose I'll be given a copy, since I'm writing the introduction. I hope so. The photographs are by probably the best outdoor photographer in South Carolina, Earl Julian. The 15,000 word text by me. Read it , and you'll know all about South Carolina--that's worth knowing!-- from the time the Indians had it till now. There are some good sentences in it,if I do say so; and the spade of slavery, with which we dug our own grave, is called a spade. For instance: "But as the event was to prove, this lovely land was 'La belle dame sans merci,' seductively dangerous. The Bishop [Asbury] deplored drunkenness; he deplored slavery more; but he did not recognize, what history has since revealed, that slavery was the poisonous flower of these fertile swamps and uplands."

See, I'm trying to get you to buy a copy anyhow.It won't mean anything to me: I'm getting paid a flat rate; per hour about half what I pay Bill Fortune to work on the farm for; but of course there's always the glory, as they say, and I would value highly your appreciative word.

One other quote to whet your appetite; the last two sentences. I'm talking about the outmoded "Big Houses" and their piazzas: "But piazzas too grow ghostly now. We shuttle today between air- conditioned rooms and the shocking weather of the world."

Well, I don't want to oversell the book.But I think it's going to have a picture of my (ghostly) house in it!

~~Regards,~~
Dabbs

Dabbs.

August 23, 1951

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Route #1
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

All I know about the McCray case is what's in the papers, including his. But it certainly looks like persecution.

Would you turn over in your mind the possibility of the South Carolina Division's doing a leaflet on the subject?

I don't know the law on contempt of court, and we don't want to violate the law. But I would certainly love to see some South Carolina voice raised. Maybe voices have already been raised and I haven't heard them.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Dabbs

Sept. 27, 1951

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Route #1
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I am impressed with the wisdom of Marion Wright's letter to you of September 24.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

October 15, 1951

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Route #1
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

You remember that Mrs. Tilly, in her capacity of "in charge women's work" for the Council, has been developing the Fellowship of the Concerned. Leaflet herewith. It isn't properly an organization; it is merely churchwomen who sign a (mimeographed) statement that they are concerned to be sure that equal justice is used in their communities and that they will go and sit in the courts and take action locally on anything that they decide needs working at. I believe they also say that if they find one they can't handle, they will let the Council know. It has no officers. It is really just Mrs. Tilly and a card index of the names and addresses of women who have signed the statement. From time to time, some of them write in and say that they have gone to their courts and found this or that and have done this or that. It greatly enlarges the Council's contacts, because it begins to provide now in many obscure courthouse towns some names of people known to be "concerned."

In previous years Mrs. Tilly has relied on a gathering of leading churchwomen from over the South already in Atlanta to push the program of the Fellowship. This year we thought it wiser for Mrs. Tilly to go out to as many of the States as she could reach and try to get in touch with a greater number of local women. Obviously, the convenient and most useful time for doing that is simultaneous with the State Divisions' annual meetings of SHC.

She went two or three weeks ago to a biggish church gathering in Kentucky. We arranged with Tydings to have at the same time a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Kentucky Division. I believe some of the Executive Committee went to the churchwomen's meeting and vice versa. At any rate, it made an opportunity to explain to the Kentucky Division what the Fellowship was all about and, perhaps more importantly, to explain to the churchwomen what the Council was all about.

I told Mrs. Tilly that the South Carolina Division meets November 9 at Columbia. She would like to call together for that day persons from among the several hundred South Carolina churchwomen (some of each race) who have shown an interest in the Fellowship of the Concerned.

It is the South Carolina Division's business. Arrange it or reject it, as suits you. At this distance, what Mrs. Tilly and I suppose would be best would be for the two organizations simply to meet simultaneously. The general program of the South Carolina Division's meeting would be of great interest to the churchwomen, and I suppose that the South Carolina Division would make room on its agenda for a short talk from Mrs. Tilly and perhaps for half an hour's separate gathering of those specifically interested in pushing the Fellowship of the Concerned.

The Fellowship has no dues, for the time being issues no publications, and can hardly be in any way competitive with the South Carolina Division. Quite the reverse. Activity by the fellowship women should substantially strengthen the work of the Division.

If you will be good enough to let me know as soon as you can what you think wise in this, I could let Mrs. Tilly start a turning the wheels of her modest machinery. Meanwhile, she is saving November 9.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

November 23, 1951

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I've been trying to work out the matter of extra copies for the South Carolina Division of Marion Wright's speech.

We had two alternatives, of which I have chosen the second:

1. Three thousand extra copies of the forthcoming November issue of New South
2. Three thousand copies of a special, four-page leaflet, carrying Marion Wright's speech under the impramatur of the South Carolina Division only. It would be nine by twelve, folded to fit in the ordinary, small-size envelope.

The first plan costs sixty dollars, over and above our bill for an ordinary issue of New South. The second plan costs ninety dollars.

I haven't much to go on, but I rather guessed the second plan was best, so that has been ordered.

The number three thousand I picked out of the air. To late now to increase it, except by expensive re-order.

We are having it done, and they will be shipped anywhere you say. Should be ready by December 1.

I so cherish the South Carolina Division (which has cherished us) that we are willing here to bear the extra ninety dollars. But I suppose that the Division would be willing to share that expense! What would you think of fifty-fifty? But now I remember that the Division is going to have a postage bill for distributing it. We would think it eminently fair if the Division sent us thirty-five dollars.

I do hope the resulting leaflet will be satisfactory.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Dabbs, J. M.

January 11, 1952

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Route 1
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I've been out on a trip for some days and got back to find that Rebecca Reid had very kindly sent on Mrs. Coker's hundred, saying that you had authorized it to come to us.

Very many thanks. I write merely because I had written the earlier reminder to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

January 25, 1952

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Route 1
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

That was an excellent letter that you sent out accompanying Marion Wright's speech.

As a professor of economics I admire the work of a professor of English.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

State Div = S.C.

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PAUL WEBBER
ORANGEBURG

RECEIVED
JAN 21 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mayesville, S. C.
January 16, 1952

Dear Board Members and Friends of S. R. C.:

In the world-wide struggle between democracy and communism, it is refreshing to us of the democratic faith to come upon so clear and compelling a statement as that of the enclosed pamphlet by Marion A. Wright.

Mr. Wright is a lawyer, with long years of successful practice behind him. But his large knowledge of the law has only brightened his sense of justice and deepened his devotion to the democratic principles of our country. Out of that knowledge and that devotion he speaks in the pamphlet "Making Democracy Work in South Carolina".

Too many of the voices being heard in South Carolina today are concerned, not with making democracy work, but with maintaining ancient privilege. Mr. Wright's is a rare exception. He spoke these ringing words before the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council, South Carolina Division, in Columbia last fall. We have had three thousand copies of that speech printed. Will you not help to get it into the hands of those who are ready to hear such a voice and to follow such leadership? There are more such people than we think. Among the friends of each of you there are probably a dozen. If you will tell us how many copies you can use, we shall be glad to send them immediately.

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs,
Chairman

Pa

October 7, 1952

Mrs. J. M. Dabbs
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Dabbs:

I've just discovered that yesterday I sent you Harold Fleming's copy of THE TROUBLE MAKERS, which was destined for another lady in South Carolina who wanted information on an entirely different subject.

Do, please, be kind enough to send it back. This should be sufficient postage. And will you send the copy of Justice Douglas's speech along with it? That was also a mistake.

Sorry to trouble you.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Sec'y. to George S. Mitchell

Encl.

June 10, 1953

Revive letters to heads of State Divisions re Agencies meeting March 27. GSM will write them and see if they did anything about holding meetings on school segregation.

ANDERSON, CHARLES W., JR. (N) Louisville, Ky.
member of Ky. Legislature

1944-45

Same letter to heads of all state Divisions

March 13, 1953

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Please dig out the letter Marion Wright sent the Fund for the Republic December 23, copy of which was sent you with request for your ponderings.

Time now to do something.

Obviously, we aren't going to get this year enough to do that whole job. But the Ford Foundation itself has sent us $20,000 to keep us going for '53, apparently without prejudice to our major request to the Fund for the Republic.

In the Executive Committee meeting the other day here it was decided that we ought to find in each Southern State a volunteer person who would inform himself on schools and the new perplexities arising therein. The Council could undertake to pay the modest expenses of such a person for travel and telephone costs and secretarial help. But obviously, there isn't enough money to pay salaries. I know that hideously narrows the choice. What we want is really someone who would be two things: (a) a correspondent for this office on exactly what is happening in the schools in each State, and (b) a source of fact and proposals to various helpful organizations within his own State. It could be an educational sociologist or an ex-school teacher or someone who has had administrative experience in the school system or a well-disposed past president of the PTA or some other strategic person in a position to become quickly particularly well-informed on schools.

Though this isn't much of a step, it is the important one, and the best we can see to do. So notwithstanding all the calls of the springtime, could you arrange a meeting with your Executive Committee to begin steps which would find such a person? Weeks, and even days, are precious now, before the Supreme Court makes its ruling.

We would hope that later on this nucleus of activity would develop into a full-fledged State School Committee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

October 27, 1953

Mr J M Dabbs, Chairman
South Carolina Division
S R C
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr Dabbs:

The last annual membership meeting changed the by-laws about the Board of SRC. It chose fifty regularly elected members. Nearly all of that number have accepted; and here is the list of those who have.

In addition, the President, Vice Presidents, General Counsel and Executive Director are members of the Board. Provision was made, also, for the head or acting head of each State Division to be ex officio members of the Board of the Southern Regional Council, plus any other person whom the State Division or affiliated Committee might elect to be on the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council. You can see why two. Most of the Chairmen are white and we wanted even-steven representation.

Please therefore put into your program for whatever is your next upcoming general meeting the matter of choosing one other person, presumably Negro, to be on the SRC Board as representing, along with you, the South Carolina Division.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure - 1

October 28, 1953

Mr J M Dabbs, Chairman
South Carolina Division
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr Dabbs:

I wish I could be at your meeting October 31, but I promised to go over to Tuskegee on that date which is when they inaugurate the new president.

We are writing you officially about the need for South Carolina to elect somebody to the Board for South Carolina. Do try to attend to that at the meeting.

You will be rejoiced to hear that the Mississippi Department of Education wired us an order for a thousand copies of Questions and Answers and a thousand copies of Check List. If they had to bury me tomorrow I would sleep soundly tonight!

I hope you will stay as the Chairman of the South Carolina Division. You are the right man for it.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

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COLUMBIA

PAUL WEBBER
ORANGEBURG

RECEIVED
OCT 26
Southern Regional Council

October 20, 1953

Dear Friend,

This is an invitation for you to attend the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council, South Carolina Division, to be held in Columbia on Saturday morning, October 31.

As you probably know, the Council is an inclusive Southwide organization, the chief concern of which is the equalization of OPPORTUNITY for everyone in the South. The critical field in the South today is education. Every concerned citizen faces this problem. At the coming meeting in Columbia we shall attempt to focus this concern and to clarify our thinking on this problem.

Consequently, we are especially inviting all educators and all laymen particularly concerned with education. We want to know what the responsible citizens of this state are thinking and planning in this critical area.

The Rev. Charles M. Jones, known to many of you as one of the young leaders of the South, until recently pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and now pastor of the Community Church there, will speak, and will lead a discussion.

We shall meet at the Y.W.C.A., 1505 Blanding Street, at 10:30 Saturday morning, October 31.

South Carolina needs thoughtful leadership. Will you help us to provide it?

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs, Chairman,
South Carolina Div., SRC, Inc.

P.S. Note to members: there will be a business meeting for the election of officers.

December third, 1953

Mr J M Dabbs
Mayesville
South Carolina

Dear Mr Dabbs:

I stopped in Greenville on my last northward trip and had a pleasant luncheon with Foster. The South Carolina Division certainly chose wisely. I still miss you; but I know we can always have your friendship and help.

Warmest regards to Mrs Dabbs.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

Clipping to A.H.

August 28, 1954

Mr. James M. Dabbs
"Rip Raps"
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Mr. Clement sent us over a clipping with the Sumter date line, carrying a brief account of your courageous appearance before the South Carolina Farm Bureau Federation.

Honor to you sir!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. A. J. Clement
Mutual Life Insurance Company
Station "A"
Box 206
Charleston, South Carolina

File

Mayesville, South Carolina
August 30, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George,

Thanks for your approval of my stand in Sumter. The truth is, the speaker played so fast and loose with the truth, and kept on hollering so that he wanted everybody to stand up and be counted, that I finally stood up and was counted, and then nobody seemed to appreciate it. Well, such is life!

Of course, I slammed home a few fast ones while I was being counted. I don't imagine that increased their appreciation.

Regards.

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

J.M.Dabbs
Mayesville, S. C.

SUMTER, S. C.
AUG 30
630PM
1954

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UNITED STATES POSTAGE
THREE CENTS
3

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 Auburn Ave., N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 11, 1955

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mayesville,
South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

We were all sorry you weren't able to get to the Annual Meeting at Tuskegee last Wednesday. It was a well attended and constructive session.

I had hoped to tell you there how much all of us here appreciated your recent article in the Christian Century--and your quote on the Citizen's Councils which appeared in the October Southern School News. We requested and were granted permission to reprint from the Christian Century. I hope that meets with your approval.

I am still looking forward hopefully to an opportunity to see and talk with you again. Meanwhile warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Mayesville, S. C.
March 16, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold;

I still say "exquisite tact." I agree with all you let me say, and am not grieved at your deletions. In plain Anglo- Saxon, O. K.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs.

December 1, 1955

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thanks for your recent letter giving us permission to reprint the Christian Century article. It will appear in the December issue of New South. You can be sure I won't "improve" it by 90% cut, as I did the New Orlean's speech.

I am embarrassed about the mention of the Tuskegee meeting in my last letter. Without revealing any confidences, I may say that I knew you were to be nominated for return to your proper position on the Board and confused that with existing membership -- which indeed should have been all along. You will get official notification soon, if you haven't already.

You are rapidly becoming our favorite author around here. I have lately read in quick succession your articles in the Yale Review and in the Presbyterian Outlook -- both splendidly done.

I don't see any immediate prospect of a trip to South Carolina, but if one arises I will be traveling down your road -- with due warning of course.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations

1508 Lady Street
COLUMBIA, S. C.

Mayesville, S. C.
November 14, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your note of the 11th. I approve most heartily your using whatever you wish from The Christian Century article of mine. If you improve it as much as you improved my New Orleans speech, it'll be really worth while.

It didn't occur to me to go to the Tuskegee meeting, though I don't know if I should have been able to come even if I had thought of it. Since the SRC is no longer a membership organization, I, like the old Negro here who had never been to Florida, "just didn't have no call to go." But it would have been a great pleasure to meet you there. Whyn't you find some bueiness in South Carolina, and spend the night with us? You could be spared from Atlanta briefly. This trouble we're in isn't going to blow over tomorrow morning, and leave you without a job. The Kingdom of Heaven is perennially on the way, but as yet there are few signs of its immediate arrival. You and I will both have a chance to strike a few more blows for freedom.

On this noble note I close.

As ever,

Dabbs.

April 9, 1956

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mayesville
South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thanks for your good letter between sessions with the tractor. I am enclosing several leaflets describing SRE's general program, for use with your Northern friends. We will also send what we have to Dr. Tilson.

There seems to be no standard packet of materials for prospective contributors. However, I am sending separately a collection of things which you can use as selectively as you wish. More if you need them.

The outcome of your visit to Mr. Wiggins is of great interest. It seems that another derogatory label for our time has been coined: "premature anti-segregationist".

With best regards always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:o
encs.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations

1508 Lady Street

COLUMBIA, S. C.

AN ORGANIZATION OF SOUTHERNERS OF BOTH RACES WORKING TOGETHER IN THE INTEREST OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

MRS. ALICE N. SPEARMAN
Executive Director
Columbia, S. C.

MR. JAMES T. McCAIN
Associate Director
Sumter, S. C.

MRS. IRA G. GREENE
Secretary
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Rock Hill, S. C.

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Sumter, S. C.

Dr. W. W. Jones
Charleston, S. C.

Miss Adele Minahan
Columbia, S. C.

Dr. E. E. McClaren
Greenville, S. C.

Mrs. Marian B. Paul
Columbia, S. C.

The Rev. A. C. Redd
Columbia, S. C.

Bishop F. M. Reid
Columbia, S. C.

Mr. Gil Rowland
Greenville, S. C.

The Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean
Rock Hill, S. C.

Mr. W. E. Solomon
Columbia, S. C.

Mr. Paul Webber
Orangeburg, S. C.

Mrs. Marion B. Wilkinson
Orangeburg, S. C.

Mrs. Robert J. Wykes
Greenville, S. C.

Mrs. Morris S. Young
Anderson, S. C.

Mayesville, S. C.
April 5, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The enclosed request from Howard Kester to me is ####self-explanatory. I have written him that I could not help with information but was referring the request to you, with the hope that your office might have some material on hand. If you have, would you kindly make it available to Dr. Tilson?

I had a very pleasant and informing two-hour conversation with Wiggins, but really got nowhere. It seems the SRC came out ################ against segregation before that became the law of the land! I stood up for my principles, but, as Dr. Wells# suggested, did not boast of them.

I have the names of several wealthy Northerners to whom I have a sort of introduction by a mutual friend. I am going to write to them, and would like a folder, or folders, describing the work of the SRC, to enclose with my letter. I have of course the South Carolina Council brochure, but that covers only South Carolina.

By return mail if possible.

My next stab here in South Carolina is to try to see the leading Coker business men of Hartsville and see if I can enlist them, or some of them, in aiding the SRC. At the meeting of the Finance Commitee in Atlanta recently, something was said of a package of several pieces of informative material which might be sent out piece by piece to influential prospects. I understand that you had it made up in the office. Could you let me have such a package?

The only reason you're getting this letter out of me is that it rained at nine this morning and drove me in off the tractor. I was within four hours of having all my fields ready to plant corn--the cotton is for the most part in the ground--. Now I am set back till the ground dries and I can finish harrowing before I attach the planters, etc. for planting. Tell George I still need a good farm hand down here. The one I have occasionally has been so influenced by segregation he isn't much good. Every day I work Negro labor I say, "Damn segregation." The whites are a curious race. They are so busy defending their economic privileges under the guise of color that they can't see that they are by their actions rubbing all the butter off their own bread!

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

April 18, 1956

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mayesville
South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

By now you should have received the material you needed. I like your allusion to "bread upon the waters", but I hope the results will fit more nearly the parable of the loaves and the fishes.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

Mayesville, South Carolina
April 11, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
SRC., Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for the material you sent me, but I've got more friends up North than you think. Send me a dozen each of the two folders, "Southern Regional Council", and "The South of the Future." With your aid, we shall cast a few slices of bread upon the waters. Today is an ideal day for doing so. I was to have been planting corn, but the Lord called it off with a one-inch rain and high winds all night.

Regards.

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

P.S. Please send me a handful of SRC long envelopes & letter-heads. I think I'd better use SRC stationery instead of the SCCHR stationery.

J. M. D.

I will hold the bread till I hear from you.

4/16 material sent

Mayesville, S. C. 12/19/56

Dear Mr. Alexander:

Please inform me by return mail of the date of the next executive comm. meeting. Some time in Jan., I believe, but I don't know the exact date. I don't want to make any engagements which might conflict with that meeting..

This is a poor way to wish you a happy Christmas, but I suppose the wish is better than the way. After all, good intentions do do something more than lay down sidewalks in hell!

As ever,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs.

Educ Comm.
gen. corresp.

January 31, 1957

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
RFD
Rip Raps
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

It certainly was plesant seeing you again at the recent Executive Committee meeting, and I was glad to hear that your book is coming along all right.

Enclosed are copies of the columns of Dr. Allen that I promised you. We have very little regard for Dr. Allen's statements concerning segregation, but these columns as Dr. Allen points out were based on letters from people following a recent sermon in which he spoke in defense of segregation.

Hoping we will see you in Atlanta again very soon.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:fc
Encl.

February 20, 1957

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
"Rip Raps"
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

For my money, or the lack of it, your head and heart have no peers.

Your note and check have arrived just as I am leaving for Washington and New York on a scavenging expedition. Nothing could give me a better or more inspiring send-off.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl. SRC Official Receipt $50

Dictated but not read

James McBride Dabbs • Rip Raps Plantation • Mayesville, South Carolina

February 19, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Harold,

I made the enclosed out of my head. Believing that the head should# rest where the heart is, I send it on to you.

Cordially,

J. M. Dabbs.

CR $5.00
Rha

Please return to us for [illegible]

file

James McBride Dabbs • Rip Raps Plantation • Mayesville, South Carolina

March 5, 1957

Mr. John Constable, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

Dear John,

This is a belated "thak you" for the Allen reprints you sent me a month ago. I checked them against my own ideas, and find that I include all the material he presents. Thanks just the same for sending them.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

June 19, 1957

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, twelve copies of our June issue of "New South" in which your article "The Man Across The Table" appears. I hope that I did not take too much liberty with the article but we already have one good comment from the office here. Harold's secretary commented very favorably on reading the article.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

May 15, 1957

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Anything that will get you before Southern audiences has our whole-hearted approval and support. Otherwise put, we think the idea is dandy and will do anything we can to help you and Max Hahn to put it into effect.

If I could think of an organization other than the Council that might better handle the arrangements, I would suggest it. Of course, I would like to see Rotary take it on, but we all know about that. As to the church groups, we know from experience that the denominational social action departments and the other religious groups that are inclined to face this issue at all tend to lean on SRC for guidance and professional service. (In their defense, we should note that a major reason is that they are pitifully staffed and financed.) The same thing might be said for most of the organizations that would be sympathetic enough to our point of view to be interested in arranging speaking engagements for you. I am enclosing a list of the groups which have asked us to serve as an inter-agency clearing house and which we will be convening soon for the third time.

Thus, Mr. Hahn to the contrary, the only alternative I see to SRC is your dealing directly with a number of groups over the South, and this I think would be too cumbersome a procedure for you to handle easily. And, as always, there is the problem of a tax-exempt recipient for the foundation grant.

From SRC's point of view, I see only one possible hitch. We are receiving this year a modest Field grant in a diminishing three-year series, and we will most certainly be applying to the Foundation for further assistance for the period to come. As you know, Field is

one of the few foundations of any substantial size with a serious interest in race relations. We have no reason at the moment to feel that our prospects are over-bright, but in view of the importance of the Field Foundation in this area, we will have no choice but to use every possible device to enlist its support on a large scale.

In view of this, it would be unwise for SRC at this point to play the part of supplicant for a small, special purpose grant, however enthusiastic we may be about the purpose.

I take it from your letter that Hahn has expressed considerable interest in the idea. Could you correspond with him further, interpreting the reasons why SRC is the logical agency through which this prospect might be managed, making it clear that SRC is willing, but would regard itself as merely the instrument of such an arrangement? We have worked out similar arrangements with the Fund for the Republic, at the request of the Fund and a third party, in which it was clearly understood that the Council would not prejudice its future grantee status.

I hope I haven't made this too complicated, and I know you understand that we in fact feel a primary interest in getting you on the stump as effectively as possible. Who knows, you might develop a reputation as a lecturer that will make you the only self-liquidating prospect in the whole history of race relations.

I hope when and if you get an extra copy available you will give me a chance to read your manuscript too. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

James McBride Dabbs • Rip Raps Plantation • Mayesville, South Carolina

May 11, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED MAY 14 1957

Dear Harold:

I hate to bother you, but I would appreciate your opinion on one matter. I have talked with Maxwell Hahn, of the Field Foundation, and, upon his suggestion, am proposing that thr Field Foundation put up some money to make it possible for me to speak over the South as arrangements for such speeches could be made. As to compesnation, is this proppsal about right: that I should be paid at the rate of $30 per diem and expenses while I am doing this work? (I believe that is what SRC consultants get.)

Since the thing I can say which needs to be said will be said chiefly to white audiences, Mr. Hahn suggested that the SRC would hardly be the best organization to make the arrangements. I think he is right in this. And yet--and I should like your opinion on this--could not the Council serve as the group which would work through church, ##### youth, and such other groups as could be found? I should be the speaker of one of these groups--for a given occasion; that group would make the arrangements; but my expenses and compensation would be paid not by that group, but by such an overall group as the SRC. (The money of course to be furnished in a grant from Field.) The function of SRC in this matter would then be to inform possible groups that such a service was available, and to pay with the Field money the bills.

Ideally, what we need to handle such a thing is something like a Council of churches in the Southern states. But I'm afraid such an organization is too weak in the South to do this. If only Mrs. Tilly's organization covered Dixie like the dew, that would be what we want. (It almost does, at that.)

I should appreciate brief comment on these matters as soon as possible; but I know how busy you are.

~~Sincerely,~~
J. M. Dabbs
J.M. Dabbs.

P.S. Hahn told me to submit an application, with copy of my MS. book, as soon as possible. If this shot in the dark hits, I'm going to take up Faulkner branches!
J.M.D.

Wf folder

May 28, 1957

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I am sorry for this delay in answering your recent letter, but we have been submerged in two-day conferences after another for the past week or more.

Our per diem fee for regional consultants is $35.00. I should think you would want to apply for at least 1½ times this amount for travel, since most of your appearances will be one-day stands. In terms of our experience with the consultants we would think of this as a conservative figure. It would probably be safer for you to estimate twice the amount of the fee for your travel and other expenses.

I shall be waiting hopefully to hear how your proposal comes out.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

James McBride Dabbs • Rip Raps Plantation • Mayesville, South Carolina

May 14, 1957

RECEIVED MAY 16 1957

Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

One other question about a detail of the application I am making to the Field Foundation, which you--or Mrs. Alexander--might be able to answer from the experience of the Council. What relation does the expense of one of your consultants bear to his per diem salary? My feeling is that on a speaking schedule such as might be worked out for me the expense might run to one-and-a-half times the per diem--if that were around $30.

Just pitch this to anybody in the office who can give me some pertinent information, or opinion. Thanks.

~~Sincerely,~~

Dabbs.

Dabbs.

Dabbs — Board

June 18, 1957

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thank you for your letter of June 17th. I am not a member of NPA's Committee of the South though I am well acquainted with it. Paul Christopher and Al Dent are both members of it. You might write them; however, from my knowledge of the Committee, I doubt that they would sponsor such a speaking tour as you propose. Thus far, they have been unwilling to issue a statement in support of law and order.

The American Friends Service Committee, of course, is another question. We have the highest regard for them but I doubt if they reach more highly into the power structure than we do.

I sincerely hope you will live to be a hundred, not just to see what's going to happen, but to help it along. More branch water is in order when next we meet.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Board

June 18, 1957

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thank you for your letter of June 17th. I am not a member of NPA's Committee of the South though I am well acquainted with it. Paul Christopher and Al Dent are both members of it. You might write them; however, from my knowledge of the Committee, I doubt that they would sponsor such a speaking tour as you propose. Thus far, they have been unwilling to issue a statement in support of law and order.

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Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

James McBride Dabbs • Rip Raps Plantation • Mayesville, South Carolina

June 17, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave, N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

Maxwell Hahn, of the Field Foundation, has written me today asking my opinion of the Committee of the South of the National Planning Association as a possible sponsor of the South-wide speaking project I have laid before him. I wrote Harold Fleming some weeks ago about this project, and he very kindly offered me his advice. I get the impression that Hahn is very much interested, if not entirely sold on the idea of my doing the job; but I know he is doubtful yet about the best sponsor. I have suggested mainly the SRC--as Harold suggested--and the American Friends Service Committee. Hahn writes today: "The American Friends Service Committee is second choice at present." He wishes to know my opinion of the Committee of the South in this capacity.

I seem to remember that you are a member of this committee. If I am mistaken in this, please put this letter in the hands of the proper person at SRC: I know it is somebody there. I shall have to depend upon what you can tell me; I know nothing about the Committee of the South except that it exists. Do you think it has the contacts and the prestige--and the will--to sponsor such speaches as I might deliver over the South?

If possible, please reply by return mail. I will hold my reply to Hahn until I hear from you.

If this project succeeds, it will be amusing. I didn't know I was going to present it to Hahn until our interview was almost over. We had said about all there was to say, and, in the quiet, when the spirit moved me, I spoke. If things really happen like this, I'm going to live to be a hundred just to see what's going to happen!

Any help you can give me in making it happen will be appreciated. I remember certain branch-water drinks you have given me; I shall have to put myself under obligation to you one more time!

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

James McBride Dabbs • Rip Raps Plantation • Mayesville, South Carolina

June 24, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I have just received a notice from the executive director of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen that the executive committee, of which I am a member is to meet at Blue Ridge, N. C., the afternoon of July 16 and continue over into the morning of the 17th, if that should be necessary. I indicated in the card I returned to the SRC ten days ago that it was immaterial to me whether the SRC executive committee met on July 15 and 16 or July 16 and 17 Knowing now of the FSC meeting, I vote for the 15 and 16. With this arrangement, I could leave Atlanta at 10 A. M. the 16th and be at Blue Ridge about two. Of course if it's too late for this vote to matter, it's too late. In that case I suppose I should come to Atlanta, as you set your date first; but I imagine I'll wait to see how important the meeting at Blue Ridge seems.

Sorry to bother you with this. Thanks for the letters in re the Field Foundation. Maxwell Hahn--and I--are still trying to find an apprpriate sponsor. Though he didn't say so, it would seem to me as if he feels the sponsee is O.K. If so, I support him in his belief.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

September 20, 1957

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

What good news!

Anything you are likely to do would be a credit to SRC - if we could claim it which we can't. Do keep me in mind as one who is eager to read your book at the earliest opportunity.

Your article, "The Man Across the Table," was a classic. Many people have told us, in conversations or in letters, how much they appreciated it.

The next big question will be how we can get your book read throughout the land. Has Knopf raised the question of a paper back edition? If not, I hope you will be able to inject the idea into your discussions. Another possibility is an excerpt or condensation in one of the mass circulated magazines. I understand that a forthcoming book on the South by Harry Ashmore is going to get this kind of treatment. I can think of no reason short of lack of enterprise by the publisher, why yours should to.

As one step towards this end, wouldn't it be a good idea for Frank Kelley, the Fund for the Republic's vice-president for public relations, to see the manuscript and offer suggestions. It doesn't seem to me that this would be any great presumption, since the Fund financed you.

Enough for these gratuitous suggestions. Let me know if we can help along the way.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

James McBride Dabbs • Rip Raps Plantation • Mayesville, South Carolina

September 17, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thought you'd like to know that Knopf has accepted the book. I'm engaged in some slight revision at present. I hope it will be a credit to the SRC, since it was through that organization that I got the chance. Both Hodding Carter and Robert Penn Warren think very highly of it.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Dabbs.

November 19, 1957

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

As you no doubt recall, you agreed to contact Mr. Miller and requested that we draft an appropriate letter for that purpose. Enclosed you will find our draft of such a letter and the appropriate enclosures which we think Mr. Miller might like to receive.

We have prepared this letter for your signature in the event that you find it satisfactory and want to mail it immediately. Needless to say, we assume you will feel free to make any changes you see fit. If there are changes and you would like to have us retype the letter, we will be happy to do so.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina
November 19, 1957

Colonel Francis Pickens Miller
Box 3665
University Station
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Colonel Miller:

I have requested the pleasant task of informing you of an action taken by the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council last week. It was the unanimous vote of the meeting that you be invited to membership on the Council's governing body.

To this invitation from the Board I should like to add my personal hope that we may count on your acceptance. There has never been a time when we needed wiser or more devoted leadership than now. Your experience and commitment in this field will give your service special value to the Council in these demanding times.

I might add that this action is of particular importance to me since, at the same meeting, I was elected to the Presidency of the Council. And, as surely you can understand, I am anxious to have the counsel and guidance of a good fellow Presbyterian!

I am enclosing materials which describe the aims, background, and current activities of the Council. If you would like further information on any point, please don't hesitate to call on me. I have served on the Board of the Council and worked with its staff for many years. I have found it to be a good and rewarding

activity and think you will find in this association the same satisfaction.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

James M. Dabbs
President

JMD/mf
Enclosures : NEW SOUTH - October, 1957
List of Board Members - July 1, 1957
Congressional Record Reprint
Semi-annual Report

File

James McBride Dabbs • Rip Raps Plantation • Mayesville, South Carolina

December 2, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I returned home from Nashville Saturday to find the enclosed letter from Marion Wright. I pass it on to you with my approval. Here in South Carolina I will see if Mrs. Spearman has any contacts with James F. Daniel, Jr., to influence him, if possible, toward a more favorable attitude toward the Southern Regional Council.

I will probably get to Atlanta about ten or ten-thirty the morning of the 9th, and will come immediately to the office to discuss with you the afternoon meeting with the trustees of the Wesley Memorial Building.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

I use this out of date stationery as economy measure.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 472, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Harold
Keep in mind

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

November 26, 1957

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mayesville, S. C.

Dears Dabbs:

I have from time to time in the past written George Mitchell and Harold Fleming about various matters which I felt might otherwise escape their attention. As an adherent to strict protocol, I will suspend that practice with Harold and place my suggestions before you with the understanding that you may pass them on to him if you think it wise to do so.

1. I enclose a clipping from the New York Times of November 17th relating to the duties and procedure to be followed by the new Civil Rights Commission. You will note that it is authorized to confer, among others, with "private organizations" and to set up "advisory committees within states composed of citizens of that state."

This authority of the Commission seems to me to have great significance for us. Certainly we are a private organization with which the Commission should consult. And the state Councils heretofore affiliated with us seem to me to be ideally constituted to act as "advisory committees within states."

I not only think that the Commission could add greatly to its usefulness by consulting constantly with SRC and the state Councils; I also

think that SRC and the Councils could receive prestige and have their own usefulness increased by association with the Commission.

Certainly, we and the states should make a tender of our services as soon as channels are set up through which such tender may be made. I would be strongly in favor of having Fleming spend a few days in Washington to acquaint himself with the Commission's personnel and the personnel of its staff. He might at the same time lay the ground work for future cooperation between the Commission and ourselves.

2. I enclose another clipping from the Times dated November 22nd. (You will gradually get the idea that about all of my information comes from the Times.) This clipping contains the information that the Chairman of the American Legions Americanism Committee is James F. Daniel, Jr., of Greenville, S. C. Perhaps you already know this; I did not.

You are aware of the fact the Legion, presumably through its Americanism Committee, in times past has attacked SRC. The Firing Line article has been widely distributed throughout the South. It may be possible that the Legion has fallen into better hands and may be induced to modify, if not reverse its former attitude toward SRC. Mr. Daniel, whom I do not know, would apparently be the pivot upon which the policy could change. It would seem to be highly important to see that his own attitude is the correct one. I think we should get all the information we can about him and decide upon some strategic approach to converting, if conversion is necessary. Nothing could to us more good right now than to have the Legion, if not actually retracting the libels it has heretofore spread, publish material favorable to us.

I think that you and Mrs. Spearman might go into a huddle and ~~go~~ come up with some people in Greenville who might influence Mr. Daniel.

Both these matters are placed before you for your better judgment.

In the event that you want to forward this letter to Harold I am enclosing an extra copy which you may keep in your file.

With best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:eg

December 31, 1957

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Enclosed, for your information, are several items of some interest. I thought you might like to have a small batch of the New York Times reprints for your own use.

While I haven't seen the News and Courier's story on your election to the SRC presidency, it will in no way interfere with our announcement. The delay seems interminable, but several nominees have yet to be heard from.

We were warmly grateful for your Christmastime contribution to SRC.

With all good wishes of the New Year,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: Thermofax copies of William C. Whitney Ltr.
Thomas W. Young Ltr.
John H. Wheeler Ltr.
Steelworkers Ltr.
Presbyterian, USA, Ltr.
25 copies - N. Y. Reprint - 12/25/57

James McBride Dabbs • Rip Raps Plantation • Mayesville, South Carolina

RECEIVED DEC 20 1957

December 18, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You may notice that today's NEWS AND COURIER carries a brief account of my recent election to the presidency of the SRC. I also learned today, in a letter from Mrs. Spearman, how the paper learned of this. It seems W. D. Workman, their reporter, called her, and she confirmed the election. I hope the appearance of this news item doesn't disturb you in your plan for the announcement of recently elected board members and president.

With kindest regards, and the best wishes of the season,

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Jan. 9, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony, Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

As you see, the paper and envelopes came O. K. Thanks a lot. I was especially touched by the notation "Office of the President ", etc. I'll show it to an old Negro retainer of mine, who wants me to run for president. It'll prove to him that I have already run.

I suppose you have received my card in regard to the time of meeting best suited to me. There's another detail which complicates Feb. 12 for me. I'm going to Pendle Hill partly to oblige a friend of mine, and for bare expenses--by bus, the cheapest way. But he is trying to arrange some other speaking engagements for me in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, so that the trip may be, if possible, financially worth while to me. He may not succeed; but if he does, the engagement there may run head-on into the date for the Committee meeting.

All this means, I certainly hope you can arrange the meeting for Jan. 29.

Sincerely,

Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

T. M. Bazzel

February 6, 1958

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thanks so much for the letter to Mr. Evans bearing the personal touch of the President. We have corrected the errors you found in the proposal and have sent that with your covering letter to Mr. Evans. I will see that Tartt Bell writes Evans a letter - something he has already indicated a willingness to do.

I am belatedly prompted to make sure that you understand the ligitimacy of employing secretarial help at Council expense for the correspondence and other clerical work occasioned by your position of president. That was a practice followed by Marion Wright and is little enough for the Council to do.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/smf

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Feb. 3, 1958

Dear Harold,

I have modified the letter to Mr. Evans as I thought best. It is written on the president's typewriter, in the president's own hand--or I might better say, with his touch--as the wrrors indicate. I started to show it was typed by your stenographer "mf", but I figured such typing would be too bad a recommendation for the poor girl, so I have taken the responsibility myself. If you think correctness better than spontaneity, however, have this copied and return it to me for my signature. I'm really sorry the type in my machine differs from that on yourd, but that can't be helped.

I'm supposing that you wrote to Tartt Bell. I will not write unless you request it.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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SECRETARY-TREASURER

Rec'd 3/25/58

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ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JA. 2-8764

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
March 24, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for copies of the encouraging letters from Archbishop Lucey and Mr. Carlyle. I take this occasion also to compliment you upon the excellent article you had in a recent issue of the PROGRESSIVE. I read it weeks ago, but have been dilatory in passing on to you my thanks.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Statement of North Georgia Conference Trustees

REGARDING:

Presence of the Southern Regional Council in
Wesley Memorial Church Building

Circulated to: R. E. Clement
John Griffin
M. A. Wright
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Duncan Hunter
Dan Whitsett

DATE
April 11, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Wesley Memorial Church

Same ltr. sent to: Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Mr. John Griffin,
Mr. M. A. Wright, Miss Josephine Wilkins,
Rev. Duncan Hunter, and Mr. Dan Whitsett.

April 11, 1958

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I thought you would like to see a copy of the statement on the Southern Regional Council by the Trustees in charge of the Wesley Memorial Building. This statement is being sent routinely to all persons who make any inquiry or complaint about the Council's occupancy of space in the building.

Naturally, it would be improper for us to make any use of the statement ourselves. It was supplied to us purely for our own information.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1(Statement of North Georgia Conference Trustees...)

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

C. Vann Woodward

REGARDING:

Book review of The Southern Heritage by J. M. Dabbs

DATE

July 16, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

General Correspondence "WO"

Congressional Record Reprint about SRC
N.Y. Times reprint by Popham
N.Y. Herald Trib. Apr. May '58.

June 19, 1958

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Rape Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

In accordance with your request of June 15, I have mailed Mr. Spiro some material concerning the Southern Regional Council. I also enclosed several copies of New South, in which I thought he might be interested.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lcc

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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Phone 2-8764

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

June 15, 1958

Mr. John Constable, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear John:

While at Blue Ridge last week, I talked with Dr. Robert H. Spiro, Jr., President of the Blue Ridge Assembly, Inc. He was greatly interested in the work of the SRC. I referred him to the North Carolina Council, but promised also to have SRC send him some printed information about the work of SRC. If you will do this, I shall appreciate it. His Address is Black Mountain, N. C.

Enjoyed seeing Emory Via at Blue Ridge. He took me as far as Charlotte on my road home.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

June 27, 1958

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I know you will be glad to see the enclosed copy of a letter which arrived day before yesterday from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. You will recall that we discussed, at the last Executive Committee meeting, this major request and the program we hoped it would make possible. Since the meeting, we have also had the good news that the New World Foundation has approved a renewed grant for our Consultant Service Program, in the amount of $15,000. Both of these grants offer tremendous challenge which I hope we can meet effectively.

Within a few days, I expect to get out a memorandum to our Board informing them of various recent developments, including these two new grants. Meanwhile, you might want to write a letter of appreciation to Mr. Creel of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in your capacity of SRC President. I will, of course, also write him an acknowledgement enclosing our official receipt.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Copy of ltr. from Dana Creel, dtd. 6/20/58)

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

July 31, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E. Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred,

Thanks for the check, issued primarily to cover Alice Spearman's expenses to Fisk, but aiding Mrs. D and me to get there also. Indeed, I shouldn't have been able to go except that Alice said if we went she would put her travel allowance against the expense of the car. It was for us a valuable trip; I am glad also that I got to sit in on some of the staff meetings.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

July 2, 1958

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thanks for your good letter. It's not that I am adverse to sharing good news; it's just that I have become cynical enough not to claim the catching of a bird until it's firmly and officially in hand.

I am looking forward to our August Executive Committee meeting at which time we will have an opportunity to discuss this sobering grant and the most effective ways to put it to work.

I am glad you had a chance to be with Emory Via at Blue Ridge. He is a real asset to our staff.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

June 29, 1958

Dear Harold,

I have just written to Mr. Creel, of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, in my best typewriter hand. He deserves an embossed letter but I couldn't quite make that.

I was happy to have the official notice from you. Emory Via had told me at Blue Ridge that the matter had gone through unofficially, and asked if I knew. I said, not until he told me. He said, well, bad news travels fast. Apparently, this was so good it had a hard time getting outside the office.

I am happy for you and the staff, but sobered by the thought that spending $1[illegible]0,000 adds greatly to your responsibility. I doubt if I'll ever get used to thinking beyond about $1500, the amount I've got to pay the bank from this year's crop. My brain tells me that the crops in New York pay off better, but my Scotch heart always counts pennies.

After hearing Emory Via talk at Blue Ridge, and talking with him, I was more than ever impressed with his intelligence and his spirit.

~~Sincerely,~~

J. M. Dabbs.

Mr. Harild Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Flemming

VIA AIR MAIL July 24, 1958

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I have finished reading The Southern Heritage - this time all the way through! - and I hasten to write my congratulations on your great achievement. Your approach to this whole question, so far as I know, has no precedence. I really think that it will give many Southerners, if they read it, a completely different and constructive way of thinking about the so-called race problem. What comes through, it seems to me, is the idea that one need not be alienated from hearth and home and the best in our heritage in order to favor the acceptance of fellow human beings as friends and equals. At least, this comes through most persuasively to me. If this is not a central theme of the book, you will have to accept Knopf editors' charge of ambiguity.

I have asked C. Vann Woodward if he will review the book for New South. If he turns us down, we will try to get somebody of equal stature and insight.

If you can influence the publisher in his distribution of advance copies, may I suggest that one be sent to Mr. Jack Greenberg, 577 Grand Street, Apartment 707, New York 2, New York.

Greenberg is writing a mammoth treatise to be published by Columbia University on race relations and the law; I think he would quote from the book to good advantage as well as include it in his bibliography. Otherwise, I am sure the publisher will have thought of such Southern notables as Ralph McGill and Harry Ashmore. It also occurs to me that, in addition to such copies as you may send the Fund for the Republic, you might want to send complimentary copies to the two persons no longer at the Fund who were mainly responsible for the aid which the Fund provided. They are:

(1) David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

and

(2) Frank Loescher
414 South 46th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

It was good to see you and Mrs. Dabbs at Fisk. Alice Spearman wrote us that you provided her transportation there, and you will shortly be receiving a check for the roundtrip mileage of your trip. We like to think of this as facilitating the presence of you and Mrs. Dabbs as well as Alice at the Institute.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

August 5, 1958

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

This is in hasty reply to your letter of July 31.

I should think that, by all means, you would want to have a copy of The Southern Heritage sent to Mr. Hutchings as president of the Fund for the Republic. Also, I need hardly say that we are eager to do everything we properly can to get the book more widely known and read. All of us are calling it to the attention of every audience we reach. Don't be bashful about passing along any ideas that occur to you or to Mr. Lemay.

I'm looking forward to seeing you at the Executive Committee meeting next Tuesday. You may recall that Dr. Clement is out of the country, which means that it will fall to you to chair the meeting. I am enclosing a copy of the tentative agenda.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
encl. draft agenda

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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Madison 2-8764

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

July 31, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold,

Thanks for your complimentary comments on my book. I think you get the main idea.

I hope you succeed in getting C. Vann Woodward to review the book for NEW SOUTH.

Following your very appropriate suggestion, I have sent copies to Freeman and Loescher. I hardly know what to do about the present members of the Fund. I could send a copy to Hutchins, as president. I know none of the members personally, and I doubt it's being necessary to send a copy to each member. By the way, this reminds me of Ashmore. I have written Knopf and asked if they thought to send Ashmore and McGill advance copies. You are much better acquainted with the members of the Fund than I. Have you any suggestions? I have written Knopf to learn what copies, if any, were sent there. I have also mentioned your suggestion about Greenberg.

Thanks for the travel check Fred sent, primarily to cover Alice's travel to the staff meeting at Fisk. Alice said if I would take her she would put the price of her ticket on my car expenses. I think the travel allowance SRC sent me did better than that. It is true Mrs. Dabbs and I would not have felt able to go without such help.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

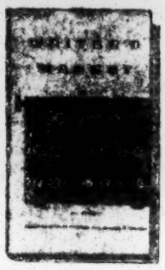
OUP

P. S. I have just received a letter from Knopf's editor, Strauss, raising the question of the possibility of their publicity director, Harding LeMay, cooperating with the staff of SRC in some way which might result in ~~#####~~ lectures or other publicity for the book. It is possible Strauss thinks I'm a paid official, with a budget. I shall advise him otherwise. However, I know you folks will do all you can to further the good work--of getting people to read my book and listen to me. It is a happy--and dangerous--situation when good work becomes also profitable!

J.M.D.

File - Dabbs book reviews

chances are
YOUR MS WILL SELL



... if you send it to the right editor

When you receive a check from an editor, it's partly because you sent your MS to the right editor! Somewhere there's probably an editor who'll buy your work. Why not find him—and take some of the gamble out of writing? Send your MS to the right editor first. You'll find his name and address, along with his specific needs, in THE WRITER'S MARKET. It contains the editorial requirements, rate of payment of over 3,000 markets for writers. All markets are neatly classified, too. It's handy, up-to-date, accurate. Once used, you'll never be without it. Get WRITER'S MARKET at your bookstore or direct. 450 pages. Cloth bound $4.50, paper bound $3.50 postpaid. Commented on both cheerfully and favorably by Erle Stanley Gardner, Faith Baldwin, Cornelia Otis Skinner, and others. You'll love it! Over 200 favorable newspaper reviews.

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Coming September 13
SR's Accent on Education Issue

Mason-Dixon Line

Continued from page 23

University has provided an introduction and foreword to the essays that give an admirable proportion to this volume. He keeps Henry in perspective at all times—keeps him growing, maturing, and mellowing as far as any Adams ever could or should. For a while it became unfashionable to give the Adamses the attention they once enjoyed, but unmistakably an Adams revival is astir. The two-volume biography of John Quincy Adams by Samuel Flagg Bemis has been a landmark to guide others onward; in a biography of Brooks Adams, talented Arthur E. Beringause gave a sampling of the fresh leads contained in the Adams papers; and these essays surely must lead still others back to a re-examination of the truly remarkable Henry.

A Lancelot for Little Rock

***"The Southern Heritage," by James McBride Dabbs** (Knopf. 249 pp. $4), is a Southerner's hopeful view of both desegregation and industrialization in the South. SR's reviewer is Jonathan Daniels, editor of the Raleigh, North Carolina,* News & Observer *and author of many books about the new and the old South. "Prince of Carpetbaggers," published last June, is his most recently released title.*

By Jonathan Daniels

EVERY now and then on forays to the North I run into the notion that liberals on the race issue are intimidated to quietness in the South. That is a contemporary legend at least as fantastic as the one to the effect that all white Southerners once sat on wide piazzas and listened through the liveoaks to the contented singing of the happy slaves—or, on the other extreme, that in the same period every field hand looked furtively above his hoe toward the North Star and freedom. The fact today is that, regardless of persuasion on the question of race, the Southerner will talk your ear off if he gets the chance. A greater danger than subdued silence is garrulousness unrestrained. The problem with the Southerner, from radical to reactionary, is not to get him to talk, but to stop him.

A lot of it is good talk, too. There is often rhetoric in irrational reaction. And there is moving poetry in the gentle, logical, loving, informed writing of such a man as James McBride Dabbs. He has given us a testament of faith that the South is most hurt by segregation and may yet face, with old gallantry and courage, a new opportunity for equality. No one can question Mr. Dabbs's Southernness. No place is more Southern than his Mayesville, South Carolina, where he was born and where he has now retired from teaching to think and write and farm.

I suspect that he is respected there today as was, in 1861, old James Louis Petigru, who said that South Carolina was too small to be a republic and too big to be a lunatic asylum. It is understood, however, that as a man writing as president of the liberal Southern Regional Council on a grant by the Fund for the Republic, he speaks for few of his neighbors—though perhaps for more of them than Southern politicians would lead us to think.

Certainly, as a man who has written much about segregation for *The Christian Century*, Mr. Dabbs has faced the great issue with courage and gallantry. More important, he has faced it with a knowledge of Southern people and Southern history. He has brought erudition, affection, and occasional provocative wit to his testament. Unfortunately, however, I had the feeling that Mr. Dabbs was steadily preaching to the already converted. His writing is on a level far above the heads of most of the Southerners whose gallantry he would invoke. And sometimes I felt that he proposed a new heaven on an old earth in plans for a South both industrialized and desegregated, where most men hope only for an easing of tensions and a progress short of the miraculous in good will.

MIRACLES do happen, however. Twenty years before Mr. Dabbs was born in Mayesville, Mary McLeod Bethune was born there. To her death, as a great evangel for her race, she looked like a creature who had just come from the back of the canebrake. Perhaps Mr. Dabbs, who is an erudite gentleman facing the rednecks and the wool hat boys, as well as the country club sets and the Citizens Councils, will accomplish as much. But I had the feeling as I read his book that a shorter sermon might have saved more Southern souls.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

From the Bookshelf

A Southerner Talks to the South . . . . . By Robert R. Brunn

The Southern Heritage, by James McBride Dabbs. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 273 pp. $4.

This gentle and eloquent book is the most appealing and commanding plea for an understanding of the American South in its travail that we have had since the Supreme Court's demand that the schools be desegregated. Mr. Dabbs is writing to his fellow Southerners, asking them to recognize the inevitable historic facts, but we in the North can listen and learn as well.

To read the book is to sit down leisurely with a cultivated and thoughtful southern moderate and talk awhile about the South's racial dilemma, set brilliantly in its historic and social setting. He has a civilized and blithe spirit. He is in no hurry, but he is always provocative. And he has compassion.

* * *

Yet he is not easy on the South. On the contrary, as a native with roots deep in South Carolina he feels free to talk to the South as a brother. He dissects southern politics ruthlessly on the race issue, maintaining that this issue alone keeps the South solid and so to the politicians' liking. He looks right in the face the charge that economic motivation and the desire for cheap labor support segregation to a large extent, and agrees. He has a cold eye for the southern social structure.

But with it all there is none of the holier-than-thou denunciation that is so handy. A prominent Presbyterian layman, he believes that basic to any solution "is the spirit of divine love, which, through justice, creates human institutions in which it may be at home." He forgives. He understands. For him the "central fire" is "the Christian spirit of love."

He is convinced that the South has everything that it needs to solve its aching problem. That the Negro and the white have so much more in common than they have in difference. You cannot describe this book as purely a plea for desegregation, for he is serious in his title, "The Southern Heritage," through which he believes a healing can come, not through amalgamation but through one goal.

* * *

He describes the southern heritage in what at base is its good nature. There is leisure, time for talk and play, neighborliness, dignity and reserve, manners and courtesy, custom. He sees the South as a folk society. Self-satisfied, yes, and caste conscious, but above all a place where it is still possible to live gracefully on the land. Nor by this does he mean the maintenance and worship of privilege.

If you have been wishing you could visit for a while with a Southerner who believes that desegregation is eventually possible and looks at the problem in terms of humanity instead of slogans you will enjoy reading this book.

Christian Science Monitor

8-18-58

August 19, 1958

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Following a telephone conversation with Gordon Tiffany yesterday, Harold made a hasty departure for Washington to deliver the Executive Committee's letter. He wanted you to be informed of this fact. Whatever the outcome, you will, of course, receive a complete report from Harold on his return.

The staff is now preparing the report requested by the Executive Committee on insurance, retirement benefits, and the like. You will receive this shortly. John Griffin has called and indicated that, having initiated the idea with the Committee, he wants to write you with concrete suggestions on the matter of writing certain foundation people. You should hear from him this week.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Boyhood's Adventure in a Horse-Powered Country Town

WILLIAMSTOWN BRANCH: Impersonal Memories of a Vermont Boyhood. By R. L. Duffus. 252 pp. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. $3.75.

By BRADFORD SMITH

THIS charming and frankly nostalgic book re-creates the Vermont village of Williamstown as it was in 1898—or, rather, as it now seems to a man who was then 10 years old. R. L. Duffus, a member of the editorial staff of The New York Times, admits to having intermixed fantasy with fact. More important for the reader, he has surrounded the town and his memories of it with tender love and warm humor. No one can read this book without feeling better about our dubious humanity.

Williamstown in 1898 was a horse-powered country village with a few stores, a small granite industry and a branch railroad. Contact with the world beyond was infrequent and relatively unimportant. The self-containment of the community and its freedom from any great concern over what went on in China or even in Boston gave it a comforting stability. This stability more than compensated for the lack of material goods and comforts.

To render this community, its people and the boy of 10, Mr. Duffus has practically invented an art form. His book at first glance is loosely discursive. It wanders back and forth as a 10-year-old boy might wander on a summer's day in search of adventure. But behind the charming discursiveness lies a plan. Each of the twelve chapters ends with an afterpiece tying it to a month of the year. Each of the chapters is built around a dominant incident and person, from which Mr. Duffus departs in rich detours. These side trips, introduced with skillful modulation, reinforce the major theme like variations in music. Like a composer, Mr. Duffus repeats the themes he loves, and like listeners who rejoice in familiar themes we read Mr. Duffus almost as we listen to music.

As a composer knows how to make something forever memorable out of a handful of simple notes, Mr. Duffus knows how to engage our unremitting interest in the smallest incidents—picking butternuts, a bicycle ride to Barre, getting out of bed on a winter morning. There are events big to boyhood, too—the coming of an Uncle Tom show, or the chance to pull the throttle of the little wood-burning locomotive. For his chapter on the Central Vermont, I am sure the railroad will let Mr. Duffus operate any of its locomotives whenever he comes north again.

Even in Williamstown life had its crises. Like the day when the author and his friends managed to knock the railroad turntable off its tracks. Or the morning a house guest came down the dark back stairs, not knowing what the household (in a day of no plumbing) habitually parked there. Mr. Duffus' description of this event is one of the funniest paragraphs written since Mark Twain, and his book sparkles with neat turns of phrases which triumph because of a sense of humor something like Chaucer's—essentially loving, fond of humanity, and reassured rather than dismayed by mankind's shortcomings.

"Dear town, dear moment! After all the years, it lives." This miracle of the memory, Mr. Duffus has managed to transmit to his readers. (*Entre nous*, Mr. Duffus, the Confederates who raided St. Albans in 1864 robbed three banks, not one.) Anyone fortunate enough to have lived a small-town youth will live it again in these pages. Anyone who missed it will find "Williamstown Branch" a rich compensation.

Mr. Smith, who makes Vermont his home, is the author of several books about the New England past.

Williamstown, Vt., at the turn of the century.

Old Times Unforgotten—and a Burden Passed Along

THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE. By James McBride Dabbs. 273 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

By RALPH E. McGILL

A QUIETLY contemplative South Carolina planter and business man, James McBride Dabbs has examined his heritage and produced an excellent book about it. Mr. Dabbs is, among other things, an elder in the Presbyterian Church and president of the Southern Regional Council, a South-wide organization working interracially. Both affiliations have helped him in his examination.

As an active layman in his church he has seen at first hand the shock which has come to a great many Christians on realizing that the church, too, was segregated and operated, often, as almost a private club. He witnessed, too, the disturbing fact that some members of the Christian faith were willing to give up their church rather than segregation.

The Southern Regional Council, which is a highly respected and efficient organization, on no attorney general's list and free from any taint of being any sort of "front," also gave Mr. Dabbs opportunity to see into the sociological and economic aspects of the problem. The Council has been attacked strongly by the Klan groups and the White Citizens Councils as being an instrument of desegregation. The men who signed its charter of incorporation, including a Methodist Bishop and university teachers, have been harried and subject to abuse.

Through an excellent analysis Mr. Dabbs shows how an enormous weight of cumulative guilt produced by the years of injustice done the Negro by exploitations and discriminations, have fixed itself upon white Southerners. Like many Southerners, perhaps most Southerners, he bore the guilt lightly for many years. Some, of course, never face the fact of this guilt, but it is there. It is inherent in some of the excesses of sadistic crimes of beatings and worse.

MR. DABBS deals very skillfully with many of the inexplicable and unreasonable paradoxes in Southern life. Other writers have noted the insistence of extremists on "white supremacy" and the companion fear that if there are not strict laws of separation there might be general intermarriage. Mr. Dabbs traces this curious conflict further. In his small-town discussions he had listened to those who declare that God himself, in his infinite wisdom, established segregation and that every true Southerner knows "instinctively" that the races are meant to be separate. He has not endeared himself to them by asking why then, if this be known, there must be strict Jim Crow laws? There is, of course, no basis for declaring the Negro inferior as a human being and a person. Mr. Dabbs' satire will be devastating to those who think otherwise.

Other Southern writers have come to the same conclusion reached by Mr. Dabbs, namely that in this great issue the South has made the fatal error of committing itself on the wrong side of a moral issue and to another "Lost Cause." He deduces that the slow, sometimes glacier-like processes of law, plus industrialization, the democratic spirit and the Christian tradition are at work for elimination of racial discriminations and will enable the Negro to attain what he wants—to be more American, not less.

Unhappily, almost all those who read this fine book, will be persons basically in agreement with Mr. Dabbs. Those who do not agree will, with few exceptions, not read it at all. They will read a news story about it, or a review of it, or they may simply hear that another Southerner has fouled his nest by writing a book "to please the Yankees."

None the less, the book will be helpful. It is a sincere eloquent testimony by a man of deep Christian and social convictions. And he writes from a Deep-South state out of a rich experience. It would be good if it could be distributed, as are the Gideon Bibles, in the localities that most need to read it.

As editor of The Atlanta Constitution, Mr. McGill is an observer and commentator on the Southern scene.

September 2, 1958

Mr. Harold Straus
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Straus:

I will greatly appreciate your referring this inquiry to the proper person there.

We are, of course, very pleased with Mr. Dabbs' book and eager to see that it receives the favorable attention it deserves. In this connection, I was glad that our suggestion led to the selection of Mr. Dabbs for the Mike Wallace interview last Sunday. If we can arrange it, the Southern Regional Council would like to buy a modest supply of the books for distribution to some of our officers and supporters. It occurs to me that in a quantity of one or two dozen we might be entitled to a discount.

Would you please advise me whether this assumption is correct, and, if so, give me the prices for orders of one dozen and two dozen?

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE
Borzoi Quarterly

Alfred·A·Knopf: PUBLISHER

THE THIRD QUARTER, *1958*

WE ARE NOW ENTERING the busiest publishing season of the year, and the majority of our fall books will be out before the end of this quarter. Only four in July, five plus three juveniles in August, but fourteen and three juveniles in September. During that month Vintage Books will bring out eleven new titles. Quite a program.

HOLLIS ALPERT'S first novel, *The Summer Lovers,* describes the tangled skein of love affairs and infidelities at a fashionable beach resort not too far from New York City and not too difficult for New Yorkers to identify. There would be no point in outlining the plot; let me say simply that it is the work of an extremely skillful writer, has no moral to preach nor any purpose to serve other than to entertain the reader. These qualities alone, it seems to me, will serve to set it apart from the great run of contemporary fiction. Reading it is fun.

The same can be said about JOCELYN DAVEY'S *The Naked Villany.* Mr. Davey should be remembered for *A Capitol Offense,* which we published two years ago. His new novel has recently been published in England by Chatto and Windus, and I am thus able to quote John Davenport's admirable review of it in *The London Observer:*

"*The Naked Villany* is a polished piece of entertaining nonsense, featuring that amiable Oxford don Ambrose Usher, who illuminated Mr. Davey's previous novel, "The Undoubted Dead."* It is a sort of high-brow detective story, beautifully written, fitting into no easy category. Father Brown has been invoked as a progenitor of Usher, but he is too urbane to be a moralist. The plot is complex, and it would be unfair to unravel it. An unscrupulous millionaire, his equally rich cousin, an idealistic scholar, a beautiful Hungarian girl, a jolly duchess and twenty-five monkeys are all involved in a fantastic puzzle revolving, amongst other things, around a Dead Sea Scroll and some freshly discovered manuscripts of Sebastian Bach. It is pleasant to read something written entirely for fun, and I should have enjoyed it even had I not been exhausted by tales of juvenile delinquency, rape, incest and murder." (*As *A Capitol Offense* was titled in England.)

GERMAINE TILLION'S *Algeria* is a very short but very important and illuminating book. Listen to our distinguished Nobel Prize-winner Albert Camus, himself born in Algeria: "I have never been able to read any book on the Algerian tragedy without a feeling of unreality, discomfort, and often even anger. Only one book—Germaine Tillion's—seemed to me at once true, fair, and constructive. Germaine Tillion knows what she is talking about. And no one either in Algeria or throughout the world can henceforth discuss the Algerian problem without having read what an understanding and cultivated woman has written about my misunderstood, desperate native land, now stirred by a heart-rending hope."

And David Schoenbrun in the *Saturday Review:* "This is a small book with a big theme . . . Anyone, no matter how learned, how experienced in North African affairs, can profit greatly from this invaluable study. Any human being, with any interest in the world in which we live, and any sensitivity to the fate of fellow human beings, cannot help but be deeply moved by this intensely human document."

The Borzoi Quarterly. Third Quarter 1958

The *New York Times Book Review* called it: "By long odds the best book yet done on Algeria."

And Maurice Dolbier in the *New York Herald Tribune:* "There are chilling statistics in this book, but there is nothing cold in Mlle. Tillion's presentation, which has all the eloquence and passion of one whose deep love for both peoples—French and Algerian—drives her to do her utmost to prevent the doom that threatens both. Facts are her weapons, and it's time they were used."

Early in *Borneo People* by The Right Honourable MALCOLM MACDONALD, son of Ramsey MacDonald and at one time Governor General of Malaya and British Borneo one comes across this characteristic paragraph:

"Monkeys galore swing and leap from branch to branch like troops of trapezists. Among the apes is a renowned monster found only in Borneo and Sumatra—the Orang-utan or 'Man of Big Trees.' Short-legged and long-armed, with massive torsos covered with brick-red hair, these members of the order Primates contemplate you, when you meet them, with melancholy eyes, as if they had just read Darwin's *Origin of Species* and were painfully aware of being your poor relations who have not done so well in life."

His book is the gay, warm, and unconventional story of his visits to the pagan tribes of the interior of a beautiful country. He lived with the people in their long-houses, joined the native dances, sang their songs, complied with their drinking customs. *The London Times* calls the result: "A charming and entertaining travel book." It is illustrated with forty-four half-tones and two endpaper maps.

Any new book by JOSEPH WECHSBERG should be good news for all readers of *The New Yorker.* In *Avalanche!* he deserts food and wines, great restaurants, music, the problems of central Europe—all the topics to which in the past he has for the most part devoted himself. Here he concentrates on what is in effect a most fascinating case history of one of the most mysterious and destructive of natural forces. He tells the story of the greatest disaster in modern Alpine history—the murderous avalanches which hurtled down on the idyllic, high-Alpine village of Blons in western Austria on January 11, 1954. Every sixth inhabitant of Blons was killed and a great many others were maimed. Mr. Wechsberg has tracked down all the thrilling and harrowing details of the catastrophe and has told the fascinating stories of some of the people who lived through it—and of some who did not. Moreover he reveals much that until recently was unknown about the ways of snow. All in all this narrative of something that really happened reads with the impact and suspense of a first-rate novel.

The Other Side of the Day by HILDA SIDNEY KRECH is a moving story of the challenge that every intelligent American housewife faces—her need to divide herself among husband, children, and home, and still build something apart for herself. This is, I think, essentially a novel for women—for women who raise families with a minimum of domestic help, but who do not find all the satisfaction they seek in just that. Mrs. Krech is the daughter of Sidonie M. Gruenberg and the wife of David Krech, Professor of Psychology at the University of California and author with Richard S. Crutchfield of our great new textbook, *Elements of Psychology.*

JAMES MCBRIDE DABBS lives in Mayesville, South Carolina, where he was born sixty-two years ago. Although he has published almost a hundred articles in magazines all over the country, *The Southern Heritage* is his first book. We call it a classic statement of the enlightened Southern view of race relations in the long perspective of history, and I commend it to every reader who is interested in what is probably the most important of the many problems facing our country today. In support of this recommendation I can quote Hodding Carter and Robert Penn Warren, whose names must be known to anyone familiar with the South of our time. Mr. Carter calls *The Southern Heritage:* "The most meaningful comment on the race situation yet made by a Southerner." And Mr. Warren wrote us: "I read Mr. Dabbs' book with great pleasure and profit. I think it is impressive, closely reasoned, deeply felt, and written with style."

IRVING KOLODIN is a modest man and has told me that he is not sure I am justified in referring to his new book, *The Musical Life,* as one "by the most widely read, most readable, and most distinguished American writer on music today." However, that remains my opinion, and if you care about music and the men and women who write it and re-create it, *The Musical Life* is certainly a book for you. Here are some of the chapter titles: "Rubinstein, Music, and Piano-Playing," "The Gershwin Penthouse," "No Thomas like Sir Thomas," "The Phonographic Memory," "Mahler, Wagner, and Mozart," "Essay on Schmalz," "The Clique vs. the Claque," and "An 'Enigma' by Strauss." Incidentally, *The Musical Life* is one of the best-looking books on our 1958 lists—typography, binding, and wrapper all by Rudolph Ruzicka.

Some fifteen years ago when we were giving modest fellowships in history, Charles A. Beard fortunately for us strongly recommended WILFRED E. BINKLEY, Pro-

Mayesville, S. C. 9/5/58

Dear Miss Flowers,

Thanks for the clippings. I had seen neither of them, though I had heard that the POST article had appeared. Strangely, I missed the TIMES article, though I take the TIMES

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs

Atlanta Journal-Constitution 9/7/58

Southerner Writes Of Sanity on Race

South Carolina Planter Examines His Heritage, Produces Questions

THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE. By James McBride Dabbs. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 273 pages. $4.

Reviewed by RALPH McGILL

A quietly contemplative South Carolina planter and business man, James McBride Dabbs, has examined his heritage and produced an excellent book about it. Mr. Dabbs is, among other things, an elder in the Presbyterian Church and president of the Southern Regional Council, a Southwide organization working interracially. Both affiliations have helped him in his examination.

As an active layman in his church he has seen at first hand the shock which has come to a great many Christians on realizing that the church, too, was segregated and operated, often, as almost a private club. He witnessed, too, the disturbing fact that some members of the Christian faith were willing to give up their church rather than segregation.

The Southern Regional Council, which is a highly respected and efficient organization, on no attorney general's list and free from any taint of being any sort of "front," also gave Mr. Dabbs opportunity to see into the sociological and economic aspects of the problem. The council has been attacked strongly by the Klan groups and the White Citizens Councils as being an instrument of desegregation. The men who signed its charter of incorporation, including a Methodist bishop and university teachers, have been harried and subject to abuse.

Through an excellent analysis Mr. Dabbs shows how an enormous weight of cumulative guilt produced by the years of injusttice done the Negro by exploitations and discriminations has fixed itself upon white Southerners. Like many Southerners, perhaps most Southerners, he bore the guilt lightly for many years. Some, of course, never face the facts of this guilt, but it is there. It is inherent in some of the excesses of sadistic crimes of beatings and worse.

* * *

MR. DABBS DEALS skillfully with many of the inexplicable and unreasonable paradoxes in Southern life. Other writers have noted the insistence of extremists on "white supremacy" and the companion fear that if there are not strict laws of separation there might be general intermarriage. Mr. Dabbs traces this curious conflict further. In his small-town discussions he had listened to those who declare that God himself, in his infinite wisdom, established segregation and that every true Southerner knows "instinctively" that the races are meant to be separate. He has not endeared himself to them by asking why then, if this be known, there must be strict Jim Crow laws? There is, of course, no basis for declaring the Negro inferior as a human being and a person. Mr. Dabbs' satire will be devastating to those who think otherwise.

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* * *

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Big Poker Payoff

Consider the case of Gerald Hanna, an insurance clerk with a rather dull life, playing poker and filling to an inside straight. He wins, of course, but he is hurdled into the middle of a gun battle between bandits and police. And then there is a man murdered for $100,000. Is Gerald the guilty man in "Invitation to Violence" by Lionel White? (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 187 pages, $2.95). Mr. White's latest is perhaps the most exciting in a string of a dozen mystery novels.

VIA AIR MAIL

September 9, 1958

Mr. Alfred Knopf, Jr.
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Knopf:

Thank you for your letter of September 8th informing me that we may secure copies of The Southern Heritage at a discount of 40%. Please let this constitute our order for two (2) dozen copies, and bill us for the cost of the books plus postage.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Alfred · A · Knopf *Incorporated*

501 Madison Avenue *NEW YORK (22), N.Y.*

September 8, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Thank you very much for your letter of September 2nd to Harold Strauss which has been referred to me for action. We would be delighted to supply you with one or two dozen copies of Mr. Dabbs' THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE at a discount of 40%, postage additional. If you will let us know to what address the books should be sent, we'll get them off upon receipt of a purchase order from you.

Yours sincerely,

Alfred Knopf, Jr.

Harold C. Fleming, Esq.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

bs

BC to Ralph McGill

NYT

September 10, 1958

The Editor
New York Times Book Review
New York Times
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

This is to say a word of appreciation for Ralph McGill's review of The Southern Heritage by James McBride Dabbs. Mr. McGill writes with his usual sure touch and insight into South complexities. In this instance, however, he was a singularly apt choice of reviewer; for his has been one of the very few honest and courageous voices in the South pointing out the folly of extremism and emphasizing the positive values in the Southern heritage. As an interpreter of this troubled region who is both compassionate and clear-eyed, he has few peers.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

September 11, 1958

Miss Rita Quinn
Secretary to Mike Wallace
7 W. 66th Street
New York 23, New York

Dear Miss Quinn:

It was most thoughtful of you to rush me the transcript of the interview with Mr. Dabbs. Late as this is, I don't want to fail to thank you for a very helpful service.

We have had many favorable comments on the program and are planning to distribute several thousand copies of the printed transcript in the South.

With appreciation and regards to you and to Mike Wallace.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

WALLACE: This is James McBride Dabbs, President of the Southern RegionalCouncil.. which is a group of Southerners, both negro and white, who are leading the fight against racial conflict in the south. A native of South Carolina, Mr. Dabbs says of the South: "The negro is always with us as we are with him. There he is before our eyes, the symbol of our sin, the living reminder to our hearts that our words are wrong." We'll find out why he says that in a moment.

ANNOUNCER: The Mike Wallace Interview, presented by the American Broadcasting Company in association with the Fund for the Republic, brings you a special series discussing the problems of survival and freedom in America.

WALLACE: Good evening, I'm Mike Wallace. Tonight we'll discuss race conflict in the United States as seen through the eyes of a Southerner, an unusual Southerner. He's James McBride Dabbs, a South Carolinian, a plantation owner, an Elder in the Presbyterian Church, the President of the Southern Regional Council, as well as the author of a new book, "The Southern Heritage" which is being hailed as one of the most penetrating books ever written about our race problem.

Mr. Dabbs, you've written something very intriguing in your book. You say: "We don't admit this of course but the fact remains that the Negro has been the dominant force in Southern life since 1865. Though the problem has been out of sight, its shadow has remained, to darken our minds and dampen our spirits." What does that mean?

DABBS: That means, as I understand it, that we Southerners are democratic, along with the rest of the Americans, and when, following the Civil War and Reconstruction, we clamped segregation and disenfranchisement down upon the negroes against his will - we never asked him anything about it, we had, and we have the sense of doing an undemocratic thing. We may have called it necessity or what-not, but we know deep down this isn't the way Americans act and we have therefore really a bad conscience about the matter. We have pressed this thing down. We don't take it into the open and face it. And therefore it forever shapes and colors all of our opinions and actions.

WALLACE: The South does what it does, and has a mass guilty conscience, in a sense, about it?

DABBS: Well, basically, I think that's true. I wouldn't emphasize "mass" too much in the guilty conscience.

WALLACE: What do you mean?

DABBS: Well, I mean to say, I don't know how much the average man, the man in the street, as we say, bothers about the right and wrong of social questions. He does what's done. But I do think that throughout its history thoughtful Southerners in their quiet moments have unhesitatingly admitted that the slavery situation was wrong and the segregation situation is wrong, but that we're doing the best we can.

WALLACE: What, as you understand it, is at the root of all this racial conflict? Now, you hear various reasons given. Are economic reasons basically at the root of racial conflict?

DABBS: Well, certainly, economic reasons are part of the root. I don't think they are all of the root but certainly that's a part of it. xxxxxxxxxx The negro is discriminated against. The white man gets the better jobs.. he gets the better positions.... he gets advancement where the negro does not. He gets training for the jobs. And negroes in the South own very few white collar jobs, for instance. The whites are making, on the short term, something out of that.. They are afraid to lose this short term gain. I think it's a long term loss but probably it is for some people a short term gain. But that isn't the only reason. I think there's also a psychological or spiritual reason. I think that the South is handicapped seriously because she has been on the defensive too long. She's been on the defensive, really, since 1830, with the first high tariff. She has lost her battles and therefore she faces everything with the feeling that deep down she is going to lose. Well, now, that means she carries a chip on her shoulder.. she becomes too aggressive.. she wants to protect herself unduly.

WALLACE: As to the economic root of racial conflict, though, you quote a Mississippi newspaper who said ironically that integration would be a grave threat. He said it this way: "We've lived for years off the labor of the negro and now we're just plain scared out of our wits. We may have to go to work for living. Some of us right now don't know where our next mint julep is coming from."

Dabbs: Yes, that's P. D. East, and I would agree in general with that. As I say, I don't think that's the only cause but certainly the economic factor is one of the chief factors.

WALLACE: Well, you write yourself.. you say "the middle and upper class whites, exploiting the poorer whites, have given them grounds for bitterness, and have exercised upon them sufficient influence to turn that bitterness against the Negroes." Do you suggest that the wealthier whites have sometimes deliberately influenced the poorer whites to make the negro a scapegoat for their own troubles?

DABBS: Well, how deliberately they have done it I don't know, but I feel sure that much of the responsibility for the ills of the South rests with important Southern economic and political leaders. I can't for a minute go along with the theory which the Southerners will tell you: "Oh, we could advance. We could do thisxxxfor the negro.. he could have this and that but xxx but you've got to consider the poorer whites. They're bitter. You can't tell what they'll do. You'll have violence." Now the theory that this lower strata can control society and tell the xxxxx upper class what to do is nonsense to my mind. The poorer class will do, by and large, what the people who own the mortgages and the land and the capital will tell them to do. You don't have to tell them outright.

WALLACE: And yet the threats of violence continually come from the so-called lower class who are in a sense, they're not "egged on" - that's not the form that it takes - but we are warned by the upper class whites that the lower class whites in the South just might be driven to violence if certain things happen.

DABBS: That's exactly the case. You don't have to egg them on.. if you've got people who are dissatisfied, unhappyxxxxxxxxx anyhow. Of course, the South is happier now than she ever was before. She's on the make. There isn't any question about that. But there's plenty of people in the South who are on the lower edge economically and they're not satisfied the way things are and they're ready to be turned against somebody. You just let the word go down to them "we need a little bit of rough talk here.. we need a little bit of roughness.. but not too much." Why, you can get it.

WALLACE: In your book "The Southern Heritage" you write that as far as Southern politicians are concerned, the race issue is central to their existence. Now that's speaking of considerable cynicism on the part of Southern politicians, Sir.

DABBS: Well, I am a little bit cynical about Southern politicians. I think far more of the average Southerner than I do of his politicians. In fact, I think one of the tragedies of the moment is that there is much more good within the south than the politicians are making use of. They're making use of the ill.

WALLACE: When Governor Almond of Virginia says there'll be no mixed schools in his state.. when Governor Faubus resists integration.. are you suggesting that they don't really have a conviction about this but are using this for pure political gain?

DABBS: A conviction?... you mean that it's right?

WALLACE: Right.

DABBS: Oh, they may have some conviction it is right and they probably have some conviction it's wrong. But consider.. for instance, suppose there was no negro question tomorrow morning. Suppose it had all been settled. What would the Southern politicians do? What would the Southern voters do? They'd line up then according to their interests, with the voters of Maine, some of them.. the voters of California, some of them.. and the voters of Montana.. others of them and the Southern politicians would have to understand the national issues. As it is, all they have to do, if the going gets tough, is to drag in the race issue and that solidifies all the white opinion.

WALLACE: In other words, what we call the "solid south" is kept solid, you're saying, basically, because of the race issue?

DABBS: I surely think so. Now there was a time of course, when the South was largely agrarian and the rest of the country was highly industrialistic. Inthat time, of course, the southerner had more to defend. But the South now is becoming day by day more industrial .. more and more like the rest of the country and I think the race issue is the basic thing that keeps the South solid.

WALLACE: Well, the fact that the South becomes more industrial.. overa period of years now.. will that not ameliorate the position of the negro because they're going to need negro laborers.. help.

DABBS: Well it should in the long run. And Ashmore points that out.. I believe it's Ashmore.. that many southerners working hard to bring industry into the south and fighting for segregation, are working at cross-purposes with themselves. This industry they bring in, in the long run.. because machines have no use for racial differences.. machines want trained men and that's all they want . And in the complicated industrial set-up you can't afford to carry on all these distinctions which you could carry on in the simple farm situation so in the long run industrialization will be a body blow to segregation but it may be a rather long run.

WALLACE: There's one other serious explanation advanced by Southerners against integration besides the purely psychological and the purely economic. Arthur Krock, of the New York Times says this: "It goes to the heart of the controversy, this deep underlying issue". He says that Southern opposition to school integration, for instance, is based on fear that "interbreeding would be the result of propinquity in mixed schools of adolescents." What about that?

DABBS? Well, that question always comes up. That's the $64,000 question which always enters the conversation. I think that many Southerners really are as sincere about their reaction there as they are sincere about many other things. The trouble is of course that they don't stop to analyze the matter at all. They probably are afraid of racial intermixture but they don't consider the possibilities against any slightest chance. They really can't be too much against racial intermixture because the history of the South and the presence of mulattoes in the south prove that the Southerner is not deeply opposed to racial intermixture. It's a very, very complex question but the best I can say is that the Southerner is defending mainly status. He always asks, for instance "Would you want your daughter to marry a negro?" He never says "would you want your son to marry a negro?" The history behind that of course is, the child goes with the mother. And it doesn't make any difference how many white men mate with how many negro women, because the white race remains pure white and according to definition, everybody else goes with the negro race and the white maintains status. I think basically it's a defense of status but they prbably think it's a defense of some divine law.

WALLACE: Why is status, as such, so important to Southerners?

DABBS: I suppose it goes clear back through the whole history of slavery. Under slavery there were many very poor white people. There was a very poor class of white people in the South. There were many yeoman farmers who, of course, weren't poor. They were good honest farmers. But the one thing the white men had was that they were not Negroes. That's the one thing that unites all white people in the south - "I am not a Negro." Therefore, that has come to be, I think, a very important feeling in the white man of the South.

WALLACE: In your book, getting back to this intermixture possibility, this intermarriage thing once again . . you make an eloquent plea for negroes and whites to regard themselves as "one".. in other words, as human beings regardless of skin color. Now, if negroes and whites do attend schools together, and eat and play togethe and learn that they are actually one - won't that inevitably break down the artificial barriers against inter-racial marriages?

DABBS: Oh, in the very, very long run it may.

WALLACE: Does that concern you, Sir?

DABBS: It doesn't concern me. I've got enough troubles today. And I can't see the point of these people who are terribly concerned about what's going to happen to the race in 500 years when they can't do something about what's happening to them tomorrow. I think it's sentimental to say the least. But in the long run . . of course the best scientific reading I can find is that in the long run, as I say in my book, where races have met, they have mixed. You are up against a human factor and you and I can talk about it all we please one way or another in the long run it won't make any difference ~~xxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxxxx~~. Personally I think the run will be so long.. the change will be so slow.. it doesn't really matter.

WALLACE: Mr. Dabbs, you speak here and you write in your book of a ~~xxxxx~~ psychological burden, a weight on the soul so to speak, that all Southerners must bear because they realize the injustices heaped upon the negroes, in spite of their inability or unwillingness to deal with the problem. But at the same time, can an averag e Southerner, ever totally free himself from his emotional feelings about negro simply by telling himself or having the Supreme Court tell him that segregation is wrong?

DABBS: No, you can't reason about the thing. Most Southerners won't reason about it at all. The only way I see for this fundamental psychological change to ~~[illegible]~~ come is for the South to get new pictures and new images of what it wants. For instance, a new picture of the negro. The South carries in its mind now the negro of 1865-1876, the Reconstruction years .. the person who had broken ~~his~~ loose and who was running wild and who dominated legislatures and so forth and so on. That's the picture the South basically has in mind. That simply is not true. If we could see the negro of 1958 and also as the reserved, resilient person he really is and he's got many fine characteristics. If we could see that, we would begin to appreciate him as a resource, not as a liability.

WALLACE: Well, you're an enlightened person by any standards, northern or southern, Mr. Dabbs. You've lived in the South most of your life. Are you yourself completely free from the age-old social patterns involving negro and white in the South.

DABBS: Oh, personally, I am, but if you ask me whether I invite anybody to my house and my meals anytime, no, I don't. I've got a sense of what the community feels. And I'll unhesitatingly invite anybody there if I think it's worthwhile. But I'm perfectly aware of what I'm doing when I do it. Personally I've got no feeling about the thing. ~~[illegible]~~ People are equal so far as I'm concerned.

WALLACE: How are you regarded in the South? Are you "the strange fellow who lives down at the end of the lane?"

DABBS: Well, I don't know myself. Perhaps I belong to the aristocracy of the damn fools in the South. That's one way of putting it. A Citizens Council man of my native town said "Oh, why bother with Dabbs.. everybody knows he's a damn fool." So if you rise to that rank, they quit bothering you. There are other stories which indicate they aren't quite sure whether I'm a damn fool or not and so long as I can keep them guessing..... I mean, here we are radically different - if I'm not a damn fool, maybe he is.

WALLACE: In your writing, you're pretty optimistic. As a matter of fact, you seem to look at the South and the future of the races in the South in an extraordinarily optimistic fashion. Because of what seems to be your faith in the eventual intelligence and good will of the majority of white Southerners.. You speak of their dignity and their hospitality and understanding of how to live. Is that fairly accurate?

DABBS: That's right.

WALLACE: Do you have so much faith that you think that school integration would be, could be achieved without court orders, Federal troops.. without forcing them to accept it?

DABBS: Well, now , not without court orders. Federal troops is something else. The South likes to say "we do these things because of our good will" and a leading politician said some years ago "We've got to provide for the Negro, even if we provide equal but separate facilities. We have got to provide for the Negro because it's just" and then he said "because we have to". He made the same speech ~~[illegible]~~ about six months ago and he said "we have provided for the Negro" (South Carolina put on a 3% sales tax).. "we have provided for the Negro because it was just". He's forgotten all about the fact he said "we had to". So that may be human nature - certainly Southern - we move when we're pressed and we say that's a fine thing to do. The truth of the matter is our conscience - we're not different from anybody else.. the conscience begins to work when you put enough pressure around it. It's not going to work entirely by itself.

WALLACE: All right, we come to this immediate issue then - the use of Federal troops to enforce the Supreme Court's idea of justice - and pehaps even , your personal idea of justice, on millions of Southerners. As an American do you find nothing at all repugnant in seeing armed troops carrying out policies against the will of so many millions of United States citizens?

DABBS: Well, now, against the will of so many millions... actually the troops in Little Rock were responding to a particular situation and who know what the will of the millions... they may be making all kinds of shouting statements - who knows what their basic will is?

WALLACE: Well, certainly they returned Governor Faubus to office by an overwhelming majority as the result of his actions in Little Rock just a year age. So there were millions involved there.. either in actual voting or in sympathy.

DABBS: There were millions involved there.. yes, that's true. I don't feel as strongly as many Southerners do about the use of troops. I think that the national government got itself maneuvered into a bad situation and then reacted too violently on the spur of the moment. I think possibly they could have avoided using the troops. But, given the days of September, after Governor Faubus had called out his troops to prevent the execution of the laws, then the Federal government's got to use some form of force, if necessary troops, to insure the passage of the laws. But the main trouble in the South here is still thinking in the Constitutional Federation of Madison and the founders of this country. The South has never acceptedthe fact that we fought the Civil War and lost it. And the 14th Amendment was written. And I am a citizen not only of South Carolina but of the United States.

WALLACE:

How do you account for that. You said before we went on the air to me. You said "The South has really never been willing to face up to the fact that it had lost the Civil War."

DABBS: I don't know how to account for it. But I do think it's a fact. It's one of the deepest facts in Southern psychology.. that we lost a war and we admitted that slavery was wrong.. but we didn't admit that discrimination was wrong. We didn't admit that any Negro could become a citizen, don't you see? We simply dropped our lines back a little bit further and reinstated segregation in place of slavery. Now, why we did..whether if under more force we'd have done diffenently, I don't know but I do feel sure of this:. that we not only failed in the Civil War but have failed to understand what the Civil War meant. A great defeat like the Civil War is one of the greatest assets a people could have.

WALLACE: How so?

DABBS: Well, consider the edge I've got on you if you're a Northerner. You're living in the same history you began in. Your lifestarted here 3-400 years ago in this area and what you started to do then you're still doing and succeeding in . The South started on another track.. went a long way.. built up some kind of a civilization - I think great in many ways - and failed absolutely.. and then we had to start over again. Now, I can become conscious of my history because a large part of it is different. I can look back and see "there was that and there is this". Now if I can put these two things together.. if I can understand what happened and relate the present to the pre-Civil War period.. the present civilization of the South to the past.. there is a richness possible to my outlook on life that simply is not possible to yours. But until I do it - and the South usually hasn't done it - there's a trauma there - a traumatic experience cutting right straight across the life of the South, and we don't know what to do with it.

WALLACE: Let's move to something that happened this week at President Eisenhower's press conference. He said, I believe, that he felt that school integration in the South should go slower than it has been going. Do you think that integration has been going too fast? As a Southerner?

DABBS: I don't think integration is going too fast. There is no integration in the so-called hard core states of the South. I can't... I wouldn't take too strong a stand on that. I don't care particularly how fast or slow it goes provided we're going somewhere. My basic criticism of the South there is the South says she wants time. What does she want time for? The indications are she wants time to build up the defenses so she won't have to do anything at all. If she indicated any real desire to make a change I should say certainly, she should have time. But if she's going to put off Little Rock for 2½ years. Just getting Faubus out is not going to solve the problem. The people are still there and you're going to fight the same thing over.

WALLACE: Well, do you believe that there are sincere, well-intentioned, intelligent people in the South who believe that they can actually stop the coming of integration and really feel they can roll back, reverse the Supreme Cout decision?

DABBS: I think they're sincere. From my point of view I can't think they're very intelligent. Because it seems to me that too many world forces are moving. The South may be looking back to 1876. The Federal tropps withdrew from the South in 1876-77 and left the South to handle the racial problem as it saw fit and you know what happened. The South may still hold that the union.. the nation now will back down and leave the South to do what it wishes. The nation cannot back down. What difference did the racial issue make to the world, to the nation in the world, in 1876 - none. What difference does it make now? It's the key issue ... our relation to the colored peoples of the world. I think it's more fundamental than communism and democracy.

WALLACE: More fundamental than...

DABBS: Than communism and democracy. This is a bigger issue. This issue will be disturbing the world longer than the democratic, communistic issue. Now the nation cannot withdraw and let the South do what it wishes.

WALLACE: Well, then we come to President Eisenhower once again. He has said that he will enforce the Supreme Court's decision with troops if necessary . But he has consistently refused to commit himself about integration. He has consistently refused to say whether he approves of a law which permits negro children to sit next to white children in classrooms. What is your reaction to the President's refusal to take a public stand on an issue of this importance?

DABBS: In the first place, I'm very grateful that the President, about a week ago, made it clear that the power of the nation was behind the Federal Courts. I'm very glad of that. I do regret the fact that the President doesn't see fit to take a moral lead in this matter. We have had Presidents who would have taken the lead on one side or the other. Franklin Roosevelt would have done it. Woodrow Wilson would have done it. Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, too, had the theory that the President could make the office about what he pleased. He was elected, it's true, by one party, but he becomes the leader of the nation. Who else is the leader except the President? And the President has tremendous moral influence which it seems to me should be used. In this issue - this is a democratic matter - I don't see how he can see otherwise - this is a movement of democracy and personally I wish the President would take a stand on the moral issue.

WALLACE: Mr. Dabbs, who are the men in the South.. the leaders in the South? You've expressed yourself rather wryly about certain Southern politicians up to now. Who are the men in the South who are the leaders whom you respect and who can lead the South to a better understanding of our racial problem?

DABBS: THE men I think of are the men I am more or less associated with in the Southern Regional Council. I think of both negroes and whites. There's President Clement of Atlanta University and Benjamin Mays of Morehouse College. .. there's Hodding Carter.. Ashmore.. both anathema, of course, in certain parts of the South now.. there's John Wheeler, a banker, of North Carolina.. Paul Green, dramatist of North Carolina.. nationally known...

WALLACE: Martin Luther King?

DABBS: Martin Luther King, of course.. one of the outstanding figures of the South.. the Montgomery episode is absolutely unprecedented.

WALLACE: Let me ask you just one final question. What do you think about Orval Faubus?

DABBS: Well, I said in September, 1957, when this mess was developing for the first time.. I said "I think Faubus is playing by ear and he hasn't a very good ear." I know of course he figures out Arkansas correctly but I still think he hasn't too good an ear for the whole business.

WALLACE: Time will tell. James McBride Dabbs, I surely thank you for coming here from Sumter, South Carolina, to spend this half-hour with us. I think it may be fitting to quote here from James Dabbs' book "The Southern Heritage".. in which he, a Southerner, hurls a challenge to his fellows. He writes: If Southerners could rise to the level of loving passionately not only their hills and valleys, but also the rich and varied configuration of people, black and white, who dwell therein, we should not only solve our greatest problem but our age would become a challenge to generations as yet unborn."

Next week we will discuss the social and economic nature of the free society... with a distinguished philosopher who says we inthe United States are "advancing toward a Socialist State".. that "never beofre has a society marched more joyously into an ambush." You see him here. He's Mortimer Adler, former Professor of Law Philosophy at the University of Chicago, now President of the Institute for Philosophical Research. If you're curious to hear Dr. Adler's criticisms of the social philosophies of labor unions, big business and of both our politicalparties . . and why he says that only a "capitalist" revolution can save America from "collectivism".. we'll go after that story next week.

TILL THEN, Mike Wallace, Good Night.

September 12, 1958

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

We here at the Council are pleased with the good reviews your book is getting. We have tentative plans of running excerpts of the best of these in New South, and we wonder if you might have some reviews that we may not have seen. So far we have reviews from the Chattanooga Times, the New York Times book review section, the Atlanta Constitution, Time magazine and the Presbyterian Outlook. If you have any additional ones, we would appreciate copies or the loan if you have only one copy.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

September 12, 1958

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Here at long last is a note about the Foundation approach requested by the Executive Committee. John Griffin, having initiated the Committee's discussion, asked me to pass on the following suggestions:

1. That you limit the inquiry to David Freeman (Address: Personal at Rockefeller Brothers Fund, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, New York.)

2. That the letter to Freeman be cast in personal, rather than organizational, terms. John feels that if you write him "man to man," the inquiry will seem more appropriate.

Should you wish to write more than one "philanthropoid" I would suggest Frank Loescher, 414 South 46th Street, Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania, and/or Vernon Eagle, 120 South LaSalle Street, Chicago 3, Illinois. Though Loescher is not now on a foundation staff, he is in close touch and frequent consultation with those most important to us. Eagle has influence with other foundations than New World, which of course is an important contributor to SRC.

I hope these suggestions will be of help.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

September 15, 1958

Mr. John Constable, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear John:

I'm afraid you have an elephant by the tail but it's your elephant.

You wrote me what clippings you have. I think you also have one from the Washington Post, because, I believe, Miss Flowers sent me a copy of that. I am enclosing 35 more, which includes all so far except a few minor notices.

Interestingly, the only really adverse criticism comes out of Nashville. My fellow-English professor, Donald Davidson's probably got the boys buffaloed. This is an interunion fight.

Your judgment's better than mine on this. But, if you continue your plan--I'd be inclined to run excerpts from most of the Southern papers, with judicious bits from the non-Southern.

What you really should see is the fan mail. Everything, from impolite invitations to go to hell--or North--to--practically speaking--proposals of marriage. Well, actually there was only one such proposal, and it really wasn't that, but a sort of diplomatic note looking --how distantly--toward a summit conference. Mrs. Dabbs says the summit conference will not be held.

But, really, the best thing I got was from California. The writer was speaking of the Mike Wallace interview: "Your voice was the freshest note that has come out of the South since General Lee walked the hillsides of Virginia." Beat that, will you. Me and Marse Robert! Come and sit on the piazza with me, and let us improve the time by recalling history. By the way, the fan mail runs a bit under ten % adverse.

Kindest regards. If you chuck the whole ~~job about~~ the reviews, I shan't blame you. J. M. Dabbs.

Clippings in re SOUTHERN HERITAGE sent to SRC:

Express, San Antonio
Vindicator, Youngstown, Ohio
Times Herald, Dallas
Post, Houston
News, Birmingham, Ala.
Christian Science Monitor. KEEP.
Times, Roanoke, Va.
Times Despatch, Richmond
Fort Wayne News-Sentinel. KEEP
Globe. Boston
Gazette, Little Rock
Herald, Miami
Tennessean, Nashville
Journal-Sentinel. Winston-Salem.
Chicago Tribune. KEEP
Valley News, Lebanon, N. H.
Plain Dealer, Cleveland
Charlotte News. KEEP
Nashville Tenneseean
Republican, Springfield, Mass.
Harpers, Sept. KEEP
Herald-Tribune, N. Y. KEEP
Telegram, Worcester, Mass.
Saturday Review,. KEEP.
Oklahoman, Okla, City.
Herald, Syracuse, N. Y.
New York Post.
Library Journal
Pilot, Norfolk, Va.
Banner, Nashville.
Bulletin, Philadelphia.
Denver Post. KEEP.
Cleveland Press.
Herald Tribune-Dykeman. KEEP
News and Courier. (Workman.) KEEP.

I have no extra copies of those not marked KEEP. Please return these.

Mayesville, S. C.
Sept. 15, 1958

Star, Ft. Worth, Texas
News, Savannah, Ga

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Lofton, John
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

REGARDING:

Proposed article on J. M. Dabbs

DATE

September 15, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Newspapers - Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

W. D. Workman, Jr.

REGARDING:

Critical review of Dabbs' book THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE
Appearing in Charleston News and Courier, August 17, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

State Organizations - SCHR, Alice Spearman - ltr. dtd. Sept. 16, 1958

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

September 20, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E. Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear John:

I am writing Miss Height that you will handle as best you can the request she makes in the enclosed letter.

Of course, I wish they would also exhibit my book and sell copies. You could--if you wish--suggest that I am, in a way--my modesty makes me stammer here--an exhibit of the SRC; but that Knopf publishes my book, not SRC, and that she might get a copy, or copies, from either a Washington bookstore or from Knopf, 510 Madison Avenue, New York 22.

I received several more reviews today. I think you might be interested especially in the two from the South, Savannah NEWS, and Fort Worth STAR. I don't mean to burden you with these things. Just yell "Hold, MacDuff." Please return the two I enclose. So far I'm engaged to speak in Gary, New York city, Washington, Winston-Salem, Raleigh, Atlanta (Mrs. Tilly), and WIS-TV Columbia.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs,
President.

September 25, 1958

Mr. Alfred Knopf, Jr.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Knopf:

Thank you for your prompt action in filling our request for twenty-four copies of The Southern Heritage by Mr. Dabbs.

However, we find that we can make use of fourteen additional copies of the book. If we can purchase the additional fourteen at the forty percent discount you so kindly granted us on the previous order, please send this number and bill the Southern Regional Council at the discount price plus postage.

Again thanks.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

September 26, 1958

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I was talking with Nat Griswold, the Executive Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, the other day and he asked me if I would check with you on the possibility of your being the featured speaker at their annual meeting. The date has not completely firmed up yet, but October 27 or October 30 are the likely dates. The Arkansas Council of course would assume responsibility for your expenses.

This is to ask you: (1) Will it be possible for you to serve in this capacity? and (2) Which of those two dates do you prefer - or would both be equally acceptable?

All good regards.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

(Dictated by Mr. Routh but signed in his absence.)

FBR:ls

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

The Southern Heritage

REGARDING:

Distribution of

DATE

Sept. 26, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Lists - Distribution

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Sept. 28, 1958

Mr. John Constable, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear John:

Harold happened to say, in a telephone conversation with me yesterday, that you were particularly interested in the Southern reviews of my book. Two have just come to my attention, and I am enclosing them. Please return them along with the others when you get through. The two enclosed:

Observer, Raleigh. Sept. 21
Journal Courier, Louisville, Sept. 21.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

J.M. Dabbs.

MIKE WALLACE - DABBS
INTERVIEW sent to:

SRC Board Members
Cooperating Agencies
SRC Money Sources including:
Foundations, Churches
and labor groups.

10/58

October 1, 1958

Mr. Alfred Knopf, Jr.
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Knopf:

A number of persons associated with the Council, members of the Board and others, have expressed an interest in securing Mr. Dabbs' book, The Southern Heritage through the Council; thereby taking advantage of the 40% discount which you allowed us on our recent order.

At several times in the past, under similar circumstances, we have arranged with various publishers to receive books on consignment. Would it be possible for us to make such an arrangement with Knopf? If so, we would like to have one hundred copies of Mr. Dabbs' book for sale as the occasion arises.

Would you please let us know whether or not this arrangement is possible, and what conditions would be required by you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

October 1, 1958

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Hold, MacDuff!

We now have more than a gracious plenty of reviews of President Dabbs' "The Southern Heritage." It is indeed pleasing to see so many reviews of the book, Mr. Dabbs, and extra pleasing that the bulk of them are very favorable. What we have done is to include mostly Southern ones in our piece for New South. I will be mailing the ones you want back as soon as New South is put to bed, AND I am certain that I will no longer need to refer back to the original copies.

I have written Miss Height and I am sending her some material including a copy of "The Southern Heritage" for display at her November meeting. I agree with you that you are an "exhibit of the Southern Regional Council" and an excellent one at that.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

October 8, 1958

Mr. Alfred Knopf, Jr.
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Knopf:

Pursuant to your letter of October 3, would you please let this letter constitute our purchase order for 100 copies, on consignment, of Mr. Dabbs' book, The Southern Heritage. We will send you a report and payment at the end of each month on the number of copies sold.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Alfred · A · Knopf *Incorporated*

501 Madison Avenue *NEW YORK (22), N.Y.*

October 3, 1958

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Thank you very much for yours of the 1st. We'd be delighted to let you have 100 copies of Mr. Dabbs' book on consignment. The discount remains the same, 40%, and you simply report to us at the end of each month, sending along a check for what you've sold at that time. If this is satisfactory with you, please send along a purchase order, and we'll expedite the shipment promptly.

Yours sincerely,

Alfred Knopf, Jr.

Paul Anthony, Esq.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

bs

October 9, 1958

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Enclosed is a copy of a staff memorandum to the Personnel Committee regarding employee benefits. A second copy is being sent to Dr. Clement.

Dr. Clement is out of the city this week but will be in the city next week. Harold plans to contact him and arrange for the three of you to get together while you are in Atlanta.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1

DC: Dr. Rufus E. Clement

Encls: Sumter (S.C.) ITEM article - 10/3/58 S. L. Gentry
ltr. to the Editor of Richmond Times Dispatch

Virginius Dabney's cc reply to S. L. Gentry - dtd. 10/8/58

October 10, 1958

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thanks for sharing the Gentry-Dabney correspondence with me. You have handled it excellently, and I see no need for action from here. I am returning the originals herewith. When and if the Dabney letter is published, I'll appreciate your lending us the clipping so that we can copy it for the expanding record on this business.

I'm looking forward to seeing you next week. As Paul wrote you, we will try to arrange a time for you, Dr. Clement, and I to get together on personnel matters.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Oct. 9, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I received the enclosed today from Virginius Dabney. Unless you think it necessary to answer the matter also from your files--and I don't think it is--just return to me the clipping from the ITEM, and if Gentry doesn't publish Dabney's letter within a few days, I'll ask the ITEM to publish this copy, with a covering note from me. I should like Gentry's published letter to be sure exactly what he said, and the date. If I send the Dabney letter to the ITEM, I shall say in my covering letter that the SRC is far from being entirely financed by the Fund for the Republic.

I received today the batch of Muke Wallace interviews. Thank you very much I look better in print than I sounded to myself.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs, President.

copy

October 8, 1958

Mr. S. L. Gentry
Sumter Daily Item,
124 E. Hampton Avenue,
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Gentry:

I have your letter concerning the editorial republished in the Sumter, S. C., Item from the Richmond Times-Dispatch.

No one has convinced me that any of the statements in that editorial are inaccurate, and few have tried to do so. I stand by the statements contained therein.

I am in complete disagreement with the present pro-integrationist stand of the Southern Regional Council, and am entirely familiar with that stand, as well as with the fact that the organization is financed by the Fund for the Republic. None of which alters the facts as to the organization's establishment and the things for which it stood from 1944 to 1951.

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney.

c/c (NM) Mr. J. M. Dabbs,
Rip Raps Plantation,
Mayesville,
South Carolina.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

October 6, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Ex. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

The editorial referred to in the Gentry letter enclosed was published in the ITEM as a result of my request following the publication there of that section of the article from the New Bedford Times (I believe it is) charging the SRC with being communist infiltrated. I send my letter to Dabney and the printed Gentry letter for your information. I don't know whether you want to answer Gentry's insinuations with information from SRC files or not. Of course, if I receive from Dabney a copy of a letter to Gentry denying those insinuations, I'll see that it gets into the ITEM.

Another matter. You remember that the Executive Commuttee put, I believe, on the Personnel Committee, the task of reporting at the next meeting on possible plans for staff security, insurance of various kinds, etc. The Executive Committee wishes to know what is being done in this field by organizations such as ours, what it might be reasonable for us to attempt. You promised to get together some information on this matter. I am to be in Atlanta Oct. 16 and 17, for Mrs. Tilly's meeting, at which time I could confer with Dr. Clement, if he is available, and with you--who are, I believe, the other member of the Personnel Committee--on this matter. I will write Dr. Clement and suggest this, and I hope you can have the staff collect such information as we should have. I understand that I am to speak at Mrs. Tilly's meeting on the afternoon of the 16th, but I plan to stay over for the entire meeting.

I go on TV in Columbia tonight. Hold your breath. It was Governor Byrnes last Monday. Somebody's keeping bad company.

Regards,

J. M. Dabbs., President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Oct. 6, 1958

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
The Richmond Times -Dispatch
Richmond, Va.

Dear Mr. Dabney:

There appeared in the Sumter (S. C.)Daily Item, of Oct. 3, a letter written by S. L. Gentry, and addressed to you, the original of which I dare say you have received. In this letter Mr. Gentry attempts to cast doubt upon the nature of the Southern Regional Council. If you bother to reply to Mr. Gentry, I should appreciate, as president of the Southern Regional Council, a copy of your letter; for I am of the opinion that if you do not back Mr. Gentry up in his insinuations he will not offer your reply to the ITEM for publication.

With kindest regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs, President,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Copy to:

Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

—Letter To The Editor—

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
The Richmond Times Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Dabney:

For convenience, there is attached an editorial from a recent issue of the Times Dispatch, said to be by you, which was reprinted in the Sumter Daily Item September 24th.

The stated purpose of this editorial is to correct two alledged errors with respect to the origin and founders of the Southern Regional Council, which appeared in a recent series of articles reprinted in the Times Dispatch, namely (1) the Southern Regional Council is an off-shoot of the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare and, (2) one of the founders was a James E. Jackson cited as a communist.

I fear that by the omission of some pertinent facts in your commendable effort to be fair to the Southern Regional Council that you have inadvertently attributed to that organization respectability to a degree to which it is not entitled.

The facts, as I understand them to be, are as follows:

The effectiveness of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was practicaly at an end — due to exposures being made by the House Un-American Activities Committee — when the meeting to which you refer was held in Durham, N. C. during October 1942. The Southern Regional Council was born at that meeting because of what its founders conceived to be the necessity for an organization to continue striving to attain the purposes and goals of the then discredited Southern Conference for Human Welfare but which would avoid its publicly exposed excesses. This problem was solved by the new organization by consolidating with the Commission on Interracial Relations, not then exposed or cited as a Communist front, and ostensibly adopting its purposes and goals.

Anyone who studies the pattern of subversive organizations in this nation over the past three decades will find that our nation is afflicted with more than its fair share of easily duped "do-gooders" whose favorite habitat is radical organizations with noble sounding names and purposes until exposure begins when they begin to flee to the protection of some newly formed organization usually in the same field. This is exactly the pattern followed by the workers in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare when they fled to the newly formed Southern Regional Council. Some are generous enough to credit these easily duped "do-gooders" with a degree of patriotism and good intentions. Frankly, I possess no such generosity.

Today, about the only difference between the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the present Southern Regional Conference is that the former was financed by the Robert Marshall Foundation, a principal source of Communist front funds in the nation, while the present Southern Regional Council is financed by the almost equally pinkish Fund for the Republic.

This brief summary, I believe, represents the understanding generally of the people in the South with respect to the origin and connections of the Southern Regional Council. If incorrect, it should be corrected from some authentic and reliable source. We, of course, do not wish to be unfair to the Southern Regional Council or to any other organization. However, we should be very careful, in the present state of our affairs, not to add in any degree respectability to any organization that is a canker in the bowels not only of the South but of the nation as well.

Sincerely yours,
S. L. GENTRY

The bowhead whale has a mouth big enough to hold a cow. But, its throat can swallow nothing larger than a small herring.

Sumter (S.C.) Item 10/3/58

Alfred · A · Knopf *Incorporated*

501 Madison Avenue *NEW YORK (22), N.Y.*

October 10, 1958

Dorothy

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Thank you for your letter of October 8th. We are notifying our Order Department immediately to send you 100 copies of THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE, on consignment, at 40% discount.

Sincerely yours,

Alice R. Stern

(Mrs.) Alice R. Stern
Asst. to the Sales Manager

Paul Anthony, Esq.
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PUBLISHER OF BORZOI BOOKS

October 21, 1958

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Your lecture at Emory last night was excellent. I was proud to be "a part of the family."

Enclosed are the copies of reviews of your book which you so kindly lent me. We are keeping the ones you indicated that you had more than one copy.

I took orders for ten additional copies of your new book at the meeting.

With best wishes in Little Rock and elsewhere.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/bee
Enclosure:

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[illegible] [illegible]ORGIA
[illegible]2-8764

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
October 27, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Coucnil, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

We'll have to credit our Taconic good luck to your friend Garrison. I know nothing about it. I signed the letter to President Currier of the Taconic Foundation, and sent it forward with the official receipt. I suppose you have on file the copy of this letter.

I am enclosing correspondence with The Sumter Daily Item. Please return it when you have copied it for filing.

Kindest regards,

As ever,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

November 24, 1958

Mr. Robert L. Wixom, Clerk
Little Rock Meeting for Worship
of the Religious Society of Friends
25 Point of Woods Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Wixom:

Under separate cover we are sending you the copy of THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE which you ordered. The publisher allows us the usual trade discount of 40%, therefore we have made the book available for $2.50. Accordingly, enclosed you will find our check for $1.50, representing your overpayment.

If we can be of further help please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/hs

November 25, 1958

Mr. Alfred Knopf, Jr.
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Knopf:

Enclosed is our check for $243.00 as payment in full for the 100 copies of The Southern Heritage sent to us on consignment on November 10.

We would like to have an additional 100 copies on consignment under the same conditions as the first shipment. If this is possible, would you please have this letter constitute our order for them.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Check #4920 - $243.00)

Alfred · A · Knopf *Incorporated*

501 Madison Avenue *NEW YORK (22), N.Y.*

November 28, 1958

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Thank you for your letter of November 25th. We are happy to supply you with the additional 100 copies of THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE on consignment, at a 40% discount, and they should be shipped out without delay.

Thank you for your continued interest.

Sincerely yours,

Suzanne Gavril

Suzanne Gavril
Sales Dept.

Paul Anthony, Esq.
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

sg

Dabbs

Dec. 19, 1958

Mr. Paul Rilling, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216C Broad-Grace Arcade
Richmond 19, Va.

Dear Paul:

I have just learned through Harold Fleming that the executive committee of the Virginia Council on Human Relations has voted not to sponsor or participate in the "Virginia March on Richmond" project.

My endorsement of this project was solely a personal one; I used the term "personally"; I specified in a covering letter that the endorsement was personal, not official, and that if any reference to my presidency of SRC was made it should be made clear at the same time that I did not speak officially; I signed the statement "James McBride Dabbs, Author, The Southern Heritage."

I gave my support to the project primarily on account of the urging of my friend, Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle.

If in any use of my sponsorship, there is any implication that it is a SRC sponsorship, please let me know immediately, so that I may request that the error be rectified.

I am very sorry if my action makes your situation any more difficult. It never occurred to me that the Virginia Council would be concerned with the matter one way or the other. If it had, I should have cleared the matter with you.

I have also received today your letter of the 17th inst. setting forth the proposed schedule for me in Virginia. You wonder whether I can speak Sunday evening at Petersburg. That will be all right with me. Infact, I may come to Richmond directly from Nashville, where I have a meeting on Friday and Saturday, Jan. 16 and 17th.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

✓Copy to
Harold Fleming.

December 18, 1958

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Paul Rilling writes that he has just learned of a forthcoming public endorsement by you of the "Virginia March on Richmond." At the same time, he points out that the executive committee of the Virginia Council on Human Relations has just voted not to sponsor or participate in the project.

The latter action doesn't mean that the Virginia Council doesn't approve; indeed, some of the prime movers of the march are officers and executive committee members. It simply reflects their judgment that it is unwise for the Virginia Council to depart from its normal role and be identified with this kind of "protest" demonstration.

Rilling writes me this without any overt complaint. But I can surmise that, since you are SRC's president, he feels slightly aggrieved by the lack of clearance on this matter. Of course, you are a free agent and your judgment as to individual action on matters of this kind should be wholly your own. But I thought you should know of this inter-organizational complication as an example of problems we should try to avoid as much as possible.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

HCF/MF

Harold C. Fleming
Executive, Director

SRC BOARD ANALYSIS

1958

RACE:

White - 46 | Negro - 25

SEX:

Male - 58 | Female - 13

OCCUPATION:

Educators - 25	Church Women - 7
Businessmen - 7	Mass Media - 5
Agency - 5	Lawyers - 5
Authors, etc. - 4	Labor - 1
Clergymen - 10	Other - 2

GEOGRAPHICAL:

Alabama - 5	Mississippi - 4
Arkansas - 6	North Carolina - 10
Florida - 4	Oklahoma - 1
Georgia - 13	South Carolina - 3
Kentucky - 3	Tennessee - 7
Louisiana - 3	Texas - 6
	Virginia - 6

Non Cities
Peters
Rothschild
Steel

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

JC – wants filed in C.O. files mf.

Let me know if you hear from this.

HCF

1/19/59

1: Hcf.

2: J c.

O. T. Lam

Thomas J. c

elect. 96.

J.'s current

crim

adverse

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Jan. 8, 1959

Mr. John Constable, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear John:

Enclosed are two letters, one from a man named Blossom, the other from Courtney Siceloff. You need not return either one. I have written Mr. Blossom, saying that I have no information on the subject requested. I told him, however, that it was possible that you for the SRC might give him some. I did not tell him that I was writing you, so, unless he writes, you need do nothing, and if he writes use your best and Harold's best judgment. I enclose Siceloff's letter so that you will know as much as I do.

Also, please ask Paul Anthony to let me know pretty soon what are the plans for a meeting of the Personnel Committee. I am leaving here about next Wednesday, for Nashville and Virginia, where I shall be engaged until Jan. 23, and may have to come directly from Alexandria, Va., to Atlanta. Thanks.

And, while you're running round the office, congratulate Harold for the extra money he picked up in New York. He's a picker-upper if there ever was one.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

Rte 3, Clarkesville, Ga
Jan. 3, 1959

My dear Mr. Dabbs,

I am writing to you at the suggestion of our good friend, Courtney Siceloff, who has just been there for a few days looking after some timberland he owns.

Do you happen to be familiar with the poems of Don West, the Georgia teacher, writer & poet? He and his wife are valued friends of ours. He has been hounded for the past 10 years by the reactionary element because of his courageous espousal of the cause of the plain working people of this state — & the world. He was born hereabouts in the mountain region of Georgia.

He has for some years been gathering material relating to

men and women of this general region who worked for the abolition of Negro slavery before and during the Civil War. He would now like to do systematic research and publish his material on this interesting — and timely — subject

Courtney tells me that you have had contact with some of the foundations that bestow "grants-in-aid" for such useful projects. Would you have the kindness to give me whatever information and advice you think might be helpful, including the names and addresses of such foundations? (The Fund for the Republic, I am told, does not make personal grants (?)

Don Wert is as fine a person in every way as I have met in my 81 years on this planet. I hope you can help me help him. He needs our help and as quickly as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick A. Blossom

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

January 7, 1959

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Mr. James R. Dabbs
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear James Dabbs:

I have just been up to our "estate" in Georgia, looking over our vast holdings (91 acres). I have been very envious of your occupation as planter, so have decided to put out a few trees and assume that same professional title.

There is a couple near Macedonia Community named the Fred Blossoms. You may have already heard from him since he was wanting to find out information concerning how to obtain a Ford Foundation grant in writing a book. He has in mind a friend of his, Don West, of nearby Atlanta.

While Fred Blossom, and I gather, Don West, are idealists, they are very sympathetic also with the governments both in Russia and China. Though Fred Blossom professes not to be a Communist, I think the line of demarcation is rather thin. I find him interesting and expect to continue the association. I thought you should know more concerning him. Probably you can give him what information is necessary without committing yourself in sponsoring him. Harold Fleming surely knows of Don West; I do not.

Best regards,

Courtney Siceloff
cs:rfp

File

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

To: Paul Anthony

From: B. C. Cook

Re: Distribution of Dabb's book

The following books were sent to the following on 1/15/59 as per request of John Constable and /or Fred Routh:

One (1) book each to:

Alabama

Governor John Patterson
Senator John Sparkman -
Senator Lister Hill (sent to U. S. Senate Bldg.-Wash.,D.C.)

Atty. General MacDonald Gallion
Supt. of Education Frank R. Stewart
(State Capitol - Montgomery, Ala.)

Louisiana

Governor Earl K. Long
Senator Russell B. Long -
Senator Allen Ellender (sent to U. S. Senate Bldg.-Wash.,D.C.)

Atty. General Jack P. F. Gremillion
Supt. of Public Ed. Shelby M. Jackson
(State Capitol - Baton Rouge, La.)

Texas

Governor Price Daniel
Senator Ralph Yarborough -
Senator Lyndon B. Johnson (sent to U. S. Senate Bldg.-Wash.,D.C.)

Atty. General Will Wilson
Commissioner of Ed. J. W. Edgar
(State Capitol - Austin, Texas)

ROBERT L. FOREMAN
216 WEST PACES FERRY ROAD
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

March 7, 1959

Dear Harold:

Thanks for "The Southern Heritage". Since you mentioned the book to me I have seen a highly complimentary review of it and I expect to enjoy reading it.

I was glad to get a copy of the article by Miss Junod.

cordially,

Trot

April 9, 1959

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I realize that when this arrives you will probably be still in the hospital -- though I hope pleasantly convalescent -- and in no mood to read office mail. But I am writing against the day when you take up the reins again and find Fred Routh's letter of resignation.

As you would suppose, Fred and I discussed this matter at all stages of evolution, and I have read his letter to you. He will be sorely missed here -- and throughout the South, for that matter. But he could hardly have turned down so handsome and important an opportunity as the Michigan job held out.

It seems to me that so important a departure from the staff should be communicated to all the board members and State Councils. Perhaps the best way would be to send them a copy of Fred's letter with a covering note from you. I'm enclosing a draft of such a note for your consideration. Of course, your own words would be more eloquent, but I want to make this as effortless as possible.

We are already working on the problem of a replacement for Fred, I will keep you posted on our progress.

With best wishes for an early but restful recovery,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure

DRAFT

April 9, 1959

Members of the Southern Regional Council

Chairmen and Directors of State Councils on
Human Relations

Dear Friends:

This is to share with you the enclosed letter from Fred Routh, who will be leaving the staff of SRC on June 1 to accept a new and important position in the human relations field. His leaving is a matter of keen regret to all of us, although we rejoice in the recognition, advancement, and opportunity represented by his new post as director of the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Committee.

During Mr. Routh's five years with SRC, he has won the affection and admiration of people of good will throughout the South. And he has earned a nationwide reputation as one of the most gifted and creative professionals in intergroup relations work. As much as we regret his departure, we should recognize that his selection for the new position is a tribute both to him and to SRC.

We will advise you promptly, of course, when a staff replacement has been chosen.

Cordially yours,

James M. Dabbs
President

Enclosure

April 9, 1959

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

This is one of the most difficult letters I have ever had to write -- not because I have labored long over the wording but, rather, because of the anguish I experienced in reaching the decision to leave the South and the staff of the Southern Regional Council at this time.

I have been offered and have accepted, effective June 1st, the executive directorship of the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC). This position carries with it a considerable professional advancement and a substantial salary increase.

In addition to the problems centering around the desegregation controversy in the South, I believe that America's unfinished business includes making democracy work in the large industrial centers. Michigan is such a center. Add to this the novelty of not only having state government on your side for a change but, indeed, being a part of state government!

As you know, I turned down a similar offer two years ago because I felt that with the then-recent change in SRC's executive directorship my leaving would have weakened the Council. Since that time, under Harold Fleming's able leadership the Council has grown in twenty-league strides in effectiveness and financial undergirding. It is today the single most effective race relations agency in the field. I therefore believe that my leaving now will be less disruptive than

at any time since I came with SRC.

My nearly five years here have been productive and happy ones. Working with the Council, particularly with Harold, has been professionally and personally rewarding. Frankly, I hate to leave; but this new opportunity is too great to turn down.

My interest in the work of the Council will continue; my affection and admiration for its staff and Board will remain undiminished; and much of my heart will remain at 63 Auburn Avenue. In the years that lie ahead I wish you and the Council every success; and I shall always be saddened when I think that I no longer have an active role in helping guide its destiny.

Respectfully,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

April 15, 1959

Mrs. Edith M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Edith:

Thanks for your letter and the good news of Mr. Dabbs' rapid recovery. It just goes to show what fine old Southern stock can do. I can readily understand your comment about the benefits of the rest, even in the hospital. This, I must admit, was my first thought when he told me about the impending operation.

We are proceeding with the mailing to our Board members and state councils about Fred's early departure. Since this will call for a mimeographed communication, it won't be necessary to trouble Mr. Dabbs for his signature.

Our best to you both.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

April 12, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ge.

Dear Harold,

James asked me to write you for him--as I should have done some days ago. He is very grateful for your thoughtfulness in writing for him the letter in re Fred Routh's resignation and completely approves it to go out over his signature just as it is. Let us know about the signature itself. If you want to send the copies all here for signing, I'll see that they are returned to you more promptly than this was done.

Incidentally, he is quite up to signing letters. In a few days he will be doing them himself. His progress has been wonderful and the stay in the hospital was a blessing in many ways. I was quite concerned about what the recent pace has been doing to his general health but the forced rest has made him over. We expect to bring him home on Thursday--which indicates faster than average recovery.

Let me know if I can help out in any way for him.

Sincerely,

Edith

Edith M. Dabbs

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

April 20, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
SouthernRegional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I forgot to ask Edith to send you copies of my letters accepting Fred Routh's resignation,and complying with Col. Muse's request for leave of absence from the Board while he is on the staff. This is to inform you that those letters were properly sent.

I've been home since last Thursday, four days, and am getting on well. The doctor said the operation was even more than usually successful. Everything seems to be going O. K., though I can't take any long trips for a month or more. I'm just having a good time watching the spring turn into summer.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs, President

April 24, 1959

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Trust this letter finds you continuing to improve and that soon you will be able to rejoin the circuit. And, inevitably the circuit is pressing.

It would be desirable to have an Executive Committee meeting the latter part of May or shortly thereafter. Dr. Clement informs us that during the last week of May he will be available only on the 27th. Will you be able to travel to Atlanta by that time, and if so, is this date acceptable to you?

If both you and Dr. Clement can be available on the 27th, we will inform the Committee of this fact. If a majority finds this arrangement inacceptable we will have to attempt to find a suitable date in early June.

Enclosed is a brief reply form for your convenience.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:ls

April 27, 1959

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

By all means plan to go to New York at SRC expense as soon as you feel up to it. It would be of great benefit to SRC as well as to the cause in general for you to confer with Mr. Stevenson and the others.

Mrs. Tilly and I have also received this invitation and have faithfully undertaken to notify the Field Foundation when New York trips are in prospect.

I am delighted to hear that you are doing so well and that the convalescence is in fact something of a rest.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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RECEIVED APR 24 1959

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

April 21, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I enclose the following letter for your advice. I would also enclose my reply, but apparently Mrs. Dabbs forgot to make a copy ot it. What I said was that because of an operation I saw little chance of getting to New York before the end of May; but that I would let the Field Foundation know in advance of any trip there, and would be glad to confer with the staff, etc.

At present I have no hint of any engagements that may take me to New York in the foreseeable future. The question I raise is this. The $100 honorarium would just about let me break even on travel expenses: should I go to New York just to meet the officers of the Field Foundation? If you should think this distinctly worth while, I will do it as soon as I am able to take so long a trip. But, especially at this time of year when a farmer is broke, I'm not averse to picking up a $100 honorarium, NET.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs,
President

wrote 4/27/59

File

June 3, 1959

Professor Edward Foster
Georgia Institute of Technology
Atlanta 13, Georgia

Dear Professor Foster:

I have your letter of May 24 inquiring about details on the information I decided for the Commentary article. Particularly to you ask about quering the AAUP presidents in regard to the questions I raise. I shall be most happy for you to raise these questions with the interested persons in the several Georgia colleges you mention; and, indeed, elsewhere. I look forward to having your opinion of the information thus gathered.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs
President

JMD/mf

Robert Penn Warren
Redding Road
Fairfield, Conn
Called Dabb
6/17/59 HCF

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

June 8, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Souther Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Please read carefully the enclosed statement. Its first purpose is to explain to two or three people whom I am sure we would invite to such a meeting what we hope to do, in order to get their advice. Its second purpose would be a part of the invitation to the others who would be invited, with the filling in of time, place, etc.

If it seems wise to you, I thought I might send it, with a covering personal letter, to Robert Penn Warren, Paul Green, and Bell Wiley, all of whom I know personally. I thought I would ask them especially to suggest the several best men they thought of for such a meeting, and also whether they themselves would be interested in attending. With this information, we would make up the complete list, decide upon time and place and send out the final invitations. I would of course make it clear to the three men above that I was asking for names to be considered, not simply to be invited. The final decision would have to remain with us.

I know Wiley's and Green's address. Could you get me Warren's?

If it seems better, call me up and we can discuss these questions over the phone. Also, any verbal changes you would recommend in the statement.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

June 19, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony, Adm. Asst.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E. Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

I(m nearly out of SRC envelopes and paper. Please send me some. And please check the envelopes to see whether they have selaed themselves or not. For a long time now I've been using a paper knife on every envelope to unseal it before I use it. I've ever caused two professors at the University of Alabama# to turn these envelopes over to the postal authorities in the fear that somebody was tampering with the mail, and so here comes an# inspector from the Columbia office to help me out. Freedom of thought may go by the board, but apparently the government is concerned that freedom of communication be maintained. Well, let's try not to send the boys off on false trails.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs
President

P. S. the underscored word is "sealed". I usually manage to get in all the letters, but scrambled.

Names Suggested By Prof, John Bevan:

1. Professor Rene' D. Williamson
Dept, of Political Science
L. S. U., Baton Rouge, La.

2. Professor Howard Carter
Dept. of English, Univ. of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Ark.

3. Professor Fred Neal
Dept, of Philosophy
Southwestern University, Memphis, Tenn.

4. Professor Fred Morton
School of Business
University of Va., Charlottesville, Va.

5. Professor Ashby Johnson
Dept. of Philosophy
Austin College, Sherman, Texas

6. The Rev. Harry Smith
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

7. Professor Roland Frye
Dept. of English
Emory University, Atlanta 22, Ga.

8. Professor George Abernethy
Dept. of Philosophy
Davidson College, North Carolina

9. Professor Waldo Beach
School of Divinity
Duke University, Durham, N. C.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

June 19, 1959

Professor René D. Williamson
Department of Political Science
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Profesor Willaimson:

Professor John Bevan, of Davidson College, has suggested that you might be able to help me with some information I am seeking. The magazine Commentary has asked me to write an article on the effect of the 1954 Supreme Court school decision and its aftermath, upon freedom of thought in Southern colleges and Universities.

I shall appreciate any information or opinions you can give me on the aubject. I would of course not use your name in anything I might write on the subject.

I am not trying to makem a statistical study; I am merely trying to put together the solid yet interesting kind of article Commentary usually publishes. The following questions suggest--but suggest only--the kind of material that seems to me important. In the college, or colleges, you know has there been a change since 1954? Are teachers free in the class-room but restricted in expression and action outside? How are these restraints imposed? By the administration? By student opinion? By the state? To what degree is there an acceptance of restrictions without any feeling that they are being imposed?

I hope I can get enough information to warrant writing the article for Commentary, and I shall appreciate any help that you, at your convenience, can give me.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

Dabbs

June 18, 1959

Miss Suzanne Gavril
Sales Department
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Gavril:

We would like to purchase an additional 50 copies of The Southern Heritage by James M. Dabbs, at the usual discount of 40 per cent. Would you please mail 20 copies of this shipment to:

Mr. Reginald Green
Vice-President
United States National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Please mail the additional 30 copies and the bill for the total order to the Council.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

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PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Atlanta 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

June 19, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony, Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Please have one of your stenographers take care of the following matter for me. I hate to do routine typing by sight when it can be done by ear.

I am enclosing a signed letter to Professor Williamson. I am also enclosing a list of nine names and addresses, with Professor Williamson's checked. In addition I enclose eight sheets of SRC letterhead, with my signature near the bottom of each. Please hhave the enclosed letter to Professor Williamson copied except for his name and address, and , properly addressed, sent to the other men on the list.

Please add to Professor Abernethy's and Ptofessor Beach's letter the line "With kindest personal regards," .

Please mail all the letters, including the one to Williamson, and send me copies of the others.

That will wrap it up, and thanks a lot.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs.

Montreat, N. C., 6/30/59

Dear John, I am to speak for Prof. J. Ross Freeman in a lecture series at Emory at 8 A.M., Sat., July 4. If you have any of my books you lend, I'd appreciate your calling Prof. Freeman and finding out whether he wants any to display.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

Mayesville, S. C. 8/4/59

Dear John,

Mr. Wyndham M. Manning, 1208 Wellington Av
Columbia 4, S. C., has written me criticizing
I believe without having read it "Intimidation,
Reprisal, and Violence in the South's Racial
Crisis." Please send him a copy. Thanks.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs.

September 22, 1959

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

A reservation has been made for you at the Piedmont on the night of October 4. Mr. Wright, incidentally, will also be there that evening. You should have no trouble finding the Piedmont; it is in the heart of downtown bordering on Peachtree and Luckie streets. If you fly this is the first stop of the airport bus. If you drive, you will no doubt enter the city on Highways 29 or 78. Both of these become Ponce de Leon, which in turn leads you directly to Peachtree Street. If, when you reach Peachtree, you will turn left this will bring you directly to town and to the Piedmont which will be on your right as you come into town.

Miss Wilkins has suggested that possibly a dinner meeting will be the most pleasant and convenient way in which to hold the meeting. She, therefore, would like for you to plan to have dinner with her at the Biltmore Hotel at 7:00 p.m. if this is agreeable with you. The Biltmore is some distance from the Piedmont, so I would suggest that you take a taxi out rather than bothering with your car.

I have discussed with Harold your comments concerning Colonel Miller. He is of the opinion that the idea is a sound one and sees no reason why the Colonel shouldn't be invited.

Will plan to go over the final arrangements on the Williamsburg meeting with you on the 4th or 5th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

September 16, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony, Administrative Asst.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I will plan to be in Atlanta by Sunday afternoon, Oct. 4, to meet with Miss Wilkins in regarc to business of the Personnel Committee. Please reserve me a rom at the Piedmont, and, on the chance that I may drive down, give me the address of the Piedmont, or, better still ,send me a map with the Piedmont pin-pointed.

In regard to the Williamsburn Conference, The following have promised to come: Paul Green, Vann Woodward, Hodding Carter, Clement Eaton, Gideon Fryer. The following are hoping that they can come: Benjamin Mays, Robert Penn Warren, Harry Ashmore. I sounded out Roland Frye at Montreat. He would like very much to come, and would try to ##### shape his schedule to permit it .I have since formally invited him,but as yet haven't heard. I haven't heard from Faulkner, Ramsom, and McGill. I wrote Ransomand McGill second letters several days ago urging them to decide to come and to let me know right away.

On the chance that Warren may not be able to make it--though he will certainly try, but he has plays on Broadway,etc.--I should like very much to have Ransom, as a poet.

Frank Graham wrote me yesterday that, because of meetings inthe United Nations, he couldn't possibly come. I had talked with him at Montreat, and he had expressed great interest, and had promised to come if possible. He suggested, and indeed, insisted that we should have Col.Francis Pickens Miller, of Charlottesville. He thought it would be a strategic error if we didn't have him; he had been of such trememdous value in the fight in Virginia. I replied that at the moment I couldn't tell what I could do, as we had certain invitations already out, and the size of the group was limited. I get the impression that Graham is moving more rapidly toward action than we had planned; but what do you and Harold think about Col. Miller? I have merely met him. Almost certainly somebody's not coming, and he could be invited. Let me hear.Thanks. Sincerely,

J.M.Dabbs., Pres.

Same letter sent to:
Mr. Marion Wright
Mr. Guy B. Johnson

October 1, 1959

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

A young man, William C. Allred, is writing a thesis on the Council and its work since 1951.

Mr. Allred has expressed a desire to interview you in person later this month. He will contact you to make specific arrangements.

This letter is just to serve as an introduction for Mr. Allred. From what I have seen of the thesis, he is doing a first rate job; and we have the right to review the thesis before it is submitted.

I hope you will have time to talk with Mr. Allred when he requests an interview.

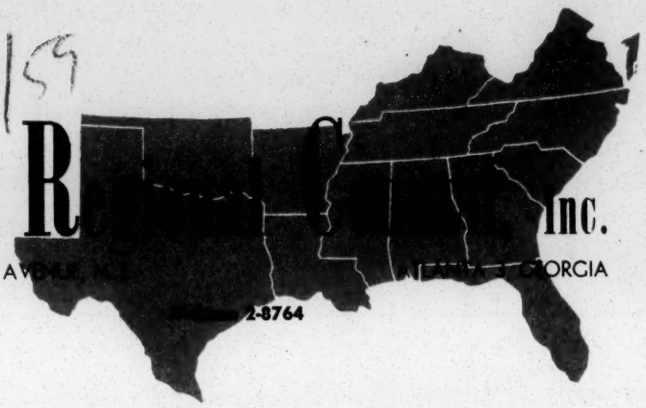
Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

ack
12/7/59

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
Dec. 3, 1959

Dear Harold,

I have to be in Atlanta on Saturday and Sunday, the 12th and 13th of December, to attend a meeting of the advisory committee of the U. S. National Student Association. What do you think of my coming down Friday, the 11th, and talking with you that afternoon about any follow-up of the Williamsburg meeting? If you think it advisable, let me know, and I'll be in Atlanta about 2 P.M. that Friday.

I have listened to the tape of the meeting, and made such notes as seemed worth while. Most of the recording was good; there was one very poor tape. I don't know where we go from here, but I think we ought to try to hammer out something.

~~Sincerely,~~
J. M. Dabbs
J. M. Dabbs,
President.

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
SRC, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E. Atlanta, Ga.

December 15, 1959

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

For a variety of reasons, I agree with you wholeheartedly about the inadvisability of accepting Dombrowski's invitation.

I don't suppose there is any point in my going into detailed reasons here, since the flamboyancy you mention is sufficient reason in itself to eschew the affair. No doubt you have a wide choice of conflicting engagements on that date.

Odd, isn't it, that Dombrowski would invite the president of SRC to play a prominent part in the side show without having made any effort to involve SRC organizationally? Of course, we would have turned down such an invitation, as he may assume, but this side door attempt to capitalize on your reputation -- and, through you, SRC's reputation -- strikes me as pretty devious.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

P.S. -- Thanks for the letter from Ray Shute. I'll look forward to further acceptances.

Enc. - Shute acceptance letter
Clipping on The Image Merchants
Dombrowski letter & statement of meeting

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Dec. 14, 1959

Mr Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I should like your ooinion on the advisability of my accepting Jim Dombrowski's invitation. I have no notion of accepting unless my expenses are to be paid. Temperamentally, I don't go for this kind of somewhat flamboyant appeal, and would personally prefer to stay out of it. However, I don't want to refuse merely for personal reasons to accept an obligation if one exists.

I doubt, too, the advisablility of connecting the SRC with this, as it would be connected through my presidency. Please write or phone me your opinion. I will not reply to Dombrowski until I hear.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Jan. 27, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

The enclosed letter was returned to me, as I feared it would be, for insufficient address. The telegram from Miss Bentz to me was marked only New York, and I so wired her; since I was never notified to the contrary, I assume the telegram was delivered.

Harold seemed to know of the Hotel and Club Employers' Union, Local # 6. I am hoping therefore that between you, you can find the proper street address, and send my letter on to Miss Bentz. If you can't, return the letter, and I'll wait for another move from the elusive Bentz.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs.

found & sent on 2/3/60

February 3, 1960

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

We did find an address for "the elusive Miss Bents" and have forwarded the letter. In case you have need of it again it is:

Hotel and Club Employes Union #6
305 West 44th Street
New York, New York

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/sm

Mayesville, S.C., March 7, 1960

Dear Harold,

Congratulations on "SRC reports the Changing South." I even found my name there. Now, that's reporting. I'm sending a note to Les Dunbar to compliment him on "The Student Protest Movement." Regards.

Dabbs.

P.S. Saw Paul Rilling ~~###~~ yesterday. Showed him what S. C. can do. Even surprised me!

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

June 23, 1960

Mr. John Constable
SRC, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear John:

You--or whoever was responsible--did me proud on that pamphlet "The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners." When I read the title, I opened the pamphlet with interest to see what I had said. You might send me a dozen copies if you have them to spare. Thanks.

Kindest regards as always.

~~Sincerely,~~

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

June 27, 1960

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thank you for the compliment -- wish I deserved it; but the Arkansas Council is responsible for your pamphlet.

We are mailing you, under separate cover, the copies for which you asked.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

August 9, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Av e., N. E. Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Please send me some more SRC envelopes. I still have a plenty of stationery.

Some six week ago I phoned Louise Young, in Nashville, on SRC business. I have misplaced the phone bill, but my memory is that it was $1.60. If you want to have me sent a check for this amount O. K. Or, if you prefer, I can add it to my expense account the next time I'm in Atlanta.

It's hot as blue blazes here. I imagine Atlanta isn't much better. Kindest regards, as always.

~~Sincerely,~~

~~J. M. Dabbs~~

P. S. Thanks for the excellent article SRC sent me recently: the reprint, "Private Business and Public Education in the South. It seems to me this ought to be distributed as widely as possible among business leaders. J.M.D.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Sept. 9, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe St., Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

So this is your big moving day. Boy, I'll bet you're --not sweating it out--but just plain sweating, down there in Atlanta.

My new book, THE ROAD HOME, an autobiographical study, has just been issued by The Christian Education Press, 5 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. As you know, I am to speak in Atlanta on the morning of Sept. 21, at the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, Peachtree and Fourth Streets. Since I should like to have some copies of my book there, and since more than one or two are heavy to carry, I am writing this morning to the publisher to ask him to send five copies to me care the Southern Regional Council. If they chould come in time, even as late as the morning of the 21st, please get them around to the Lutheran Church for me.

If you folks want to push the book, as you did THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE, of course I shall appreciate it. I don't know whether it would blur the public image of the Southern Regional Council or not; you might read it and see. I don't know whether there is a public image of the SRC or not. But of course there is, though perhaps we have a limited public!

Well, in the process of moving I suppose your own image of the SRC has become blurred. The change, especially the air-conditioning, will brighten it again. Regards.

~~Sincerely,~~

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs
President.

Paul,

The books for Mr. Dabbs came Friday - so I wasted no time in sending them back to the Christian Education Press as Mr. Dabbs requested.

Mildred

Rec'd 9/15/60

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Sept. 13, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

I got a wire today from the Christian Education Press asking me to return all copies of THE ROAD HOME; the printer made a lulu of an error on one page and this has to be corrected. If they followed my instructions, they mailed five copies to me C/O the SRC. I wrote you about these several days ago. If these books come, please shoot them right back to the Press The Christian Education Press, 5# 1505 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

I'm disturbed about a possible boycott by Eastern Air lines pilots, reference to whoch I see in the paper today. Please keep in touch with what is happening, and if the Aylanta airport is closed, see what other arrangements can be made. If absolutely necessary, I could land at an airport not too far from Atlanta and get to Atlanta by rented car. I'm sorry to both you with all this.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs,
President.

September 6, 1960

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

We have found what seems to be a good schedule for your needs on the 21st. Enclosed is a ticket for Delta Air Lines, Flight #885 leaving New York (Idlewild Airport) at 9:10 a.m., arriving in Atlanta at 9:59 a.m. This will allow you to remain overnight in New York, therefore, Harold is requesting reservations for the two of you on the night of the 20th at the Commodore Hotel, 42nd Street at Lexington.

Information on the guests and dress will follow shortly. Copies of the Tragic Fellowship of Southerners are being sent under separate cover.

Harold has the phone numbers of your daughter and will contact you, probably for a meeting with Josephine, on the morning or afternoon of the 20th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Delta Air Line Ticket)

via air mail special

October 26, 1960

The Christian Education Press
1505 Race Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Gentlemen:

In the past with books in which we have a special interest, such as The Southern Heritage by James M. Dabbs, we have secured copies from the publishers on consignment and with the usual trade discount of 40%.

If it is possible to do this with The Road Home by James McBride Dabbs, would you please ship us fifty (50) copies. We are particularly anxious to have these for our Annual Meeting on November 10th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

Traditional Values Can Be Used To Tear Down Ancient Walls

By JOSEPH WERSHBA

JAMES McBRIDE DABBS IS A 64-year-old South Carolina plantation owner whose ancestry, dignity and scholarliness easily stamp him as a model of Old South aristocracy. But he differs from other Southern aristocrats in a rather important respect: as president of the Southern Regional Council, Dabbs is one of the most effective voices against segregation.

"Segregation is not the Southern way of life," he says. "That's a myth. It's the very opposite of our historical tradition. It didn't get started till after the Civil War. Today, the South is moving into a new world and it's afraid it may lose something of value. But the thing of value is not segregation."

Dabbs, a tall, wavy-haired man with a cultured Deep South accent and a humorous back country anecdote to buttress each argument, has not encountered much personal difficulty in his Mayesville, S. C., home area. "I may have lost an acquaintance or two, and there was a threatening phone call now and then, and a White Citizens Council group talked about roughing me up a bit—but then," Dabbs recalls with a laugh, "somebody said, 'Oh, everybody knows Dabbs is a damn fool, so why bother with him!'"

Closeup

James M. Dabbs

Southern Integrationist

Dabbs, a former professor of English, author of the classic anti-segregationist work, "The Southern Heritage," and an elder in the Presbyterian Church, has for the past three years been unpaid president of the Southern Regional Council. The organization, with headquarters in Atlanta, is a clearing house for statistical information and guidance on such segregation problems as voting, employment and schools.

* * *

When "The Southern Heritage" appeared in 1958, it was hailed as one of the most important books ever written by a white Southerner against segregation. Max Lerner called it "courageous," but added dolefully: "I fear the Dabbses have grown fewer in these recent years."

"Well, I don't think we have," Dabbs remarked here recently, on his way to a visit with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. "I think we're becoming more vocal. The big problem, though, is the pall of silence over the school issue. It hung over Georgia and now it hangs over South Carolina. No one there speaks out. They think they can lick the problem through silence. It's an old Southern tradition: don't say anything about something, and it will go away. The expression is, 'Don't go puttin' a bad mouth on that.' If somebody says your tire looks flat—because it *is* flat—you tell him, 'Don't go puttin' a bad mouth on that tire.' That's supposed to keep the tire going.

"But I don't think the silent treatment will work," Dabbs says. "My feeling is, the ice is breaking all over the South. The South really learned its lesson from Little Rock. No sir, they don't want that again: schools closed, business expansion stopped, money lost. Little Rock and the failure of mass resistance in Virginia told the segregationist he's on the losing side. What happens in New Orleans, will tell the story."

For James McBride Dabbs, the Southern way of life includes Negro as well as white and means a love of region, a leisurely pace, a sense of neighborliness, hospitality and—very important to him—the good manners of "mannersable men." His first concern about the patterns of discrimination came relatively late in life—in the 30s—when South Carolina's legislature was called into special session to amend the laws so that the state could get around a decision by the Supreme Court and continue to prevent Negroes from voting in the state primaries.

"I was shocked at what the legislature was doing," Dabbs recalls. "Not shocked at injustice, but at bad manners. Not shocked that white people should try to hold onto privileges, but that they should be so brazen about it." That began his studies of discrimination in earnest. One of his major conclusions was that segregation was good business for those who profited from cheap labor.

Dabbs notes that the Negro struggle for social equality today contains little desire for social "mixing" with whites. As for the segregationist argument that integration will promote intermarriage, Dabbs comments: "Racial mixing was at its height in antebellum [slavery] days, yet there was little concern then about social equality. This was to be expected: the master race always uses the women of the subject race."

* * *

Dabbs, father [illegible]

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TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

1206 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
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FULL RATE	
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SHORE-SHIP	

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			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

TELEPHONED IN: NOV. 16, 1960

File

MR. JAMES M. DABBS
c/o LOWRY HOTEL
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

YOUR RESERVATION CHANGED TO RIVIERA MOTEL FRIDAY WHERE FIELD PARTY WILL STAY. YOU'RE INVITED TO JOIN IN FIELD GROUP ACTIVITIES FRIDAY EVENING THRU SUNDAY LUNCH. WOULD LIKE YOU TO SIGN LETTERS TO NEW MEMBERS IN OFFICE FRIDAY.

M. FLOWERS

(SPECIAL INSTRUCTION: PLEASE HOLD FOR ARRIVAL)

December 1, 1960

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

You may recall meeting the Rev. B. J. Anderson at Atlanta University during the Annual Meeting. I have, today, promised his mother that I would send him a copy of your book.

Under separate cover, we are sending a copy with addressed label and postage attached. Mrs. Anderson was very grateful when I promised that you would authgraph this and send it on. I trust you don't mind my offering this.

We are also sending the ladies at Atlanta University, who were particularly helpful to our meeting -- Mrs. Murphy, Mrs. Anderson and Mrs. Kennedy (the dietian) -- a copy of your book, as an expression of appreciation. There may be a better way to handle women than to give them praise and presents, but I don't know of it!

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Dec. 23, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Asst.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

This is a belated "thank you# for the air travel card you so kindly send. I am sure it will be a great convenience. I could have used it happily on my trip to Florida at the end of November.

With my personal regards and the best wishes of the season,

~~Sincerely,~~

J. M. Dabbs
President

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Jan. 8, 1961

Dear Harold,

The original of the enclosed went to Morris Abram with a covering letter today.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Copy

APPLICATION FOR GRANT-IN-AID

Submitted by

James McBride Dabbs

Mayesville, S. C.

I This is a request for a grant-in-aid to enable me to do extended research at the library of the University of North Carolina, and at such other libraries as may seem best, on the general subject of the South, in order that I may complete creditably a book I am writing on the South.

II I am making this request for both intellectual and financial reasons. When, in 1957, I finished The Southern Heritage, primarily an essay on segregation, I found that I had material left over and fundamental questions unanswered. I have therefore continued reading and taking notes on the South. But I find myself slowed down by the distraction of my farm and especially by the lack of books; and I spend time evolving theories that I might better spend gathering facts. My income, however, does not permit me to live in the vicinity of a first-class library, where I might gather such facts.

III I think my published work indicates the kind of use I should make of such a grant. My first book, The Southern Heritage (Knopf, 1958), written under a grant-in-aid from the Fund for the Republic, received the annual Brotherhood Award from The National Conference of Christians and Jews. My second book, The Road Home (Christian Education Press), a spiritual autobiography, appeared in 1960. I have also had published during the last thirty years over a hundred articles, most of them in outstanding American journals.

IV In regard to the proposed book, I have not reached the point of being willing to make an outline. I can say that it will not repeat

The Southern Heritage, nor any other book I know. I shall undoubtedly discuss some of the questions that W. J. Cash discusses in The Mind of the South, but from my viewpoint, and will raise questions Cash doesn't touch on. I list below some of the questions I now think important. Doubtless some of these are badly phrased, some will prove unimportant, some are too inclusive, demanding each of them a book, and some others will arise as I think further. But they will suggest the kind of thinking I'm doing. I may add that though I do not believe the South is one I do believe that something distinguishes the body of the South from the other regions of this country. For its own health, the South should understand what this is. The questions follow.

1. Images of the South

   How important is the image of defeat in the South's self-identification? How important are race relations as established under segregation? How assured was the South of its own identity before the Civil War? What are the Southern self-images that can be effective in the modern world? What modifications of these images are necessary?

2. The Heroic and the Tragic Attitudes

   What has the South learned from its defeat? What has prevented it from gaining the positive strength that comes from the acceptance of tragedy? Has it viewed its defeat as mainly heroic, not tragic? Since tragedy is primarily the creation of aristocracy, and the tragic sense probably an aristocratic sense, can a tragic sense of history become acceptable in a South increasingly democratic? Is there any relation between such tragic sense as the South has and its religion?

3. Religion, Morals, Manners

   To what degree does a sense of guilt pervade Southerners? If important, what are its chief roots: religion? race relations? fascination with the past? How are the sense of shame and the sense of guilt related in the South? What effect has the religion of the South had upon its history? What is the origin, nature, and extent of Southern puritanism? What is the relation of religion, morals, and manners in the South? Of taste and conscience? How is Southern religion a reflection of Southern culture?

4. The Individual and Society

To what degree does the Southerner tend to see life as personal? If to a large degree, what are the chief roots of this attitude? How relate it to the relatively impersonal treatment of the Negro? How protect it in the coming industrial, impersonal world? Can the 'solid man' of the South learn to use high abstractions without becoming just another modern abstract man? How is Southern individualism related to a strong community sense and a high regard for public opinion? What is the relation between Southern agreeableness and Southern violence?

5. General

What is the relation between the use of space, place, status in the South and the use of and attitude toward time? The realistic and the romantic spirit? Adherence to principles and fear of abstractions?

V It is apparent that I am raising social, political, moral, religious, aesthetic, and philosophical questions. From the point of view of the strict intellectual disciplines, this may be nonsense. But I have spent my life in asking questions in various fields, always trying to learn about life itself, as I think both The Road Home and The Southern Heritage show. As in the latter book, I desire here not only to understand the South but to influence it.

VI In order to proceed well with my study, I am requesting the grant of a sum sufficient to permit me to live away from home, most of the time I should think at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for something like a year, to travel back and forth fairly frequently in order to keep an eye on my farm, to make such occasional trips as may be necessary to other centers of information, and to pay for necessary clerical aid. Such a sum, I think, would be in the neighborhood of two thousand dollars, and I therefore request a grant-in-aid of this amount.

Respectfully,

James McBride Dabbs.

February 8, 1961

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

We would like to set the date of the next Executive Committeeemeeting as soon as possible. If acceptable to you, we have selected, and cleared with Mr. Wheeler, the date Wednesday, April 19th.

If this is not satisfactory, please give ~~m~~ several possible dates during that week or the one following.

A card is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1.

March 10, 1961

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

After almost fourteen years with the Southern Regional Council, it is hard to contemplate the idea of leaving. A recent proposal was so compelling, however, that I had to consider it seriously. And after long and sometimes painful reflection, I have agreed to undertake the establishment and direction of a new independent agency in Washington to be financed by the Taconic Foundation.

You will know my feelings better than I can describe them. I cannot imagine ever again having as many warm associations or deep satisfactions as my work with the Council has afforded. But I am comforted somewhat by two considerations.

The first is that my new work will not take me out of the field of race relations, but will be an extension of the efforts in which we have all been engaged. I expect to be in close touch with the Council and the South, and in a position to be helpful to both.

Secondly, the Council is equipped in every way -- in leadership, staff, financial prospects, and reputation -- to continue with undiminished effectiveness and growth. For once, I am convinced, the departure of a Southerner will add to rather than subtract from the sum total of our joint efforts.

The first step in my new assignment will be to initiate, as a trustee and consultant of the Taconic Foundation, the creation of the new agency, tentatively called The Washington Institute. The Institute will be intended to serve as a center for the exchange of ideas and information, for working conferences, and for stimulation of timely studies of race relations and public policy. It will be housed in a small building of its own in downtown Washington and will be modestly staffed. I hope it will serve, among other things, as an unofficial Washington outpost for the Council.

I need hardly explain that there is some urgency about getting this operation under way while the new Administration is in an early and flexible stage. This is why I have requested a special meeting of the Executive Committee to consider the choice of a new director and related questions. Without intruding on the Committee's prerogatives, I do want to say that I am firmly of the opinion that the Council has within its own staff the talent and leadership from which to choose a successor.

Leaving the Council's staff will be a painful wrench for me, and I am immodest enough to think that it may cause others some regret. But I have no doubt, and hope others will have none, that the Council's best and most productive years are still before it.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

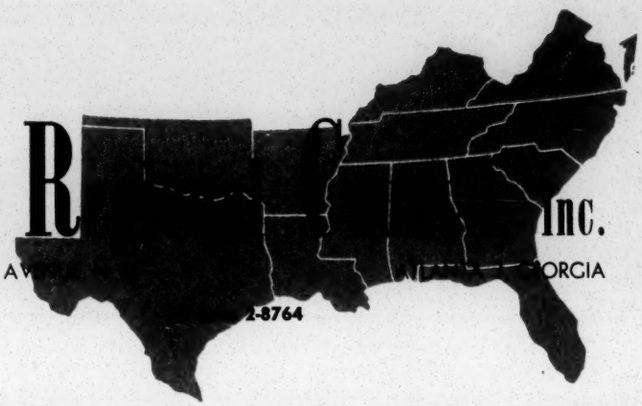
Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LWD ✓
PR ✓
MF

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern R[redacted] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[redacted]
[redacted]-8764



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

March 20, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I think I am correct in my belief that you are still director, but during part of the meeting last Saturday I was busy writing that minute about ~~##~~ letting you not be director, and so I am slightly blurred about your present status.

Paul Rilling has the copy of a letter to me from Gustave Falk, of the American Jewish Committee, in Dallas. I talked To Les Dunbar a week ago at the airport about one of Falk's suggestions. Dunbar wasn't too much impressed with the possibility. As to a Texas Committee on Human Relations, there are certainly people in Dallas who would like to have such a committee; I spoke to a small group that planned to get together and try to work out something, though I think they had their eyes primarily on a committee for Dallas. Falk will remember the chief people in this group, if you, Les, or Paul should want to pursue the matter.

I meant to ask you Saturday whether you had heard anything from Morris Abram about the application for a grant-in-aid that I sent to him for his consideration. I realize that he, like you, is engaged in a New Frontier Blockhouse project, and wants to get the walls up before he is scalped by the Indians# that is, the Congressmen. But I would appreciate any attention you or he can give to the matter.

I sat at Mrs Field's right hand at lunch yesterday at Chelsea Plantation--the cat among plantation owners can look at the Queen. Larry Moore hoped fervently that I would keep on writing about the South. I never once said, "Larry, it depends on you," "Mrs, Field, it depends on you." My native modesty kept me quiet, but does not keep me from boasting of my native modesty!

Best wishes.

As ever,
Dabbs.

March 23, 1961

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

As you may recall, several years ago the Executive Committee established the requirement that the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Council jointly sign on the purchase or sale of securities. At our Finance Committee meeting on Saturday, the decision was made to sell all of our holdings in oil. These are now with our broker, Merrill Lynch, and we require your signature on the enclosed forms to be able to complete the transaction. Would you please sign each of them and return to us at your earliest convenience? A self-addressed envelope is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures - 4.

March 25, 1960

The Order Department
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Gentlemen:

Please consider this our purchase order for fifty (50) copies of THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE by James M. Dabbs, and bill us accordingly.

We assume this will reflect the usual 40% trade discount.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 201, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Mahson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM March 30, 1961

To: Members and Friends of SRC

From: James McBride Dabbs,
President

As you will see by the enclosed statement, Harold Fleming has resigned as executive director of the Southern Regional Council in order to become the Executive Vice-President of the new Potomac Institute in Washington, D. C. The Executive Committee has accepted with regret Mr. Fleming's resignation and has elected in his place Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, for the past two years director of research for the Council.

I am writing this memorandum to the members and to certain friends of the Council to express my personal regret at the loss of Mr. Fleming and my happiness and confidence in the selection of Dr. Dunbar. My regret is lessened by the knowledge that Harold goes to a job where he can exercise on the national scene his great ability and where, because of the nature of the work, he will still remain in touch with the Southern Regional Council. In addition, I take pride in the knowledge that, to speak as Harold does, it is from the launching pad of the Council which he, himself, has been most instrumental in building, that he has rocketed into the stratosphere of Washington.

Leslie Dunbar will carry on successfully the work that, until now, he has aided Harold in doing. Dr. Dunbar is trained as a political scientist, but beneath this scientific training is a man who poses to himself basic questions, seeks basic answers, and acts with a quiet assurance that inspires confidence. If I am not mistaken, he expresses in his own person the essential

spirit of the Council: a sympathetic probing of Southern problems, a dislike of the limelight, a willingness to make small gains if they are sure, and the determination always to advance.

We change our executive leadership but not our direction or our pace. The Council has grown steadily in importance in the South and indeed in the nation. I have no doubt that our growth in the immediate future will equal and perhaps surpass our growth in the recent past, and that much of this will be due to the leadership of Leslie Dunbar as it has been due to the leadership of Harold Fleming.

- : -

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT: Clemency Petition for Carl Braden

DATE: Apr. 22 ~~MAY~~, 1961

SEE:
NAME OR SUBJECT:
Southern Conference Education Fund

May 8, 1961

Mr. Ralph McGill: **CONFIDENTIAL**

Harold Fleming was in the office today and suggested that I send you, for your information, a copy of the attached letter. Mr. Dabbs is President and Mr. Wright is Vice-president and formerly president of the Council. We thought you should know that their signatures on the Braden petition did not represent official SRC action.

cc: Dabbs, Wright letter re: SCEF Petition for Carl Braden - dtd. May 5, 1961

May 8, 1961

Mr. Arthur Levin

For your information; **CONFIDENTIAL**

cc: Babbs, Wright ltr re: SCEF Petition for Carl Braden, dtd. May 5, 1961

M. F.

May 5, 1961

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Messrs. Dabbs and Wright:

I am writing to you on a matter of some delicacy, and not at all sure of my ability to convey to you exactly the meaning of my remarks. Indeed, because of this doubt I have not written earlier, or spoken on this matter to you when Mr. Wright was here last Friday and when Mr. Dabbs called last Monday. Continued repercussions, however, finally persuaded me that I owe to you some remarks about the petition for clemency for Carl Braden, which both of you signed.

First of all I want to make some things clear. I abhor the Un-American Activities Committee. I sat through the Atlanta hearings in 1958, and wrote an article about them (rejected by the one magazine to which submitted, and therefore never published) in which I defended Braden's refusal to testify. I am deeply disappointed by the Supreme Court's recent civil liberties decisions, and I agreed fully with the dissenting opinions of Justices Black and Douglas in the Braden case.

When all this is said, I would not and I did not sign the petition. I did not for one chief reason: I resent having martyrs self-nominated for us. The burden of the petition and the letter which accompanied it was that Braden had been subpoenaed, cited, and convicted because of his opposition to segregation. This (and with all respect to Justice Black) I do not believe to have been the fact. As I said, I attended every minute of those hearings. A more pitiable lot of persons you could hardly imagine than the poor social waifs who were dragged before the Committee: to one who prized the dignity and greatness of the United States it was a revolting spectacle of the degradation of government by officials who could cause it to stoop to such cruel pursuits. These people were not called, however, because they were integrationists, nor was Braden, who was the only figure of even small importance. They were called because the Committee suspected them of being Communists. No questions were directed to racial beliefs, though Braden repeatedly and loudly accused the Committee of having this ulterior motive.

I submit to you that were integration the target of the Committee, it would have chosen a more consequential person than Braden to attack, or other active persons in addition to him.

I have no doubt, personally, that the Committee suspects all of us. I think the record shows that its earlier investigation of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, as well as that of the Eastland Committee, did become field days for the radical segregationists. The Atlanta hearings did not. I think, in fact, we -- and that pronoun includes you two personally -- can take some pride in this, for we have helped to establish the acknowledged right of Southerners to combat segregation, and have in doing so scared off further use of Congressional committees, dominated by moss-back Southerners, as tools of harassment.

There are valid martyrs in this work. You know many of them. Some of them have been or are being created by investigating committees of state legislatures. I will, to give just one example, proudly join you, if it ever becomes necessary, in standing beside Father Gibson in Florida. My conviction is, though, that I should not assist a man, such as Braden, in assuming a position which is not rightfully his, and that to endorse his claims is to do harm to the movement which is SRC's principal concern.

I have two reasons for writing to you at this length. One is to let you know, out of my genuine respect for each of you, why in this case I did not follow your leadership. The other is because the petition continues to receive publicity, the names of the signers are being listed in the press, and we have had and continue to get queries from newsmen who know your relationship to the Council. To all of these we have replied that you (as well as Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg) signed as individuals, and that your signatures do not represent a Council point of view. Only in one case, so far, that I have seen, has either of you (it was Mr. Dabbs) been identified in the press as an officer of the Council.

I have no reason to believe that this publicity will be harmful. There are, as you know, widespread allegations regarding Braden's political loyalties, and this is the reason for interest by the press. I want to emphasize again that I have no disagreement with you at all in signing the petition despite those allegations: I would agree with you fully that the man, whatever his political position, had his rights violated. You have my respect for not being deterred by the charges against him -- whether or not they are true -- from speaking in his defense. But I do not agree that he is a victim of the integration struggle, and I am resentful of his claiming that title. In other words, the case of Carl Braden has little or nothing to do with the civil rights fight in the South. I did not sign his petition because, knowing that I cannot disassociate my personal from my organizational role, I did not want to endorse the claim that it did, and thereby enhance his stature.

You will, I am confident, understand the spirit in which this is written, even if you do not agree with the reasoning. Whenever the Council or its officers risk, as we sometimes have to do, public obloquy we have a need -- and an obligation -- to define as carefully as we can the motivation of our action. In this particular case, I do not think the Council, as an organization, should in any measure identify itself with Braden's protest. Because you are probably the two best known officers of the Council, I thought I had some responsibility to get my views before you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf

CONFIDENTIAL DRAFT

Dear Messrs. Dabbs and Wright:

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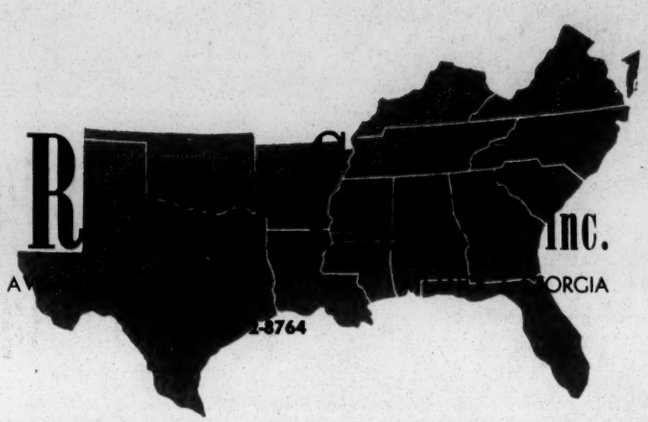
Sincerely yours,

PA ✓
PRV ✓
MF. file

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[illegible] ORGIA
[illegible]-5764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

May 10, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

Thanks for your excellent, frank letter about the Braden petition. I am sorry my name on that petition is ~~#####~~ causing you any annoyance; I hope it will cause the Council no harm. I specifically stated when I signed the petition that I was not to be identified by organization, though of course I wasn't naive enough to think that the connection would be recognized by no one. I did not sign the petition out of friendship for Braden, though the fact that I have met him twice and have corresponded with Ann Braden probably gave his case a certain personal appeal. I size him up somewhat as you do, as a man with a martyr complex. Nevertheless, I don't like the methods of the Un-American Activities Committee, I think Braden had the right to talk to them as he did, and I am moved also by the remarks of the dissenting justices--it was these especially that made me willing to sign the petition.

I did ask for, and get, a small modification in the petition before I signed. Instead of saying that the House Committee, and others like it in the states, are used to fight integrationists, I had the words changed to "seem to be used." (I'm quoting from memory, but this is the idea.)

I might or might not agree that the Braden case has nothing to do with civil rights in the South. But no matter. You chose not to sign; I chose to sign. (The choice was so close with me that, had I talked with you beforehand, I might not have signed.) Anyway, as I said, I hope it won't ~~####~~ annoy you too much, and won't harm the council. Thank you for your concern and your frank statement.

I found your letter awaiting me when I returned home last night. I was happy to hear from you while I was in Richmond that you now have a man for director of research, James Moss.

My best wishes and kindest regards,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs, President.

May 26, 1961

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Maysville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

We have received from the Field Foundation the $4,000 designated for your research work. A copy of their letter of transmittal is enclosed. For our purposes, we have labeled this the "Southern History Project."

We are prepared to send you this amount on request. There are, however, special tax rulings pertaining to the individual on grants of this nature. I am not familiar with them but it occurs to us that you might want to check with a tax attorney or someone else knowledgable in these matters before deciding on how to handle the matter. It might, for instance, be to your advantage to receive a portion of this grant during 1961 and the remainder in 1962. We will be happy to handle the matter as you advise.

For our own purposes, the federal government keeps a rather close watch on the handling of funds by tax-exempt agencies to determine that officers of an agency do not take advantage of the agency for their personal gain. We have no problem here since this is clearly a legitimate research project in our area of interest, financed by a sound foundation after careful consideration, and conducted by a generally recognized authority. However, to leave no doubt in the matter, we are setting up a file on the project. It would be well, if you will, for you to submit occasional reports on the progress of the project, the libraries visited, etc.

I apologize for having to submit these details to you and trust that they won't bother you unduly.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:A

June 8, 1961

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

During the period July 12-16, SRC will have a group of twelve foreign correspondents to guide through Atlanta. On the morning of July 13 the group will be here at our office for a general briefing on the South and race relations. We would like very much for you to be present for this meeting. If possible, the session of some three hours will be handled by you, Les Dunbar and Benjamin Mays. Much of this would be in question and answer form and the occasion would require no formal preparation. Can you make it?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PAL:A
Enclosure: list

LD ✓

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

July 3, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

I'm at home again, and have just gone carefully over my Civil War letter with your# and Wiley's and Muse's comments in mind. I have made a few minor changes. I think Col. Muse's suggestions are good; but really to incorporate these suggestions in my paper would mean the complete re-writing of the paper. My paper as it is makes several references to the heroism, which was, I think, the main thing he wanted. I'm afraid if I change it much by making additions here and there, I weaken, perhaps even by changing the tone of, the whole thing.

I think, however, it would be a good idea if Muse's suggestions went to the other participants. They could be of great benefit if received before the articles are written. Perhaps you have done this already.

Sincerely,

Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs
President

We are now ~~celebrating~~ observing the centennial of the Civil War. We are not celebrating that war; we are commemorating it, bringing it soberly to memory. We do this to honor the men who suffered that experience; but we honor them not merely by recalling the bright image of their heroism but also by understanding them and, even more, by understanding what their fight means to us who are their descendants and who possess the land they loved.

I am therefore taking this occasion to write to you, my friends, to raise several questions about the meaning of the Civil War to the South today. I think the Nation should raise parallel questions, for it was also the Nation's war; but we of the South were the more deeply involved, and I as a Southern American am raising these questions for the South. I hope they will stimulate your thinking and ~~guide~~ suggest a pattern for your responses.

Any past event has both recognized and possible meanings. ~~Also~~ Although, the event itself ~~having taken place~~ cannot change, ~~but~~ our understanding of it may; and as our understanding changes, the effect of the event upon us changes, its meaning changes for us. ~~As for its~~ The meaning ~~for the~~ of the Civil War for its participants ~~in the matter of the Civil War that~~ is now fixed, and we honor them partly by trying to understand what it was. It is clear, however, that any change in our understanding ~~of the~~ its meaning ~~for the participants~~ of an event as close to us emotionally as the Civil War means some change in the meaning of that event for us.

Let me first comment upon the recognized and acclaimed meaning of the Civil War in the South.

To judge from the commemorative centennial events that have already occurred, it is apparent that the Civil War is remem-

bered in the South primarily as an heroic or epic action. ~~To suggest it by an image,~~ it is horsemen charging across a sundown sky and vanishing in the darkness. Splendid horsemen, heroic and shining figures, but the light they reflect is an evening light, and they go down with the cause they defended. These figures are touched with Homeric splendor, but we are too close to them, still too involved with them, to observe them with Homeric detachment. The surging emotions of those days are not recollected in complete tranquillity, the men who suffered them not poetic personages but human actors in our own history.

Because we see them primarily in this simple epic light, as heroic defenders of a noble cause and a sacred soil, because their fading bugles still echo in our hearts like Roland's horn at Roncevaux, we are likely to return to the present with a renewed determination to defend, even as they seem to have defended it, without question and without reserve, our way of life.

In brief, this highly emotional meaning says only "Defend, defend!" But the question arises, Is simple defense always intelligent? Is this what it means to be a Southerner in the modern world? Remembering that that earlier defense failed, we must question whether simple devotion is enough, whether the ardent memory of an heroic past is all that we need for a distinguished future.

I raise the question too as to what place this kind of meaning allows to the Negro Southerner. I think it is fair to say it practically excludes him. I think it is fair to say also that a reading of our history--and the Civil War is the core of it--that cannot find a place for the Negro Southerner sets before the South the impossible task of getting along with a people,

by definition foreign, whom it cannot get rid of.

Is it possible for the Civil War to mean other, more positive things? Is it possible that it was not ~~a~~ the simple epic struggle, ~~as~~ we have tended to remember, ~~it~~, but more complex, more--let us say--tragic? Is it possible that such a meaning, apprehended by us, might fit us to play successfully our part in the world today? This would be defending the South by understanding it, a necessity for any sound defense.

But why do we seek a new meaning? Partly, because we are forced to. Why, ~~indeed,~~ are we being forced to ~~seek a new meaning~~? Because increasingly the old meaning does not work. When a man finds that his interpretation of life--that is, of his experience, his past--does not work, he seeks a new interpretation, molding the theory to the facts. Our old theory of a static, caste society becomes increasingly ineffective in the dynamic, democratic West. It is this driving modern world, with its democratic-communistic struggle and its array of new nations, that forces us to search our past for the strengths we need~~ed for~~ today.

Let us admit that the South may have begun the Civil War with an epic sense of splendor and innocence. It is almost certain that with the passage of the war years she became increasingly doubtful of her position in the world and before God, and increasingly aware, therefore, of the tragic fate that had befallen her: good men, caught in the trap of custom and interest and regional pride, not wise enough to find a peaceful way out, and therefore involved in a death struggle of brother against brother. This is the tragic, as distinguished from the epic view. It is possible that the post-war leaders of the South remembered for a little while this tragic view of their past life, with all

its superficial unity cracking under the strain of war; if they did, they forgot it in the fires of Reconstruction, and came out of that experience with the Civil War remembered as a foreign doom thrust across the happy pathway of the South. This is the view we have tended to hold since; we have already noticed its growing ineffectiveness.

But suppose, as we have suggested, it was really a tragic struggle, raising, as tragic struggles always do, the question of justice? The tragic hero goes down in defeat. Why? where was he in error? Simple epic splendor has no place here. Splendor remains; courage remains; perhaps, indeed, a more anguished courage, of men with divided hearts giving their lives in action, but not the simple courage of the hilltop horsemen at sundown.

If this is what the war was, then we, who would honor its participants, must first try to understand their destinies; and then, since out of these tragic destinies they bequeathed to us so many unsolved problems, we must try to recognize our own tragic uncertainty and involvement. The war seen as an epic struggle against un-Southern forces touches us only with nostalgia for ~~the great days gone~~ lost cause; seen as a tragic struggle against both the world and ourselves, it involves us in that continuing struggle.

I suggest that we were struggling then both against the determination of the Western World to move toward democracy and industrialization, and against our own unrecognized desire to go with it. We couldn't admit this desire because we didn't know what to do with the Negro in our midst.

This is still our problem. As I have suggested, the view of the Civil War as epic simply excludes the Negro. Oh, perhaps he has some place as a sort of retainer or liegeman of those ancient

liege man

heroes; but such an image only confuses us in the world into which we are now hurrying. But if the Civil War was a tragic event, expressing both man's nobility and his littleness, his great courage and his foolishness, then the Negro is involved as the central, though not always evident, object of Southern concern. ~~And~~ Since this view of our past fits our present, it can be translated into a present meaning. ~~For~~, underlying everything else, it is the presence of the Negro that challenges us.

Challenges us all, whites and Negroes together. For we are together in the South. The tragic view of our history--and of its core, the Civil War--shows how close together. Each race has suffered because of the other's presence, but each has ~~learned~~ gained some wisdom. ~~because of the others presence~~. The basic wisdom we have ~~learned~~ acquired is the wisdom of those whose lives have been entwined in suffering and defeat. I don't think it makes much difference what causes the suffering, who causes the defeat. We have been together in it; and we have learned, at our best, a certain tolerance, a certain gentleness, a certain understanding. Unhappily, we have emphasized so much our separateness that we are largely unaware of this; and our memory of the Civil War as just an epic struggle, excluding as it does the Negro from the picture, tends to keep us unaware. If, on the contrary, we could see it for the ~~traic~~ tragic event it ~~probably~~ was, with all of us, North and South, whites and Negroes, common builders of the ~~Nation~~ a, blindly tearing ~~it~~ apart, we should be better able to see ourselves today as basically one, engaged in the endless quarrels of kinsmen, who have to quarrel because at heart they are so close together.

The future we strive for is the future we glimpse by the light of the past. The flame of the Civil War still flickers along the horizon. What does it mean? What light does it cast upon our future? I invite your comments.

James McBride Dabbs.

July 24, 1961

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I see no reason at all why you should not express to the Department of Justice your interest in the Highlander case. You can never, of course, use an SRC letterhead and sign as an individual; you can try, but no one would take you seriously. But I don't see why it would be in any way inappropriate for the President of SRC to convey his interest and concern.

I have always a personal reluctance about telling people -- even officials -- what they should do, or about telling persons charged -- as I am not -- with making a decision what that decision should be. I would, were I writing the letter in this situation, say simply that I hoped the Department would look closely into the case; that the past attacks on Highlander and the history of the present action against it are such that I think the Department would be justified, perhaps obligated, in looking behind the state Supreme Court's decision; that if the Department concluded that the decision was, in fact, part of an attack on Highlander for its integrationist views I would request that the Department consider filing as amicus.

If you decide to write, the letter should go, I think, to Robert Kennedy, with a carbon for Burke Marshall.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LWD/sm
Enclosure

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Jackson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
July 18, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

The enclosed letter is self-explanatory. I should like to see Highlander cleared; I think the charges against it are absurd, and have as their intention the destruction of the institution because of its stand on integration. But I don't know anyone personally in the Department of Justice. I question, therefore, whether it is worth while for me to write. Let me ask you three questions: 1. If I used the SRC letterhead, but signed my name as an individual, could any complications arise from this that ~~may~~ might work against the Council? 2. Is the standing of SRC with the Department of Justice of such a high nature that a letter from its president, even though he wrote it as a private individual, might have some effect? 3. If I should write such a letter, to whom should it go?

Dr. Adams, by the way, is a member of the Board of Highlander. Please return his letter with any comments you want to make. I'm sorry to bother you with this.

Kindest regards.

~~Sincerely,~~

J. M. Dabbs,
President.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Rec'd 9/6/61

September 5, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

I am acknowledging Mrs. Crate's letter, and enclosing for your consideration hers and Mr. Avent's. If there is any possibility of our helping Mr. Avent and ourselves, you can get in touch with him.

Congratulations to Atlanta, and SRC as being an important part of that city, on the quiet school opening a week ago.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs
President

8510 Ferris Drive
Houston 35, Texas
August 29, 1961

Mr. James M. Dabbs.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I am enclosing a letter, which I recently recieved from Mr. George Avent, which explains his desire to meet you.

Mr. Avent was very active in our local interracial work and a teacher at the University of Houston where his work with the students was outstanding.

Having worked with George for a number of years I can honestly recommend him as a fearless, outstanding person highly thought of in his work at the University and in the local Methodist Church.

I regret, due to illness, that I was unable to attend the Board meeting -- the first I have missed in a number of years.

With kindest regard -

Sincerely
Mrs. Jas S Crate

August 22, 1961

Geo. J. Avent
105 Emory Court Annex
1766 N. Decatur Road N.E.
Atlanta 7, Ga.

Mrs. James S. Crate
8510 Ferris
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate,

Greetings from Atlanta, a city that is holding its breath. The liberals here want desperately to believe that the good sense and good will symbolized by Mayor Hartsfield will prevail through the crisis; but they know that the rough element which was so much in evidence in Jacksonville can ride to Atlanta in a few hours. Remember us as you make your petitions to God.

I wonder if you would do me a favor? I think you might contact Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Conference, for me. Dr. E. Clinton Gardner, my advisor at Emory, thinks that I might be doing a Ph D thesis on a subject for which the Council might show some interest. Frankly, I am looking for some foundation which would want to put some money into my project so that I might stay at Emory a second year and work on my thesis. Dr. Gardner thinks the Southern Regional Conference might be interested in what I am, even to the extent of helping me get some money to live on while I work on the thesis.

I am planning to submit a project in which I would interview large numbers of ministers, presumably Methodist, in order to discover how they personally have resolved the conflict and tension which exists for every minister between his duties to be a pastor or priest to his people and his duty to preach the gospel in relation to the controversial problem of integration. I think this is a very worthwhile project and one in which Mr. Dunbar might be interested.

I am here on leave from the Texas Methodist Student Movement for one year. After May of next year I shall have to return to Texas and take a work with our movement, unless I can find more help for my thesis. Mrs. Avent is working, of course, and I would not need enough to live on, but I would need enough to supplement Mrs. Avent's earnings. Please check this out for me and find out whether Mr. Dunbar would be interested enough to give me an interview.

Please tell Mrs. Rayzor and Mrs. Shaw hello. Thanks a great deal for this favor, if you see fit to grant it. Well, thanks anyway, for past graciousness.

Sincerely your friend,

George

George J. Avent

October 31, 1961

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
P. O. Box 2
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Your letter is typical of your humility and forthrightness. I think I can relieve your mind entirely.

The nominating committee asked me, when they met, if you had indicated any desire one way or the other regarding continuation in office. I told them of our earlier discussion and of my plea to you that, with a new executive committee chairman and a new executive director, you continue in office. Without unduly betraying any confidence I believe I can tell you that the nominating committee was extremely happy to be advised that I inferred that you were agreeable to accepting renomination, even though you had questioned whether you ought to serve longer.

I hope we shall have a good meeting next week and I'll be glad to see you again. Do you remember from the discussion in executive committee meeting of last July that the press will be invited to cover your address?

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
Box 2, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Oct. 29, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

You remember that you and I an Harold Fleming talked about the advisability of permitting myself to be nominated again for the presidency of Southern Regional Council. You felt that I should, especially on the ground that it would be well not to change both the executive director and the president during the same year. I said that I would accept such a nomination, but certainly would not expect it. Since I have heard nothing from the nominating committee, I'm inslined to assume that they will nominate me. I should feel better, however, if they knew my feeling in the matter, and knew of our conversation about it. I should appreciate it, therefore if you informed them of my feelings, or, if it's simpler, have this letter copied and sent to them.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs,
President

PAV
RR
MC
MMB-file

C-D/7

November 21, 1961

President John F. Kennedy
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear President Kennedy:

May I thank you for the cordial message you sent, through me, to the Southern Regional Council upon the occasion of its recent annual meeting in Atlanta? We are deeply appreciative of your interest in the work of the Council, and of your wider concern for democratic rights in the South, as expressed through executive orders and the activities of the Department of Justice. Since the Council is working for the advancement of democracy in the South, we are especially appreciative of the efforts of your administration in the field of civil rights.

Respectfully,

James M. Dabbs
President

November 17, 1961

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I have written Harris Wofford thanking him for the telegram from the President. I believe you should acknowledge it also by letter direct to the President. For such an epistle, especially, I shall not suggest what should be said. Please send us a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD;mbb

Reading

December 11, 1961

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Invitations have been sent to those persons invited to membership at the Annual Meeting. If and when they accept we think it would be appropriate for these new members to have a note of welcome from you.

Enclosed is a draft of a letter that may serve this purpose. Please make any changes you would like and return your version to us at your convenience. Thereafter, we will prepare and mail your letter of welcome to those who accept.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:jl
Enc. 2

Letters — Nom. Comm. file 1961

Answered by phone
1/8/62

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
~~RIP RAPS PLANTATION,~~
~~MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA~~
Box 2, Chapel Hill, N.C.

Mr. Paul Anthony, Ex. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Thanks for the Southern Project check.

J.C. Nerrin, of the American Baptist Convention, is driving from here to Washington next week to attend a two-day meeting of — I believe — interfaith agencies, and has invited me to ride from with him. I understand that Lee and perhaps others of you will be there. Since I have never attended one of these meetings, I have decided to go. If you wishes to pick up the twenty-fifteen-dollars expense of room & meals, I shall appreciate it. Otherwise, I will take care of this myself.

With kindest regards,
Sincerely yours,
J. M. Dabbs
President,

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

File Dabbs

~~IW~~ MLV PA

LWD PA

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
Box 2, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Mr. Paul Anthony, Ex. Asst.
SRC, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.,Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing a first report on the Southern History Project. It is very sketchy, and may amount to nothing in the long run, but at least it suggests what I am doing and where I am going--if anywhere! But don't worry. I'm going somewhere.

See you Tuesday. Kindest regards,

~~Sincerely,~~

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs

Pa

February 15, 1962

FIRST REPORT, JAMES MCBRIDE DABBS,"SOUTHERN HISTORY PROJECT"

I. I came to the University of North Carolina about September 1, 1961, was fortunate in obtaining an office in the library, and, with the exception of several brief trips home, and to several necessary meetings, have been here reading and taking notes since.

II. During this time I have read over a hundred books and certain articles which throw light on my general subject, the South.

III. What I am aiming at is an extended essay on the character of the Southerner. I am not yet quite certain that I shall be able to handle successfully such a large and complex subject, but I think I shall. If I find our cannot, I shall select some manageable aspect of it.

IV. As I see it, what I shall try to describe will be the core of the Southern character, or type, as that type has developed out of its original beginnings in this country, out of its natural and human environment, and out of its historical experiences. I should be able to envisage it first developing and then, as it attains form, being modified now in one direction, now in another, but retaining always its identifying traits. To the degree that I do this successfully, I should be able to comment intelligently upon what the South is trying to do, and be, today.

V. My most fruitful insight so far is that the Southern type is a distinct version of the New England Puritan. He is an 'impure' Puritan; a Puritan who has always tried to love both God and the world; to love God in the world. He has therefore never been able to get rid of God; that is, he is still religious; but he has got God so involved in the world that God has lost most of his effective transcendence. Meanwhile, and consequently, he has filled himself with ambiguities. Perhaps Negro Southerners even more than white have wanted to involve God in the world; but since the whites haven't given them much of the world to involve Him in, they have been forced to see Him as to a considerable degree transcendent. In these days of increasing Negro influence, this vision may increase in the whites their largely ineffective sense of God's transcendence.

June 22, 1962

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thank you for the "Occasional Report No. 2." I have read it with great interest. It will be shown to several on the staff and I am sure they, as I, will especially enjoy the profound illustration of events had the "essential Puritan" settled the South.

My best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm

July 6, 1962

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

We are sending you separately 20 copies of the November New South. Additional copies are available if you have need of them.

Those items checked on the enclosed publications list were sent today to Mrs. Hamlett. It's a rather full collection, but Texas is rough country and fertile ground, so I thought I would supply the lady with plenty of materials.

It may be of interest to you to know that in our Fourth of July Parade, several men rode mules.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm
Enclosures

July 6, 1962

Mrs. Marg-Reitte M. Hamlett
Box 2655
San Antonio, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hamlett:

At the request of Mr. Dabbs we are sending you separately, a collection of the Council's materials and publications, a brief description of the Council, and a list of Council Members. A publications list is also included.

If you have need of additional copies of these or other of our materials, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm

cc: Mr. Dabbs

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

July 3, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Asst.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

I have a friend in San Antonio who wishes information about Southern Regional Council, to relay to her pastor and others. I am sending her several bulletins. Please have someone get together a few things which you think best represent the work of the Council, and send them to her. The name and address is: Mrs. Marg-Ritte M. Hamlett, Box 2655, San Antonio, Texas. One thing I sent her was The President's address in New South. By the way, I should like to have a few more copies of ~~this issue~~ if they are available.

Also, please inform the proper people that my address until further notice is as above.

With thanks and personal regards,

~~Sincerely,~~

J. M. Dabbs

J.M. Dabbs
President

P. S. I'm beginning to see why the Southerner is so hard to spot. He moves in an ellipse about two poles, and you never know whether he's coming or going--if coming or going meaning anything inhis sidereal space. In fact, it's worse than this. He is the whole area within the ellipse, and in what portion of that area he is at any given moment, nobody--including himself--knows. This makes him seem terfibly diffuse and off center, but, as I said before, he is, for this reason hard to pin down--as Lee taught Grant. Having such an area to manoevre in, he can be as stubborn as one of his own mules. Perhaps Southerners began to use mules partly because they were like them, and working them they became even more like them. You see, this is a vast field, and--if I may close with a atrocious pun, only a Field grant will ever get me out of it! J.M.D.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

LWD
~~JMJ~~
ML
MJ-file

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
June 15,1962

Mr. Paul Anthony,Executive Asst.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St.,N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Enclosed in my Occasional Report #2 on Southern History Project. I'll probably back the Southerner into a corner so dark nobody'll be able to see him! I'm sending a copy to Max Hahn.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

OCCASIONAL REPORT # 2
TO SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
ON SOUTHERN HISTORY PROJECT

JUNE 1, 1962

The Southerner (as I said in Report # 1) is an 'impure' or partial Puritan. The essential Puritan, who gave New England, and, indeed, the nation, its dominant tone, tried to 'purify' God out of the world, and the present from the past. Doing this, he set the present against the past and, more importantly, God against the world. He thus set up, not a creative tension between God and the world, but an impossible conflict between them, with one result that in his idealism he tried to deal with God beyond the world, and in his utilitarianism with the world without God. To see the world without God and the present without the past is the perfect formula for unprecedented material achievement, and this is one thing we have in America.

The Southerner is an American, but with a difference. The Southern settlers, though Puritan in many ways, an attitude strengthened by the coming of great numbers of Scotch-Irish especially in the 18th century, did not turn their backs on the past nor set God so sharply against the world. They brought England, still touched with feudalism, with them, and they were not inclined to think in terms of EITHER God OR the world. They were not as intellectual as the Puritans, they did not make such sharp distinctions. They did not have to, either to satisfy the need to know themselves in an entirely new world, purified of the past, or to protect themselves in a world, like New England, where climate and soil were relatively unfriendly.

They came by chance to a climate that suited them--perhaps too well--as the Puritans did in coming to New England. It was on the whole a generous climate and land, at its best balmy, often seductive. In the hot haze of August or the cool haze of October, objects merged into one another, with the quality both of actuality and of dream. This was the quality they themselves had, men with the contemplative dream of the Middle Ages still upon them, yet stirred with the desire to possess and improve--for their benefit--the world .

Having come with no sense of absolute conflict--between past and present, God and the world--they were prepared to find the past in

the present, God in the world. They would be moved, therefore, not by impossible conflicts but by creative tensions. And here, within time and space, the tensions arose.

The essential tension was probably the essential American tension. As suggested by Erikson, home vs. the frontier. Or, in greater detail, Europe behind us vs. America ahead; on the American scene, the Atlantic seaboard vs. the west, the settlements vs. the frontier. Southerners, therefore, are Americans but with a difference. Like other Americans, we have always faced the West and the new, but unlike the others we have always carried more of Europe and the old with us. Our lives have therefore been more complex, our involvement with history deeper and more tragic. And whether we looked backward--to Europe, to the seaboard, to the plantation--or forward, to the West, the frontier, the farm--and plantation again, we found even in our most selfish desires something of God. We were still a part of the world, and somehow--this was our faith, we didn't think much about it--nor, unfortunately, about anything else--God was in the world. The Puritans cut loose from England and came into the wilderness to find him, all the while saying he wasn't anywhere in the world. Consequently, the wilderness blossomed, but not like the rose, like the modern industrial city. When Southerners left the seaboard and the early plantation, they left God there, and when they arrived at the frontier they found him there, though doubtless him whom they left and found was the God of society in the first instance and the God of the individual in the second. That is, he became a culture God; several culture gods; and here lies one secret--perhaps the secret--of the fall of the South. It wasn't that she was too religious, certainly she was not irreligious; she couldn't decide what her religion was. In a broad sense, she worshipped two gods: god of the fireside, and god of the fields.

Between God and god, medieval and modern, seaboard and frontier, plantation and (largely) farm, there existed tensions. Your Southerner looked both ways, desired something from both situations, struggled to attain something of both. The basic tension was, I think, Home vs. Frontier. This was American, but its intensity was Southern. Or perhaps I should say its depth, for the Southerner isn't naturally

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intense. Note the importance of home,family,kin, social life in the South;and , at the other pole, the tempestousness and extravagance of the Old Southwest frontier. As part of this basic tension, with each pole matching respectively the basic poles above, are,among others, the following: society vs. the individual, complexity vs. simplicity, nurture(or culture) vs. nature, the sinful world with its past vs. the New and innocent Eden, the civilized vs. the primitive, realistic vs. romantic, past vs. future, place (geographical and social) vs. space (spaciousness), order vs. change (and violence), aristocracy vs. democracy, conservatism vs.liberalism.

Between these many pairs of poles--essentially, perhaps,one pair--all in the world and also somehow in God, the Southerner had wide play. I think here we get close to him: a sort of lightness riding on deep tensions. (This might explain his curious quality of tragic humor.) The play referred to here is in part tolerance. Basically, the Southerner has something of the tolerance of the medieval European, who, though he didn't like any of them,had a place in his scheme of things for the Jew,the Moor, and even the Devil. It is in part playfulness, which appears as an emphasis upon leisure, games, entertainment, and perhaps war itself, now grown over-expensive, as Southerners are slow to learn. It is also in part play-acting, which is related to the Southern sense of manners, and helps to explain our political demagugues. We have played our parts, in a social order in which there were parts to play.

Now, all this means that the Southerner is more loosely put together than at least the American of New England background and temper; that is, the American. He doesn't take life, including himself, so seriously. This statement opposes a common feeling that Southerners are fanatical. To some degree, they are. I don't think they set out to be. Our involvement with Negro slavery and with the Negro put the white Southerner on the losing side in a struggle with the modern Western world, and some of us, in impending defeat and in defeat itself, have developed characteristics at variance with our fundamental nature. One of these is our century-long pre-occupation with the past.

Southerners fought fiercely in the Civil War partly because of religion; they fought futilely partly because their religion did not

~~express their complete culture~~

express their complete culture--which itself never really became one; they have been slow in recovering from defeat because of this religious inadequacy, an inadequacy which, with the old imagined future destroyed, drove them back upon a past now become uncreative because it lacked a future.

I think it is the presence of the Negro more than anything else that has made the South what it is; and has made the Southerner a bi-racial character. The Negro came, and in time became for the white the living expression of the Southern climate--balmy, explosive, mysterious, seductive. His presence gave leisure to some, to a few an angry--indeed, a Yankee--desire to succeed, to many a belief in the value of leisure. More than this, the Negro symbolized to the white Southerner the Southerner's basic tension: home vs. frontier. For he was--in fact, or myth, or both--both a friendly intimate member of the white family and the unknown, wild barbarian; he spoke best the mannered words of the South but covered with them an unknown darkness; he was most suave and civilized and yet most simple and barbaric. Therefore, the social structure which the white set up about himself and the Negro shows deep attractions and repulsions--or, better, simple likes and fearful fascinations. For, during much of our history, the Negro has symbolized the basic tensions within the white, who saw there both what he longed for and feared within himself.

So the Negro has been to the white the most moving part of the Southern scene, and, like that scene, has shaped the white out of his original self--and been reshaped himself by the white. He has been the essence of the dark Southern earth, lightened somewhat by association with the white, but modifying still further the white's impure Puritanism, or driving the white by reaction into a Puritanism more glaring than the original New England attitude.

For Negroes and Southern whites were suited to one another. Imagine what would have happened if the essential Puritans had settled the South. Either they would have worked their slaves to death, making them produce 'for the Lord,' or they would have discarded them without a war because they didn't pay.

These are some of the main strokes in the picture as I see it now.

7-15-62

Dear Mr. Anthony:

You'd feel very much at home in our "St. Anthony's Town," or have you already tried it?

Thank you very much for all the material you sent me at Dr. Dabbs' request. (He DOES have a Dr.s degree--whether he tells anyone or not.) I have followed his writings for many years and find fewwho compare with him in his field.

I have sent on selected brochures to the TEXAS OBSERVER, our liberal Texas weekly at Austin and requested the editors to get in touch with you if they will consider doing a story on the Council. (I'm not SURE they haven't already covered your activities, but didn't want to miss chance.) If I can possibly get time I want to write to Margaret Long about her piece "Strictly Subjective" in the Nov. '61 NEW SOUTH. I AGREE so heartily with her very mature observation about Negro dialect. It is one of the priceless heritages of our distinctive Southland. RMH.

I lived in Atlanta from 1924 to 1930

Mrs. Marg-Riette M. Hamlett
P. O. Box 2655, San Antonio, Tex.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.
JUL 16
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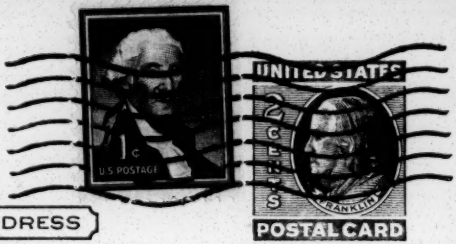
THIS SIDE OF CARDTS FOR ADDRESS



Mr. Paul Anthony, Exec. Assist.
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Rec'd 7/19/62 BP

July 26, 1962

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter from Margaret McCulloch. She wrote by hand, and Mildred has done the best she can to put it in type. I think it deserves our serious thought and I shall be responding to her some time later. Perhaps you would like to send me your comments.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
cc: Mrs. Margaret McCulloch

Board Nom. Comm
1962

August 31, 1962

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I was very glad to get your letter of August 25. I suspect the Nominating Committee will ask me whether you have expressed a preference regarding re-election, and I shall inform it that you are willing to serve another year and that I profoundly hope you will be re-nominated and re-elected.

As you say, however, the precedents are in favor of the tenure of presidents of the Council having some finitude. I think probably this is good policy and practice, as much as I personally would like for you to go on forever. I thought that I had some responsibility to raise the question, and so a few months ago I began to discuss it individually with the officers. I spoke to Josephine Wilkins and to Marion Wright, both of whom were disinclined to make any change at present. And then I just never got around to talking to any of the others.

The next Executive Committee meeting will come after the Nominating Committee has met. This means that I shall be able to inform the Executive Committee next month that the Nominating Committee has--as I fully expect it shall--re-nominated you. It would seem to me that this would be an appropriate occasion for you to express your belief that the time is approaching for a change. Either you or I might then ask John to appoint a subcommittee to give thought to the matter, to canvass possibilities, and to be prepared in September, 1963 to advise next year's Nominating Committee. The sub-

committee might properly during the year consult with the members of that Nominating Committee.

I suggest this procedure because I do not believe the Nominating Committee itself is in a position to handle this question without guidance. In the first place, the Nominating Committee includes no members of the Executive Committee, and therefore none of the people closest to the affairs of the Council. In the second place it meets for just one day and can hardly, without guidance, address itself to this all important question. I think it is entirely appropriate for the Executive Committee itself to be concerned with this question and to take the necessary step to provide that guidance.

Maybe you and I can get together with John for a few minutes before the Executive Committee convenes and make a final decision as to how to handle this.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
CC: John Wheeler

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

August 25, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

I have just written Paul Anthony, especially to suggest several names for the membership committee. I also told him I planned to write you about my availability--supposing the Committee wants me--for the presidency next year. In november I shall have been president for five years. At that time the life of the Council will be, practically speaking, nineteen years; in this time there have been, I think, four presidents. Temporally speaking I've had my share and more. As you recall, I suggested my getting out a year ago, but both you and Marion Wright suggested it would be bad to change both the executive director and the president in one year. So I said nothing, and the Committee re-nominated me.

As you know from the amount of work I do--or don't do--for the Council, the job is no burden to me. I also enjoy the honor--and from some sources the dishonor--that belongs to the job. I should think that my position helps to publicize my writings and perhaps my writings help to publicize the Council. But I feel rather strongly that I've had the job long enough, and the Council should be given a chance with somebody else--and somebody else given a chance. If the book on which I'm working were going to appear within the next year, and if it turned out to be important--it does feel important to me--the publicity that would come with its publication might help the Council and I might be helped in that publicity by my position as president. But the chances of my book appearing before November, 1963, are very slight indeed. I shall be lucky to have it done a year from now, and the publishers may get it out a year later. In a way this is all guess-work, but informed guess-work.

My essential feeling, then, is that if the Committee insists upon nominating me, and the Council accepts the nomination, I will serve. But I would rather get off; and if my name is put in nomination, I would like it explained, if possible, that I had tried to be relieved of this responsibility.

As ever,

Dabbs

Dabbs, President

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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file

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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Oct. 23, 1962

Done MR 10/25

Dear Paul,

Yesterday, foolishly, I got Mrs. Dumbauld's phone number but not her address. I promised to send her the enclosed glossy print and biographical notes. Please put them in air mail immediately for her. If I knew I would hear from her Monday as to details of the meeting, I would wait till then, but she may be delayed in writing me, and that would hold up this material to her. By the way, the meeting is for November 1.

You will notice I enclosed an extra sheet of biographical notes. Would you be so kind as to have run off for me some 25 copies, and mail them to me? Thanks.

Kindest regards.

~~As ever,~~

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs
President.

P. S. That "As ever....President" sounds fishy. But this is what the English language will do even to a professor of English--one-time.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES, JAMES MCBRIDE DABBS

Born, Sumter County, South Carolina, May 8, 1896. Education: A.B., Univ. of S. C., 1916; M. A., Clark University, 1917; graduate work in English, Columbia University, 1924-25 and 1929-30, and several summer sessions.

Military experience: second and then first lieut., field artillery, U.S.Army, 1917-19; one year's service overseas.

Professional experience: as teacher: member of English dept., Univ. of S. C., 1921-24; member of English dept., Coker College, Hartsville, S.C., 1925-42; head of the dept., 1925-37.

Professional experiemce: as writer: have contributed more than one hundred articles to important American journals, including Scribner's, Yale Review, Virginia Quarterly, Sewanee Review, South Atlantic Quarterly, the Christian Century and the Presbyterian Outlook. Wrote the introduction for Pee Dee Panorama, picture book of eastern South Carolina (Univ. of S. C. Press, 1951). Contributed a chapter to The Lasting South (Regnery, 1957; to This is the South (Rand McNally, 1959); and to We Dissent (St. Martin's Press, 1962). Published The Southern Heritage (Knopf, 1958), recipient of the Brotherhood Award, National Conference of Christians and Jews; and The Road Home (Christian Education Press, 1960). Am now working, under a grant from the Field Foundation, on another book on the South. Some of my material has been used by the Department of State in the Voice of America broadcasts.

Other: I am honorary Phi Beta Kappa (Alpha Chapter, South Carolina, 1937); doctor of humane letters, Morehouse College, 1959; since 1957 president of Southern Regional Council, Inc.; member of the board, Penn Community Servivees, Beaufort, S. C.; member of the board of the S. C. Council on Human Relations; member of the executive comm. of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen; an elder in the Presbyterian Church in the U. S.; member of Société Européenne de Culture; listed in Who's Who in America, 1938, and Who's Who in the Southeast, 1961.

In 1937 I moved back to my farm in Sumter County from the Coker College community; since 1942, when I stopped teaching, I have been making my living mainly by farming. My chief interest for some fifteen years has been the race situation in the South. I see the South as a region of magnificent resources, especially human resources, but sadly confused and inclined to think of its resources as liabilities.

My address is Mayesville, S. C. Telegraph, Sumter, S.C. Telephone: Sumter: 469-2457.

Houston Council on Human Relations
3605 Fannin Street
Houston 4, Texas

ML
LD
SB
PA

delivered to 1

THE MOVING FINGER WRITES IN MISSISSIPPI

An Address by

James McBride Dabbs

to the

THE HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Nov. 1. 1962

Houston being the cosmopolitan city it is -- with its moon-shot direction center putting it on the edge of the cosmos, indeed in the front yard of the moon-- I don't know how many of you are born Texans. Perhaps it doesn't matter, Texas being a state of mind. Certainly I don't know how many of you remember the Puritans. Texas with its expansive air has come a long way from the constrictive Puritanism of early New England. I remember a phrase from Puritanism which some of you may have heard. It was called "improving the occasion". No matter how bad the occasion was, the Puritan felt, you should improve it. That is, Draw a lesson from it, especially if it was a bad occasion.

Well, as my title indicates, I should like to improve the occasion as regards Oxford, Mississippi. I think it isn't fair to talk about Oxford and the really tragic events that occured there. unless you feel you can draw some meaning from it. Now, don't assume that because I took as my title the phrase " The

Moving Finger Writes in Mississippi", that I'm certain what the Moving Finger was writing in Mississippi. Doubtless you remember the source of the title: " The of Omar Khayyam":

> The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ,
> Moves on, nor all our piety nor wit
> Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
> Nor all our tears wash out a word of it.

But at least I'm going to guess what the happening in Mississippi means.

Two figures stand out in the Oxford affair: Governor Ross Barnett and student James Meredith. They stand over against each other. I suppose the meaning of the situation lies in the lives of both these men. Some Southerners --many of them perhaps --are inclined to emphasize Ross Barnett. To them he carries the flag. Others--especially Negro Southerners-- will emphasize James Meredith. I might as well say at the beginning that I think Governor Barnett represents a lost cause, and James Meredity a winning cause. In fact, there's some question as to whether Ross Barnett doesn't enjoy representing a lost cause. There's no doubt about it that over the years the Lost Cause of the Southern Confederacy has had an almost hypnotic effect upon white Southerners. A friend of mine once said, " You know what I learned in high School? I learned that the greatest days of the South were the heroic years from 1861 to '65 during which she was committing suicide." According to this, the most important image in Southern history is Pickett's glorious but ill-fated charge at

Gettysburg. If you're going to fail, this is the way to do it. Failing thus, you will be remembered. And Governor Barnett may have, far in the back of his mind, the feeling that he too is engaged with Pickett at Gettysburg. And that his failure - - which will come -- will be a glorious one. Well, I wouldn't encourage him in this. He has failed, he will fail, but it doen't seem to me very glorious.

What do we have represented at Oxford? In the first place, as many people have pointed out, we have evidence of the increasing concentration of federal power. There's no doubt about this. Little Rock showed it, and Oxford shows it. Usually the people who point this out, express tremendous concern, and suggest that this has happened recently, maybe since Kennedy got into office. Certainly, they say Kennedy's the worst one. Or they may go back beyond Eisenhower to Truman, beyond Truman to Roosevelt. Undoubtedly, the evidence of this concentration has become most clear in the last generation. But what about the Civil War?

It seems to me that the second thing that Oxford means is simply tjat the South lost the Civil war. Now, if you say, anybody ought to know that, yes, surely, anybody ought to know it, but very few white

Southereners know it in their hearts. It may be different in Texas. Maybe the independent republic of Texas never lost a war. But I'm talking about the Deep South.

I think a good many white Southerners believe that story I saw posted over the cash register of a lunch counter somewhere in South Georgia. This is the true account of the close of the Civil war. Seems that Lee had concluded his heavy attack upon the Yankees at Gettysburg. where he really had shocked them and set them back on their heels. Now he'd retired to Virginia,somewhere down near Appomattox, and was getting his forces together again. He just about had his plans ready, and he intended-- and he believed he had the power to do it-- simply to roll up the Atlantic seaboard, moving north through Washington, Baltimore,Philadelphis, New York, and Even Boston. Well, as he was putting the finishing touches to the plan, General Grant -- I don't know how he got into the vicinity- stumbled into Lee's tent. You know how Grant dressed. Rought, like a private, %%%%% may have had a star tucked away somewhere but It didn't show. Lee simply glanced up, saw a soldier standing there, thought it was his orderly come to polish his sword, reached over and the table by his side, picked up his sword, and handed it to Grant.

Grant, of course, thought that Lee was surrendering. And acknowledged it. Lee, looking up and seeing what he had done, but being a perfect gentlemen, couldn't ask Grant to return the sword, so he surrendered, and the war was over.

Well, of course, that wouldn't end a war, and I think much of the white South has in its mind that kind of image. that the war never had been ended. Certainly, they talk that way. and they think that way. All this talk about the reserved powers of the Tenth Amendment. Of course, they were reserved, but a lot more of them were reserved before the Fourtheenth Amendment got into the constitution than after that amendment spelled out certain powers as belonging to the Federal Government, Since then the Tenth Amendment hasn't been what it used to be. But to hear Ross Barnett talk, this never happened. Of course, the Fourteenth Amendment was a direct result of the Civil War, but maybe the Civil War never happened. But the Fourteenth Amendment is there and the tenth Amendment isn't what it used to be. It was the South, of course, which, challenging the power of the nation, so frightened and in the long run angered the nation, that, the war being over, almost inevitably the nation, using the military power it ~~happened~~, forced the Fourteenth Amedment into the constitution. Maybe it
perceived

wasn't legally

or constitutionally adopted. Anybody who thinks he's going to change this after nearly a hundred years of water under the bridge is in my opinion sadly mistaken.

Another thing that Oxford means is that politics is still of tremendous importance in the South. The main theme of my talk is the over-emphasis, historically, upon politics in the South. If recent importance can be seen by looking at what happened in Arkansas, Virginia, Louisiana, Georgia, Mississippi, and is about to happen in South Carolina. In each instance, the pattern is somewhat different. Is it different simply because the citizens of each state are different? To some degree, yes. But basically the pattern is different because the political power in each state is different, and is handled for different ends. And my assured guess is that no Governor of South Carolina, whoever he may be, will ever bring about in South Carolina, or permit to develop in South Carolina, the kind of situation which developed in Mississippi. Because South Carolina is South Carolina, and Mississippi is Mississippi.

I haven't time to give you the background of the remarks, but a friend of mine once described the difference between the two states as follows.

" South Carolina fell into sin; Mississippi was concieved in sin."

In a region in which politids has always been of tremendous importance, the Negro now enters politics. You can see this in Oxford, Mississippi. The power behind James Meredith was in part politically motivated; it wasn't simply unbiassed, formal, national power. It was power exercised by men who have a sense of what is going on in the country. They wouldn't be in the positions they're in unless they had some sense of what's going on in the country.

Why has the Negro entered the political arena? The first thing I would point out is, this is a somewhat delayed result of the great depression of the 1930's. The Great Depression created in Americans the determination that that kind of thing should not happen again if the country could prevent it. Also, because it made men aware of how many people were suffering, it also made them aware of ~~underprivileged~~ underprivileged people. Among the underprivileged and ~~discriminated~~ discriminated against in America, the largest group is the Negro. Therefore, the humanitarian impulse set going by the 1930's included especially the Negro.

In the second place, the Negro has come to political power because of the South, beginning with World War I and running a mill-race during World War II and since, out of the countryside of the South,

into the cities of the South, the East, the North, and the West. And because these incoming Negroes were pushed into ghettoes but were given at the same time - outside the South, that is-- the right to vote, they have become political powers in the great cities of the East and the North, so great that they sway state elections and influence national elections. A part of this political power rests of course upon the economic power that Negroes have gained both in the North and in the South. It is very evident from "selective buying" movements that have occured in the South, that even in the South , Negroes, if they desire it sufficiently, can hurt badly the pocket-books of white merchants.

Another thing that has brought the Negro to prominence in American life is the world situation: the challenge of Communism, and,especially, the breakdown of colonialism and the rise of the colored peoples of the world. I don't need to emphasize this. It's clear that with news of these great movements in the daily press, with so many of them involving colored people, the Negro will make some kind of identification with these people around the world, and will receive strength here in America because of the. Indeed the rise of the Negro in Ameri an indicates the breadown of colonialism in the same way that the rise of the colored peoples of the world indicates the

breakdown of conialism.

Finally, one of the forces bringing the Negro into prominence is his education. Of course, the white south should have know that if you educate people in America, you're finally going to give them an American education. The white South never intended that the Negro should read Patrick Henry&s declaration,"Give me liberty or give me death", but like other American studentsthe Negro did, and now he begins to demand liberty. Like Patrick Henry, political liberty , An increasing education, an increasing knowledge of what is going on in this country and in the world, has sharpened the Negro's mind and has sharpened his determination to have the same rights that other Americans have.

But the Negro's entrance upon the political scene is not merely the entrance of one more voter. It is the entrance of a voter with a particular historical background, and because of this background a distinctive voter. The Negro enters politics after a long experience of frustration, denial, and discrimination. Through the centuries of slavery, through the three gnenrations of segretation. Durng this long peridd, the Negro, being unable to argue effectively with men,

that is, with the men in power, white men, being unable to quarrel with them - it was simply foolish -- took his argument in to his religion. He quarreled with God. Through the long years, he carried on with God the same kind of qua rel Job had. Job too had suffered, unjustly he thought, and he said, in effect, to the Lord, "Sit down here with me, face me, put the cards on the table, and tell me what the game's all about." The most striking evidence of the Negro's long quarrel with God is the spirituals, which sum up this quarrel. They tell of the hardships of life, the frustrations, the difficulties; they speak also of of the hope that somehow God will make all right in the end. For a long time, this was all the Negroes could do. But now, because of many circumstances, some of which I have just referred to, the Negro enters politics. Enters the quarrel with men. But he comes with long quarrel with God behind him. He admits that life is hard, but he still has the religious conviction- I speak generally - that it has meaning, meaning for him now. He is going to use nis political power to get more meaning into his life.

Indeed, strange as it sounds, the Negro is beginning to use John C. Calhoun's methods to attain ends whicj John C. Calhoun never dreamed of. This sounds shocking, for John C. Calhoun was the great

leader of the conservative South, while today the Negro is taking a leading position in the liberal South. But consider for a minute the similarities. Calhoun was upholding the rights of a minority against the majority. His whole concern was to work out some scheme by which the Southern minority in the United States could hold its own against the Northern majority. For this purpose he offered the remedy of the concurrent majority, implemented the idea by nulification in South Carolina, and died a failure, his hopes overthrown by the hotheads who came to power after his death in 1850. For Calhoun was a great conservative doing his best to save the Southern position within the Union, within the community of states. And though his doctrine in the hands of hotheads led to war, he had always sought, according to his biographer, Wiltse, "to direct Southern discontent into nonviolent channels."

And now today. Consider the best-known Negro leader in the South, Martin Luther King, Jr. He too, faced by a majority that used the laws to hold the Negro minority down, but concerned to make real and hospitable to all, the communities of Montgomery, Atlanta, Albany or whatever, leads his followers in civil non-v iolent disobedience. The purpose of this action is to force the white majority to pause, to

consider, to confer before executing racially unjust laws or passing more such laws. In regard to Calhoun's hoped-for innovation of the concurrent majority, Scott Buchanan said recently, in a converstation with Joseph Lyford, "It seems to me that Calhoun was asking for the invention of an institution or a procedure that would formally admit civil disobedience, not only as a legitimate procedural step in government, but also as a pledge of a new faith in deliberation as the method of discovering political truth." Martin Luther King is inventing what Calhoun asked for, and with Calhoun's purpose of protecting a minority, but he speaks for a minority which in Calhoun's day had no political voice at all-although indeed its presence in the South affected almost every action and thought of the South.

But the Negro not only brings to American politics a new character, hardened in the fire of history, and a new concern for a group formerly unrepresented; it is possible that he also bings a notable temperament. I speak with some hesitancy here, since anthropologists are not agreed as to the existence of racial temperament. But one of them, Herskovits, believes that the Negro possesses a striking combination of inner firmness and outer resilience. Of course, the American

Negro may have learned from necessity this combination; to yield and not to yield. This, by the way, seems also a general Southern characteristic: to be pleasantly agreeable on the surface, but to be stubborn as a mule inside. As long ago as 1860, oneof the leading sociological thinkers of the South , D. R. Hundley, said that the successful planter possessed outer resiliency and inner firmness. Perhaps he had to be that way in order successfully to work Negro labor. Perhaps Negro labor had to be that way in order successfully to"work"him. It is certainly evident to any dispassionate observer that each group has "worked", the other to a fare-you-well.

One other comment in this connection. Robert E. Lee has been practically worshipped in the South. A young Virginia lady remarked once," we had heard of God; we have seen general Lee." This worship has been due in part to the fact that Lee has been the symbol of the Lost Cause. Perhaps it is also due to the fact that he was fitted to symbolize, not just the cause , but the people at their best. It is certainly true that Lee had all the other suavity of the gentleman, and all the inner strength of the soldier - and the Christian or perhaps I should say, the stoic.

What all this may mean is that the Negro, now appearing on the political scene for the first time - Reconstruction was a sham- is perhaps as Southern as they come. We are beginning to say," the Negro Southerner." The time may come when, referring to The Southerner, we may automatically include the Negro in the composite image. This is an outcome not to be feared but hoped for. If Southerners followed Lee to Appomattox because they trusted him- and some would have followed him to the mountains-it is hardly reasonable for their descendants to distrust that group which may show a predominant characteristic the balance of traits that made Lee great.

The whole thing is highly ironic. Or,if you're religious, it may speak of the providence of God. Histocifally, the South never intended to produce this result: James Meredith, courageous, and, what is more, modest, I mean that: read the statements he has made-represneting the young Negro, suggesting by his situation the power the Negro may command in America today. Historically, the South never intended James Meredity . The South intended ,tobacco,and rice, and indigo, and sugar-Cane and cotton-most of all.-- "Cotton is King," said James Hammond of South Carolina, about 1860, and" the world bows before its throne." That was another ironic remark, But

in order to produce cotton, the South had to be concerned with the Negro. As a matter of fact, the white South has spent a lot more time thinking about the Negro than about cotton even. How to control him, how to get along with him, how to make him happy. Remember we were Christians, and we wanted to make him happy in his place. Now, also as a matter of fact, the South never made much out of all its staples, including cotton. It's only since Texans have taken up cotton that it's amounted to much. We're buying cows back in South Carolina. If the South, therefore, couldn't succeed in producing the staple to which it set its mind, it's only fair that it should succeed in some of its efforts. To put as much thought and concern on the Negro as the white South has done and not have the Negro amount to something would be indeed disappointing. I think that James Meredith, and others like him, amount to a great deal. I am happy that the South is at last turning out a solid and valuable product. Of course, we don't know it yet. In fact, we'll hate to learn it. But we'll learn.

It shouldn't have taken legal, political, and even military power to get James Meredith into Ole Miss. Basically this is a human question, not a political football: the right of a citizen of Missippi to attent the University of Mississippi. And Meredith is a citizen of Mississippi whether some people like it or not. In fact, and, most strangely, even in spirit. Born of the soil of Mississippi, son of a man who hewed his own farm out of forest, his heart is still bound to Mississippi. "If I ever leave Mississippi," he says, "I will be leaving the country."

But Southerners, as I said, have been prone to over-emphasize politics; and always there have been other Southerners who recognized

this and cautioned against it, but with little effect. Here are several illustrations. I take them mainly from the history of South Carolina, but in its political emphasis South Carolina is highly Southern.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Governor David Rogerson Williams, combatting the political bitterness that was growing out of the tariff fight, urged the South to turn from its preoccupation with cotton, build factories, and thus take advantage of the tariff. Suiting the deed to the word, he built a small clothing and hat factory, but to no avail. South Carolina was determined to remain agricultural and political. In a senatorial debate of 1837, according to Hesseltine and Smiley in The South in American History, Calhoun formulated a brief for the South. "Defying those who would industrialize the nation, Southerners thereafter took refuge in a doctrine of localism, and depended upon the constitution to protect their institutions from outside assault." Clement Eaton, in Southern Civilization, says "The neglect of social reform in the South was partly owing to the politicians' obsession with federal politics," and quotes the South Carolina conservative leader B. F. Perry, in 1853, to the same effect: "What might not South Carolina now be if her Calhouns, Haynes, McDuffies, Hamiltons, and Prestons had devoted their great talents and energies to the commercial and internal improvements of the state, instead of frittering them away in political squabbles, which ended in nothing." On May 14, 1860, Thomas Ravenal made the following notation in his JOURNAL: "Our people do not reflect enough upon these things (for instand, slavery in the territories) for themselves, but are led on by politicians, and made to think that safety, honour, self-respect and our very existence depend upon these issues." A present-day Southern historian, Ulrich B. Phillips, commenting upon the South today, said that we are again in the situation of a Southern writer of 1860, who declared that the region's problems

were more than political, and not to be settled by the political wisdom of Webster, Calhoun, and Clay; but were social and industrial, raising such questions as these: "Is it just to hold the Negro in bondage? Is Negro slavery inimical to the rights of the white men? Is it best for both the white and the black man?" Here and there men raised the questions, but the politically minded South did not pause to answer. By this time politics had become almost a religion, as the Alabamian Edgar Gardner Murphy realized in 1907. Speaking of antebellum beliefs about states rights, constitutional liberty, etc., Murphy said, "These faiths, however sacred to us, are today irrelevant. Slavery, secession, were ended at Appomattox." But as I said, a good many Southerners, in Mississippi certainly, apparently still figure that Lee gave his sword to Grant by mistake, and that therefore the war is still on.

Finally, as a humorous note, the University of South Carolina published in 1901 an alumni list entitled "Jewels of Carolina." This list included only generals, governors, congressmen, and senators.

If the South has over-emphasized politics, the question arises, Why? We can note briefly the main causes.

The first is the character of the people themselves. From the very beginning the Southerner tended to be a little different from the early New Englander. The New England settler was predominantly Puritan, with an intense interest in man's inner, private relationship with God. True, the Puritans set up a political state; but it was in the beginning a theocracy, controlled entirely by those who could prove they had had a religious experience. The Southern settlers, on the contrary, although strictly religious, were less inclined to be concerned about a man's inner life--they left that to God and the Episcopal Church--and more

inclined to be concerned about his public appearance and his political action.

The second cause of the emphasis upon politics in the South was the existence of a landed aristocracy. An aristocracy must always be concerned about political power because of the privileged position it holds. This is especially true when the aristocracy is open, as it was in early America. It was continually gaining--and losing--members from and to the lower classes. Especially in the increasingly democratic temper of America, an aristocracy was on the defensive.

The third, and perhaps the strongest cause of the Southern emphasis upon politics was the defensive position of the South in relation to the North. Virginia--together with South Carolina--had offered superb political leadership in the formation of the nation and during its early years. The South had seen New England threaten secession before and during the war of 1812. Yet, in sympathy with the difficulties of New England brought on by the embargo, the South was willing to aid the young industries there with a reasonable tariff. But when the tariff became as the South thought unreasonable, she fought against it politically, in South Carolina even to the point of nullification. And when to this economic pressure was added the moral pressure of abolitionism, the South threw all its weight into the political scales. It was an unhappy contest. It was a contest never really drawn in full debate but shoved, almost undiscussed, onto the battlefields of the Civil War. For when Calhoun claimed constitutional rights--which were clearly the South's--William Lloyd Garrison replied with moral invective--which certainly had a reasonable basis. It would have been well if the North had been more political, and the South had been more moral, or

perhaps religious. But in thus following Jefferson, who believed that religion was a private affair and that man's destiny was encompassed in politics, the South stuck to politics until, as we have seen, it made its political slogans articles of faith.

But what happens then in defeat? in such an absolute defeat as befell the South in 1865? The religious faith of the South, if not destroyed by this defeat, was seriously damaged and warped. Really to prove this would demand that we understand exactly what the religious faith of the South had been, and we simply haven't time for that here. I can only suggest that the exclusive, individualistic, forward-looking Protestantism of the South offered a poor support for the inclusive, community-centered, backward-looking social order of--not the entire South--but the ruling South. It was perhaps because of this deep flaw in its religion that the South turned so energetically to politics, trying to cover up by its brilliant manipulation of means the fact that its ends were vague and divided. Unlike its Negro population, who, as we have seen, had to carry their frustrations to God, and like Job, quarrel with Him, the South--the white South--always had the Yankees and the Puritans to quarrel with, and always had a chance of winning, a good chance in the early years of the quarrel.

Men seldom take their troubles to God when they can lick the world without him. Even today, the white South, still over-concerned with politics, finds it hard to raise the more fundamental questions. The human questions. The religious implications of the fact that James Meredith, a citizen of Mississippi, in a great democratic country, has to call upon the power of that country to gain admission to his own state university. But who considers these implications? Not Ross Barnett. Why should Ross Barnett quarrel with the Lord when he's got

the federal government to quarrel with twenty-four hours a day? But there's less and less percentage in a state's quarreling with the federal government. In fact, there's been no real percentage since 1865. But--Southerners have always been gamblers--and usually have lost.

Let me say in passing that the South's refusal for one hundred years to accept the facts of life, her absorption in a mythical past of heroism and splendor, indicate what I've been saying: that the South never really understood itself, never found a religion that was deeply rooted in its culture.

But now comes James Meredith. Now the Negro appears in public, and therefore in Southern eyes, as I have pointed out, becomes a man; for a man is largely what he appears to be. Does be bring just one more vote to the polling place? In a democracy, even that would be significant, but the Negro Southerner brings more. The essential thing he brings is an understanding clearer than that of the white of the relation between politics and religion.

Southerners are a great people for emphasizing the home, the family, kinship, home-ties, at-homeness. From the beginning they easily made themselves at home in the New World because they were not too ill-at-ease in the Old: they were Englishmen living abroad. Apparently the Negro who, at urgent invitation, came to live among them, also has a remarkable tendency to make himself at home. He was often referred to as "our people", the white Southerner thereby saying much more than he knew, as perhaps the coming days will prove. But the Negro was permitted to be at home in the South in such a limited way--in such a sadly limited way--that he sought and in his spirit found an other-worldly home beyond the River Jordan, which he longed to cross over into campground.

Perhaps we have no patience with this other-worldliness, this quality of at-homeness in a universe that offers no real home here. But when the Negro's cosmic at-homeness, through the passage of time and the concantenation of many circumstances, eventuates in the NAACP, the sit-ins and the voter registration drive, we sit up and take notice.

The white Southerner did remarkably well at making himself at home in this world--still does. Easy-going, hospitable, offers a stranger pot-luck and--if he's a Texan--this is the myth--also gives him a Cadillac to go on his way in. But for all his local at-homeness, the white Southerner is not, and has never really been, truly at home in the universe. Houston today is a cosmopolis; are Houstonians cosmopolitans?

It is the sense of this larger at-homeness, induced in him by history itself, that gives to the Negro the calm assurance he has shown in the last few years; an assurance in marked contrast to the feverish efforts of the whites, from klansmen to governors. The Negro, having settled his quarrel with God--of course, it's never settled. Let's say, then, having wrestled like Jacob with the angel through the long dark night, now sits calmly at lunch counters and conference tables, meeting the whites with steady democratic eyes. Except for a bitter few, who learned their lesson too well, they do not assert, as they might well do, black supremacy; they do the much more difficult thing of rising to a certain point and stopping, thereby indicating the kind of moderate, reserved people they are--Remember Lee. They assert democratic equality.

Aside from generalities, there is one specific thing the Negro brings into politics that is new in American life. This is the quality of his liberalism. That he is predominantly a liberal goes without saying. As an underdog he has to be either liberal or radical; and as I have just indicated--and as the Communists have found to their dis-

comfiture--he is not a radical. But he is the one American liberal who has learned--not in a foreign country but here in America--what he is fighting against. He knows what feudalism is.

Louis Hartz wrote a book recently entitled The Liberal Tradition in America. He began it by a quotation from de Toqueville: "Americans are born free." Speaking in the 1830's, De Toqueville was referring only to whites. Hartz, developing this idea, points out that the American is born into a world where no feudal institutions have ever existed. He does not, therefore, have to overthrow them. In his Revolution, the American simply cut loose from overseas government and set up a similar government here. In Europe, on the contrary, eighteenth and nineteenth century liberals had to fight long and bitterly against feudal oppression. This has given to the European liberal a stern, revolutionary quality the American liberal lacks. So for Hartz.

But now the American Negro is coming to power, fighting his way step by step against feudalistic oppressions. For the antebellum plantation South looked backward toward feudalism, attempted, however unsuccessfully, to adopt it, and partly to prove the existence of what had such a flimsy hold, in its leisure time read Sir Walter Scott and ran tournaments in honor of "My Lady". We have quit running tournaments--we still do in South Carolina, occasionally. I have ridden in them--but in the countryside of the Deep South the Negro still belongs, in a way, to the peasantry. He is fighting against this. ~~Hexixxfighting hixxwayxoutxofxfeudalismxtowardxdemocracyx~~ Perhaps, more strintly, he is fighting his way of of feudalism toward democracy. Perhaps, more strictly, his is fighting his way out of a colonial status into democracy. He therefore knows what he is fighting against. Like the European liberal, he has to overthrow before he can build. He even has to

break off the old, one-way, paternalistic communication before he can establish a two-way deomocratic communication. Also, like the early European liberal, he want s the government--the state governments--first of all to let him alone.

But--and in this he is like other American liberals today--he wants the national government to help out. I don't want to get into the conservative-liberal argument here. But what the liberal says is, The Government, in the spirit of Hamilton, has always helped out the Big Boys, with tariffs, rebates, and bonuses; we should like some help too.

So the Negro is opposed to feudalistic state governments and in favor of a democratic national government. But the main point is, He knows through bitter experience what he is against. He was not born free. He has had to fight, he is having to fight, for his freedom.

This brings me to my last point. The American Negro is, in general, a part of the world-wide struggle, mostly by colored people, against colonialism. American did not need land for colonial exploitation. In the long run, it stole land so easily from the Indians it has never felt it stole it. I believe you folks did bring on a little tiff with Mexico over Texas. What we lacked was not land to expolit but people to exploit it. Therefore, while European nations were going to Africa--for instance--to obtain land for exploitation, we went there to obtain people. Nationally and internationally, then, the Negro in America is a part of the breakdown of world-colonialism and the rise into power of the colored people of the world. His struggle for freedom matches in time and somewhat in nature theirs.

One of the basic problems of the United States today is how to speak to the new nations struggling out of colonialism into freedom. Who can understand them better, who will speak to them better than the American Negro, especially the Southern Negro, the conditions of whose

life have most closely resembled theirs? Alone among American liberals, the Negro has had to fight for his freedom. He can understand, therefore, these freedom-fighters scattered around the world, can speak to them and can be understood by them. We have Ralph Bunche. There will be others like him.

Thus--to conclude--we have "improved the occasion" of Oxford, Mississippi, decipering, I hope not too inaccurately, the Moving Finger, pointing out some of the meanings of that situation, stressing the positive meanings. They lead outwards, as we have seen, to the ends of the earth. If that is not enough for wide-skirted Texas, and Houston, perhaps these meanings also lead, through your own moon-shot direction center, to the moon itself, where, whenever men arrive there, they will have to live together, if they live, with resiliency and reserve.

November 1, 1962

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I think it would be fitting if you, as President, wrote a note to Mrs. Roosevelt. Hereaddress is:

The Park Sheraton Hotel
202 Fifty-Sixth Street West
New York 19, New York

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosures

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Hamilton 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Nov. 4, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Ex. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

I shall be happy to attend the little gathering at Wiley Branton's home, at dinner, on Sunday evening, two weeks. I will plan to be at the Peachtree Manor by 6 P. M.--I will be there earlier if so advised--and, unless I hear from you beforehand, will expect some note there to tell me what to do. I shall have my car and can drive to Wiley's home--if I can find it, in Atlanta, at night!

Thanks for the suggestion of a note to Mrs. Roosevelt. I have written it.

Naturally I'm sorry that Rilling is leaving. I am writing him to say so.

I returned yesterday from a trip to Houston, where I spoke to the Houston Council on Human Relations, at a dinner meeting, in the swanky dining-room of the faculty house at Rice University, with a splendid electrically-lighted fountain behind me. The audience was most attentive--but they may have been watching the fountain. I was told that we had there the creme of Houston. That's rich cream. We begin to move in circles where simple South Carolinians and West Virginians---can do nothing but shine by their presence!

I'll quit on that one.

Regards,

J. M. Dabbs
President

P.S. Sorry a bug bit you recently. Hope you're O.K. now.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
Dec. 4, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

CR 12/5/62
RHA

Dear Les:

Mr. Stern sent me a copy of his book, I read it and sent him a note, and Mr. Stern sent me a check to SRC for $100, which I enclose. Simple, eh? Please have Mrs. Alexander send proper receipt, with a note from you if you wish. I am writing Mr. Stern that I am also asking the Council, through you, to send him pertinent pamphlets.

Mr. Stern says he is not related to the Edgar Stern Family, of New Orleans. His address is 944 Fifth Avenue, New York 21, N. Y. The check indicates that he is trustee of some trust.

Another matter. Please have sent me a recent directory of SRC. The one I have is out of date. Also please advise me as to just what the annual meeting instructed me to do. It seems to me the appointment of two committees was involved. If this is so, and if you have any advice about membership, I should appreciate it. Before I left the meeting, Beckwith handed me a note recommending David Scull as a member of the committee to evaluate the work of the Council, and Scull himself, without my raising the question with him, said he would be glad to help, I think he meant, in this matter. I know him as a good man in Virginia, but of course he's knew to the Council itself. Have you any opinion about him?

Thanks for your praise of my address. I'm glad NEW SOUTH will use it. By the way, I'd appreciate it if you'd have someone run me off some copies of that heavenly comment on me--it was out of this world--that appeared in the Constitution-Journal. I'd like to send copies to my friends, and have a few scattered round the house to pick up and read in passing. It was almost too good; it's the kind of stuff you put on a fellow's tombstone!

Upon this happy note I close.

Sincerely,

J.M. Dabbs

J.M. Dabbs
President.

December 6, 1962

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

There is no doubt about it, you ought to be our official fund raiser.

We are sending a corrected membership list; after acknowledgements are received from the new members, this will be mimeographed and a better copy will be sent to you.

I don't believe the Annual Meeting instructed you to do anything. We informed the meeting that the staff was going to request you to appoint a subcommittee to consult with the staff in our planned program review. Until we get organized here to get to work on this, perhaps it would be just as well if you did not do this. When you do, some names I would suggest you think about are Luther Foster, A. D. Beittel, Andrew Secrest, Kelly Smith, Burt Cartwright, Herbert Davidson, Paul Williams, Rabbi Rothschild, Theodore Gibson. I would be willing to have Mr. Scull, whom I like and respect, but he is a pretty aggressive fellow; maybe for that reason we should have him.

Let me write to you later about this with some suggestions as to the size of the committee.

Maybe when Mrs. Albright finishes the minutes of the meeting we'll find that you were instructed to do something. If so we shall officially let you know.

We are sending some copies of Pat Watter's piece. You know we might have this photographed by a printer down to the size of a calling card!

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosures

Dabbs file
New Members
1962

December 7, 1962

Dr. Roosevelt D. Crockett
President
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Crockett:

At its annual meeting in Atlanta on November 19, the Southern Regional Council elected you to membership in the Class of 1966. I have great pleasure in informing you of this.

I hope that you will find Council membership to be as satisfying and rewarding as others of us have. I believe that the Council performs an ever greater service to the region and the nation.

Enclosed with this letter are certain documents about the Council which you will want to have as a member.

I believe that you have already informally indicated that you would accept membership if elected; we would be grateful, however, if you would acknowledge this letter so that the formalities might be complete.

With every good wish, and looking forward to our association with you,

Sincerely yours,

James M. Dabbs

JMD:A
Enclosures:
Aims and Purpose
By-Laws
1963 Budget

December 7, 1962

Dr. Edward E. Haddock
1133 West Franklin Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Dr. Haddock:

At its annual meeting in Atlanta on November 19, the Southern Regional Council elected you to membership in the Class of 1966. I have great pleasure in informing you of this.

I hope that you will find Council membership to be as satisfying and rewarding as others of us have. I believe that the Council performs an ever greater service to the region and the nation.

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With every good wish, and looking forward to our association with you,

Sincerely yours,

James M. Dabbs

JMD:A
Enclosures:
Aims and Purpose
By-Laws
1963 Budget

December 7, 1962

Mrs. Martin Harvey
415 North Farish Street
Jackson 2, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Harvey:

At its annual meeting in Atlanta on November 19, the Southern Regional Council elected you to membership in the Class of 1966. I have great pleasure in informing you of this.

I hope that you will find Council membership to be as satisfying and rewarding as others of us have. I believe that the Council performs an ever greater service to the region and the nation.

Enclosed with this letter are certain documents about the Council which you will want to have as a member.

I believe that you have already informally indicated that you would accept membership if elected; we would be grateful, however, if you would acknowledge this letter so that the formalities might be complete.

With every good wish, and looking forward to our association with you,

Sincerely yours,

James M. Dabbs

JMD:A
Enclosures:
Aims and Purpose
By-Laws
1963 Budget

December 7, 1962

Professor Robert J. Harris
Dept. of Political Science
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Professor Harris:

At its annual meeting in Atlanta on November 19, the Southern Regional Council elected you to membership in the Class of 1966. I have great pleasure in informing you of this.

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December 7, 1962

Mr. John G. Lewis
P. O. Box 2110
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Lewis:

At its annual meeting in Atlanta on November 19, the Southern Regional Council elected you to membership in the Class of 1966. I have great pleasure in informing you of this.

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December 7, 1962

Dr. J. Rupert Picott
316 Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Picott:

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December 7, 1962

Dr. William H. Townsend
507 W. 31st Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Townsend:

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December 7, 1962

Mr. Nat Welch
342 Hare Avenue
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Mr. Welch:

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December 7, 1962

Mr. Moreland G. Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery 6, Alabama

Dear Mr. Smith:

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Sincerely yours,

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December 7, 1962

Mrs. Moise Cahn
40 Versaille Boulevard
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Cahn:

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James M. Dabbs

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Aims and Purpose
By-Laws
1963 Budget

December 7, 1962

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
President
Rip Raps Sensation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Les has asked me to handle your inquiry concerning the Greensboro College affair.

I have checked with Connie Curry's office and learned that she thinks highly of the matter and will pay expenses.

There is a wrinkle in that they have limited funds for travel, but we will work that out here.

The conference sounds worthwhile to us. If you are so disposed, by all means go. Send an account of your travel expense to Connie and we will decide here who should pay for it. One of us will.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mm
Enclosure

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Dec. 4, 1962

Dr.Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta 3,Ga.

Dear Les:

I could have called you about the question raised in the enclosed letter, but I didn't want to put you on the spot of having to make an immediate decision. I have written Miss Bailey that I simply could not pay my expenses to the meeting she requests my participation in, that I would call the matter to your attention, but was not too hopeful that the Council could help out. If you feel that some money is available for this, all right; if not all right. I would be glad to go, partly because it's students who can do something about what I have to suggest; I would be glad not to go, because I have plenty to do on the SouthernHistory Project hereat home.

I think Greensboro College is a Negro college.You may know the situation there better than I do, and have a more informed opinion as to what my presence at such a seminar there would accomplish.

Decide as you think best. As I said,I'm neutral. Please return Miss Bailey's letter.

I admired your handling of Jones. You did it nicely and exactly au Dunbar.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs
President

ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
SUN. 502,157

NOV 25 1962

OUR SACRED FORENSICS

Here Is a Kind of Southerner World Will Some Day Celebrate

By PAT WATTERS

EVER SINCE a few weeks back I heard a skilled practitioner of the tough-minded art of Georgia politics making a private remark of the grudgingly changed kind we hear nowadays to the effect that he certainly didn't mind a Negro in the Legislature since after all the Negro didn't ask to be born any more than he (the politician) did, I have been playing with the wryly amusing thought of how wonderful and devastating it would be if some of the brighter of our politicians were to put their wit and genius for Bible-metered language into a fight where they were right, and arguing out of truth.

This gave rise to the realization of how much in true Glorious Cause jingoism there is alive still my Southerner's pride and love for his land and kind, and how much it hurts to see so many fine spirits of the South cheated by history and stubbernness and persistence in lost causes out of a place in the direction and esteem of the nation and world.

A SPEECH

This is of course an old story, but it was given more impetus the other day by listening to a speech by a Southerner of consummate oratorical skill who was speaking (and out of a lifetime of dedication to it) the truth.

He was James McBride Dabbs, president of the Southern Regional Council, addressing the organization's annual meeting. Here was a Southerner (his family has lived in Mayesville, S.C., since 1750) wholeheartedly and with obvious joy indulging in the art and pleasure of formal speech as only a Southerner can.

He talked in similes and with metaphorical flourishes; he ranged with fond familiarity through history, the ancient classics and all of literature and some modern social science for his allusions; he meandered off on pleasant side streams of gentle humor; he darted little witticisms in; he used sarcasm sparingly and bitingly; he inflected with his voice a gentle note of irony over and around his words; and when he needed it, his language thundered or gently caressed or spoke with strong, flint-hard diction to the core and emotional heart of truth.

Pat Watters' column appears regularly in the daily Atlanta Journal.

His subject was the South, and it would be difficult to try to condense the subtlety, the fragility and sometimes the inconclusiveness of his speech. What he was talking about though was the fact of and reasons for the many paradoxes of character and personality of Southerners that have been always the torture and the fascination for articulate Southerners who sought to understand their culture.

More than once, he spoke the Southerner's preference and pride in the style of his people, and compared them with the odious grasping and self-righteous style of the puritanical Northerner. More than once, he said we had fought beautifully and gloriously for something inherently evil, and he pondered how we can love and respect human personality on individualized bases, but turn this to hate in the political arena.

He said the trouble was we never had defined what we love, and we had always, in time and place — bound conservatism fought with the heart and not reason, and he lamented our lack of poets as well as philosophers, for the joyful voice of the poet turns bitter and destructive when his mind tries to render true the reality of the South.

FIRST POEM

Southerners like Mr. Dabbs who have given lifetimes to the influencing of a reshaping and restoration of truth in the deep-core meaning of the South are accused by those in the South who hate of themselves hating the South, and betraying it. The truth is of course that they love it and fight to be able to be proud of it all, and the truth is too that love is more lasting and in the end more powerful than hate and that eventually, soon surely, when the true poet is able to sing cleanly and fully of the South (beyond the Lady Bountifuls of Benet's plantation, but with the same awe, reverence, pride), he will begin with an epic about such men as Mr. Dabbs — who have been all that we love about the South and important things more, including being true, and very brave.

The Washington Post
WASHINGTON, D.C.
D. 407,089 S. 474,073

NOV 25 1962

Council Elects Nine From D. C.

Nine Washington suburbanites were elected yesterday to the Board of Directors of the Virginia Council on Human Relations at its annual meeting in Roanoke.

The new Board members include C. Douglas Adams Jr. and Rev. Thomas Scannell, of Annandale; Mrs. Ronald Cauley, E. Leslie Hamm, Edward Kelley and Carrel Tod, of Arlington; Carl Auvil and Dr. E. B. Henderson, of Falls Church, and Dr. Walter R. Bowie, of Alexandria. Seven of the members will serve three-year terms. Rev. Scannell and Tod will serve only for two years.

The Council, an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, seeks "to bring understanding and accepting of the legitimate aspirations of all the people of Virginia, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin."

NOV 27 1962

The Broken Record

MURRAY KEMPTON

It would be a pity if President Kennedy's sense of history would be the very thing that would cost him his proper place in it.

History is a limited resource and a sense of it a limited weapon. Somehow the President's handicap is best described by the historians themselves when they talk of the dignity of history. It is a majestic subject. Historians write about great men and great occasions. The President functions admirably on those occasions when he is called upon to represent that history which is made from above. Like most historians, however, he is slow to appreciate that history which is made from below. It is a serious weakness.

These reflections are not offered as new but they are fortified by Dr. Howard Zinn's report to the Southern Regional Council on Albany, Ga., and the counties that lie around it.

* * *

Dr. Zinn reminds us that there have been only three occasions when the Administration has publicly indicated any involvement with Albany. In July, Martin Luther King was arrested. "The President asked for a report, the Attorney General got busy . . . and the next day King was out of jail." Martin Luther King is, as Zinn points out, an establishment icon. "There was no such concern for the hundreds of ordinary citizens in Albany who went to jail for basically the same reason."

The President also expressed the hope that Albany's commissioners would sit down with representative Negroes to discuss their grievances, and at one point spoke with visible emotion against the bombing of churches.

"This," Zinn said, "was commendable. But it also indicates the level of tolerance on which our national leaders—and perhaps most white Americans—operate. They will be aroused by open violence, particularly against places of worship. (Gov. Vandiver of Georgia, hardly a friend of the Albany Movement, offered a $250 reward for the apprehension of the arsonists.) But they will not be made sufficiently indignant by the mass jailings, by the deprivation of free speech and assembly, beatings and intimidation, by the perpetuation of segregation. The nation as a whole—not only the President—needs to expand its capacity for outrage."

That is true; in the calmest terms possible, what has happened in Albany is an outrage. The chief of police has arrested more than 1,000 persons for picketing, praying, singing or marching; he as been generally commended for preserving law and order.

The Justice Dept. has such a dreadful record in this case as to raise the question of whatever happened to that sense of indignation which has always been one of Robert Kennedy's most engaging personal qualities.

* * *

Judge Robert Elliott, the federal judge most engaged in the Albany controversy, was appointed by the President upon the recommendation of Herman Talmadge. In August, after the sheriff of Terrell County had broken up a voters registration meeting in Sasser, the Justice Dept. asked Judge Elliott to issue an injunction restraining officials from intimidating Negroes who wanted to vote. Judge Elliott refused, saying that there was no evidence of a threat to anyone's civil rights.

"Two days later, a church used as a voter registration center in neighboring Lee County burned to the ground. Two weeks later, the homes of four families active in voter registration were riddled by bullets . . . on Sept. 5, a registration worker was wounded by a shotgun blast in Dawson. And on Sunday, Sept. 9, [another] church was burned to the ground . . . Judge Elliott still has not issued an injunction."

The Albany Negroes universally regard the FBI as their enemy. Negroes have been in prison, outside of prison and twice in sheriff's offices, both times in the sight of non-involved witnesses. There have been cases where their assailants have boasted of these things. Yet the FBI has made only one arrest of a white man for an act of personal violence; an FBI agent arrested a white man for hitting him.

Somewhere, in a long painful struggle by themselves, the Negroes in Albany will get their freedom. It will be a moment in that history which is seldom written but which is our real history. The pity is that there is every sign that the Kennedy Administration will exist in *that* history solely as a coincidence.

January 2, 1963

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

It's time to set a date for the next Executive Committee meeting, to be some time in February. After checking with the office calendar, the best dates seem to be February 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

Will you please indicate the date you prefer, and also any other days that would be possibilities. We will then settle on the day which is most acceptable to both you and Mr. Wheeler and send out the notices.

Incidentally, the revised list of board members is in stencil form; we still have not heard from two of the new nominees and have written then a second request for confirmation. We should have this ready soon.

Sincerely yours,

A

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

file

for your information:

As you requested, the following persons received the Dabbs story of Sun. Jan 13, Atlanta Journal-Constitution:

Vernon A. Eagle
New World

Dave Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers

Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic

Max Hahn
Field

Harold Fleming
Potomac

Helen Hill Miller
Stern Family Fund -(Washington)

J. David Stern
New York

Leland DeVinney
Rockefeller Fd.

Deborah Cole
Aaron E. Norman Fund

William Pincus
Ford Fd.

Flora Rhind
Gen. Edu. Bd.

(I didn't mail any to Mr. Dabbs since Montez got an extra 100 copies free through her husband and she's mailing him 10)

P.S. Let me have this back for filing. Thanks, Wm T

The Atlanta Journal
AND
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
SUNDAY, JANUARY 13, 1963
SECTION C

Viewpoint: James McBride Dabbs

By REESE CLEGHORN
Atlanta Journal State Editor

MAYESVILLE, S.C., Jan. 12—Here in the homeland of James McBride Dabbs, planter and philosopher, leader and paradox, the Old South was battered and blown but it did not all go with the wind:

You pass swamp waters blackened by acids from the gaunt cypress trees, leave a U.S. highway to travel by shanties and expanses of now-bare cotton fields, turn into a winding dirt road overhung by crowded pine branches and lush bushes, and come abruptly into a clearing in the wilderness.

The road arches symmetrically to and from a great white house, its distant white columns obscured by veils of Spanish moss hanging from the oaks.

CLOSE BY, Negroes unload sacks of feed at an unpainted outbuilding. In the distance there is the ring of iron upon iron, as one of the plantation tenants does his own "blacksmithing."

Up the front steps into a broad hall, and then into a high-ceilinged room where an intruding gas heater has replaced the open hearth, and where walls are lined with Tocqueville, Nietsche, Lomax and Whyte, you come upon what may be the South's rarest plantation sight:

There over the mantel, under an old shotgun and a muzzle-loaded rifle hand-hewn a hundred years ago by a master of this house, hangs a golden plaque.

Staff Photos

JAMES McBRIDE DABBS AT HOME
Sweater Helps in Poorly Heated Rooms

IT PRAISES James McBride Dabbs for "wise and dedicated efforts to unify the American people in their quest of the democratic ideal." It is dated April 9, 1961, and it is signed by the Detroit chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A Southern planter with NAACP laurels is somewhat rarer than a day in June, but Dabbs is rare for other reasons, too.

"He is the only man I know who can intellectualize magnolias," a friend said of him, pointing toward this big, shaggy man's special genius.

DABBS LEADS one of the nation's most important civil rights organizations, the Southern Regional Council, but it is in the realm of the mind rather than in organization work that he has found a special place. He is a sort of poet-philosopher.

He writes of the South today with fervent intimacy, and yet he lives more in the past and the future than in the present. ("I admit that out here I'm not much in this modern world, except in the mind.")

When his book "The Southern Heritage" appeared in 1958, editor Hodding Carter of Mississippi called it "the most meaningful comment on the race situation yet made by a Southerner." It is a classic in the growing field of literature created by the South's coming to grips with itself.

THOUGH HE GOES to Atlanta about four times a year for Southern Regional Council business and makes occasional speeches elsewhere, he is rooted to his birthplace.

Twenty years ago he quit as chairman of the English department at Coker College in Hartwell, S.C., and went back to the land of the McBrides and the Dabbses, where his family has lived for more than 200 years. His stately home, built by the McBrides, is within a mile of the smaller house where he lived as a child.

It is also near a Presbyterian church founded by Scotch-Irish in 1745 and still attended mainly by their descendants. Dabbs, who believes Christianity is "the central fire" in the South, is a ruling elder in his church.

WITH PIPE in hand, dressed in unpressed corduroy trousers and a heavy, gray wool sweater to keep out the chill of the old house's poorly heated big rooms, he sits in his study and tells of how he left university life to come home to the land.

Until 10 years ago, he worked the farm himself; he recalls spending half his time on a tractor in the fields, turning the rich soil that once made this a cotton empire. Today the thousands of acres that his family owned have been reduced to 125.

Now 67, Dabbs leaves the farm to three Negro sharecroppers. ("That word always scares my liberal friends," he said.) The only occupants of the 12-room plantation house are Dabbs, his Charleston-born wife and their 18-year-old son, Richard.

HIS OWN TIME is largely devoted to writing. More than a hundred of his articles have been published in periodicals, and he expects his third book to appear in 1965.

"I am trying to corner the Southerner," he said of his subject. "I want to set forth the nature of the South, the nature of the Southerner. People say you can't do it—there are many Souths. But just a few days ago Karl Barth, the great Swiss theologian, said that in traveling across the United States he had sensed a different atmosphere in the South."

As far as Dabbs is concerned it is "vive la difference," a fact that might surprise many in his region and even some of his neighbors. These are the ones who regard Dabbs as "a traitor to the South" because long ago he joined in the fight for Negro rights.

DABBS' PLANTATION HOME NEAR MAYESVILLE, S.C.
White-Columned House Almost Hidden by Moss Hanging From Oaks

(YOU STOP not far from where he lives, and one man calls him a hypocrite while another proclaims: "Nobody in South Carolina pays any attention to Dabbs.")

"Defending segregation as our way of life, we sell the South short," he asserted. "Have we lived here 300 years to accomplish only this? I can't believe it.

"I'm defending the South, but I'm defending it against the future rather than the past. Ross Barnett defended it against a remembered terror of 75 years ago.

"I WOULD NEVER leave the South, because it has something the rest of the country doesn't have."

To Dabbs, granting exceptions, the Southerner has these characteristics:

He loves the land, and draws from it some serenity that enables him to be more self-contained.

He is more devoted to leisure, and with it neighborliness and courtesy. At heart he is more a creature of manners than of money.

He is essentially religious, without the harshness of the Puritan.

More than the Midwesterner or the Westerner, he possesses a sense of having a place in the world as a particular individual, without the necessity of competing for it.

AND HE SENSES having a place just as a man, deserving some dignity of treatment and some privacy of living.

"You would not expect, in ordinary times, for a Ross Barnett to be a Southerner," he said. "The narrow, hard people ought to come out of New England, where the Yankee Puritans held sway. Barnett is an exception rather than a true Southerner, a creature of the imbalance that exists within our culture right now."

What is the imbalance?

It was born of conflict between the Southerner's natural desire for a peaceful, pastoral, personal life and the necessity to defend ugly institutions he knew were fundamentally wrong, Dabbs believes. First it was slavery, then segregation, that imposed the pressures bringing about distortion in the

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HE THINKS the conflict between industrialization and the values of a region traditionally bound to the land and leisure may create a new form of civilization not realized elsewhere in the nation, and he hopes the South's answer will become the nation's answer.

"If we could see the South for what it is, a region where men have striven greatly, endured greatly, and yet have managed through it all to keep a sense of human values, a sense of personal relationships so lacking in the modern world, a sense even of manners in a world gone mad for material gain, a sense of humor, sometimes playful, sometimes wry—if we could see our tragic history, whites and Negores involved together in more than two centuries of defeat . . . then we should come to realize that we have resources here valuable to both the nation and the world, and that segregation is not one of them."

A BELIEF in the special character of the South, he thinks, is in keeping with the aspirations of the Southern Regional Council, an organization of whites and Negroes with a 43-year history of seeking to improve race relations.

The council staff is at 5 Forsyth St. in Atlanta, and Dabbs, who has been president since 1957, drops in only occasionally. The council's endeavors have been in the realm of research, education and maintaining interracial communications rather than in legal and direct action.

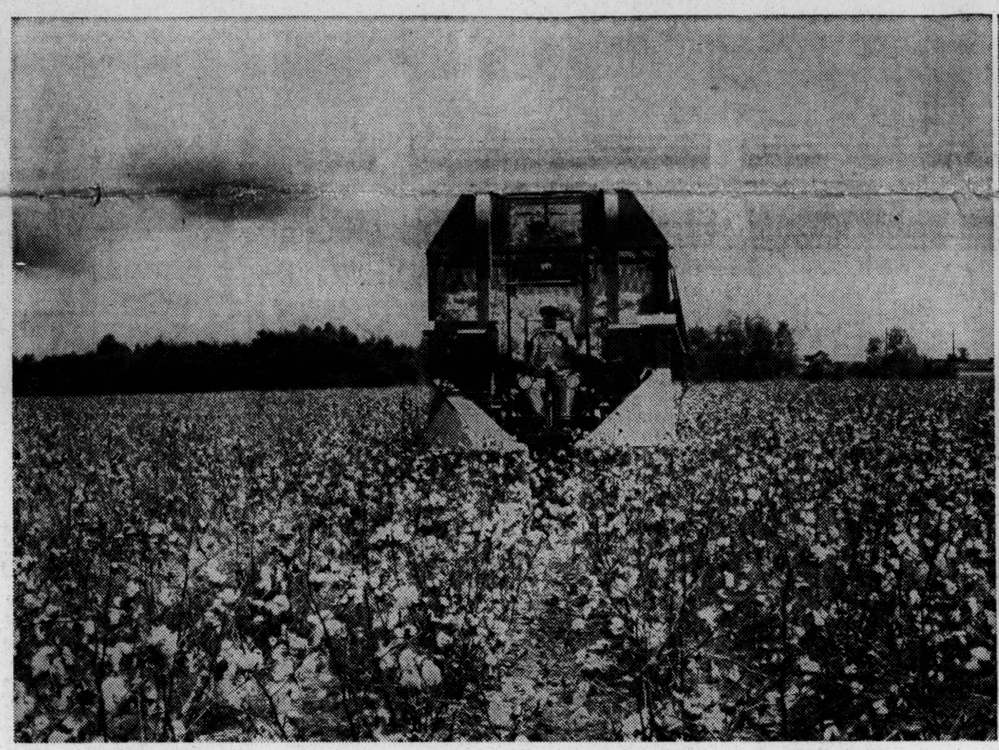
Some of Dabbs' friends were a bit anxious when he was called upon in 1961 to address the national convention of another civil rights organization, the NAACP, in Philadelphia. After all, enemy of segregation or not, here was a Southern traditionalist who didn't quite fit any of the usual patterns of civil rights advocates—an elderly man, a lover of the past, a planter.

"BUT HE GAVE them a sort of cornpone talk that went over wonderfully," a friend recalls.

As usual, the human and folksy cornpone was interspersed with literary allusions, metaphorical flourishes, biting irony and the thunder of strong conviction, cut in no shape but his own.

It was pure Dabbs, and by his own definition of the species, pure Southerner.

The happy reception of his words seemed to confirm his view that the white South and the Negro have a special affinity for each other, and that time will draw them closer together as brothers under the skin.



MECHANICAL COTTON PICKER MORE IN EVIDENCE IN GEORGIA
Row-Straddling Monster Can Do Work of 90 Field Hands

Special Photos

AFTER PICKING COTTON IT DRIVES UP TO BIN AND UNLOADS
Experts Say It Didn't Drive Hands Off, Just Replaced Them

Farmer Soon Can Plow from the Living Room

By BILL SHIPP
Constitution State News Editor

A man sits before a closed circuit television set and a panel of switches in his air-conditioned living room. He manipulates the switches, watches the TV screen and sips a glass of lemonade.

This is a Georgia farmer, driving a radio-controlled tractor and plowing his field — by remote control.

Sounds farfetched? Within 25 years it could be a reality, farm experts predict.

FARM IMPLEMENT dealers and agricultural experiment stations already are working toward remote-control farming.

As a result of the researchers' past work, many Georgia farms now employ vast amounts of automation and assembly-line techniques that reduce time and labor to a minimum.

In 1962 Georgia's farmers owned a total of 1,626 mechanical cotton pickers. They are expected to purchase an additional 297 of the expensive ($6,000 to $16,000 each) machines in 1963.

NOTHING SO dramatically emphasizes the increased use of agricultural automation as the mechanical cotton picker.

A two-row picker in one day can do the work of as many as 90 human laborers.

"The mechanical cotton picker didn't drive the field hands off the farms in Georgia," says H. B. Goolsby, engineer for the Georgia Cooperative Extension Service. "The farm hands started leaving the land right after the war and they're still leaving. The cotton pickers and other farm machines only took their places."

Goolsby believes there is presently a place on the big farms for the unskilled laborer, if he is willing to stay and work for the prevailing wages.

But what of the future?

AT THE RATE farms are being mechanized, the day is not far away when there will be no place for the farmer without capital and/or technical training.

In recent years, Georgia's poultry industry has become so mechanized and automated that it "is hard to think of it as agriculture," says Paul A. Crawford, head of the extension's engineering department.

Within a few years it may be hard to think of any kind of agriculture in terms of human toil, mule-pulled plows and hand-fed poultry and stock.

ON THE MARKET now are machines that harvest and shell corn, pick fruit and certain kinds of vegetables. A machine that even does the delicate job of harvesting grapes has been developed and should be on the market soon.

Experiment stations in Georgia have worked on the development of mechanized pea pickers, peanut harvesters, crop-drying equipment, fruit pickers, tree shakers, better grain combines and even tobacco harvesters.

HARVESTING AND SHELLING MACHINE WORKS CORN FIELD
One of New Machines That Make Farming Easier in Georgia

The new equipment has cut out much of the human labor involved in farming. However, the high cost of mechanization and other farm improvements has reduced the margin of profit in farming to a point where only a large, volume producer can make a living on the land.

(AS AN EXAMPLE, Goolsby points out that a farmer who wishes to buy enough new equipment to care for 150 acres of cotton would need about $50,000.)

Not only are researchers inventing new farm machines to replace manpower, they also are working to improve existing equipment.

Goolsby says that experiments are underway on producing an inexpensive but more efficient farm tractor.

Using a turbine engine similar to those in jet aircraft, the experimental tractor will have no crankshaft, no sparkplug, and no mechanical valves, according to Goolsby.

THE ENGINE, which will be no bigger than a five-gallon milk can, will have a capacity of 50 to 100 horsepower.

"We are quite sure that an engine of this description will be available to farmers within the next 10 years," Goolsby says.

Other develops which farmers will see in the next 20 years:

VEGETABLE combines using electronic controls to sense and harvest mature plants — cleaning, grading and packaging them immediately as the machine moves through the field.

MOBILE X-RAY machines traveling across fields sterilizing soil against noxious weeds and plant diseases as they move along.

FORAGE HARVESTERS that cut standing forage, dehydrate it almost instantly with atomic energy and pelletize it — all in a continuous operation as the machine travels over the field.

ARTIFICIAL lighting of entire fields making possible several harvests within a growing season, growing of crops in areas with very short growing seasons and controlling fruit and vegetable maturity to fulfill market demands.

"EGG FACTORIES" with eggs going from mechanical collectors into a machine that separates them according to shell color, candles them electronically, cleans, grades, packages and delivers them to refrigerated storage without being touched by human hands.

These developments were outlined at the recent annual National Electric Farm Power Conference in Columbus, Ohio.

Partly as a result of increased mechanization, Georgia farms will continue to become fewer and bigger and employ less and less human labor. The unskilled and un-moneyed little farmers will continue their trek to the urban area, causing new and bigger headaches for city governments.

Back on the remaining farms, according to Goolsby and Crawford, life will be easier, incomes higher and agricultural products will be cheaper, more plentiful and of better quality.

NEW AND better farm machinery also will allow many farmers to earn money away from the land and still maintain high-crop productions on a parttime basis.

Goolsby believes the increased use of automation of the farm "is something that should happen. It will improve the farmer's lot in life. It will encourage younger members of some farm families to remain in farm work."

January 15, 1963

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Enclosed are 10 copies of the Journal-Constitution article on you. We all thought it was wonderful, and have gotten 100 tearsheets (free, happily) and also bought 20 copies before we knew we could get the free ones. So we are well supplied in case you would like more copies to mail out to friends and relatives.

Sincerely,

Montez G. Albright

January 17, 1963

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I don't think I'll continue to write you every day, as I seem to have this week!

Please sign the enclosed certificates and mail them on to Mr. Wheeler for his signature (addressed envelope enclosed). By the time we get them back from Mr. Wheeler, we should have ready the individual letters to accompany each citation.

Sorry it has taken so long; we had complications with the printer and then with the man who did the lettering by hand of the names and date.

Sincerely,

Montez G. Albright
Administrative Assistant

January 29, 1963

Mrs James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Last Friday Dr. James Sells, executive secretary of the Southeast Jurisdictional Council, The Methodist Church, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia, came by the office to request that SRC ask you, for him, to come to Atlanta April 15, 16 and 17 and on the evening of the 15th address an interdenominational group of southern ministers (about 100). He hopes that you can stay over for the sessions on the 16 and 17, "to mingle with the men". I suppose he hopes that some of your character and beliefs will rub off on them!

The theme of the conference is, "The Mission of the Church in the South for the Next 40 Years."

Dr. Sells said that he had met you years ago, and that he was one of the men mentioned in the book, This Is the South.

Dr. Sells fancies himself a liberal; however, he is not quite as liberal as he imagines himself to be. For instance, he thinks Will Campbell "has got himself out on a limb" with some of his recent writing. He mentioned the two ministers in Mississippi who have had to seek greener pastures because of signing the ministers' statement, and said that one, who has been serving three churches, is still preaching at one of them.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright
Administrative Assistant

MA please write Jim Dabbs

1-25-62

also see SC Jun Council

Dr. James Sells (63 Auburn Ave.) came by this afternoon with a plea.

He wants you to write to Mr. Dabbs and persuade him to come to Atlanta April 15-16-17 and on the evening of the 15th address an interdenominational group of ministers; about 100, he said. He hopes Mr. Dabbs can stay over for the other two days "just to mingle with the men".

He said he met Mr. Dabbs years ago and that he was one of the men mentioned in the book, This is the South.

The theme of the meeting is "Mission of the Church in the South for the next 40 years."

Dr. Sells fancies himself as a liberal. He is not quite as liberal as he thinks he is, however. He asked for some material on economics, and I gave him the appropriate L reports. He also took a copy of New South, Mississippi. He was sad about the two ministers losing their churches (one of them who had three churches is still preaching at one, he said). But when I offered him the recent New South with Will Campbell's outburst on racism, he recoiled slightly and said that "Will had gotten himself way out on a limb."

He also wants some materials to mail out to these expected ministers before the conference. I expect we will have to help him choose them, and that he may be a little "selective" himself.

MA

Atlanta Church Hdqrs

Ja 1-0865

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

File

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
Feb. 7, 1963

Dear Les,

I have written Maggie, congratulating her upon the Nov.-Dec. issue of New South. I did remark that its appearance at this time did give it a sort of Canadian air: in Quebec they really get going on the Christmas celebration in February! That may be because they can't do anything else in February. But I had to drop you a line to tell you how much I liked your article. I dare say you're an excellent political scientist, but basically, as I said long ago, you're a good humanist--the original remark, as you may remember, was made when you were our research man, and I warned you to be careful or Harold Fleming would find out you were a damned humanist! At the annual meeting, you spoke of the Southern Regional Council carrying water o both shoulders. You do a masterly job of this yourself.

My kind regards and best wishes,

~~As ever~~
Dabbs
J. M. Dabbs.

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
FEB 11 1963

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1214P EST FEB 15 63 AC097

A SRA038 DH SUMTER SOCAR 15

LESLIE W DUNBAR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 5 FORSYTH

ANS ALLB281 1038A EST ATLA

YOUR TELEGRAM TO JAMES M DABBS IS UNDELIVERED. ADDRESSEE GONE TO FLORIDA. MAID ADVISES WILL RETURN TUESDAY NIGHT. ADDRESS IN FLORIDA UNKNOWN. WE MAIL TELEGRAM

WESTERN UNION TEL CO

MAIL

Left message at hotel desk re the a.m. Personnel Comm. meeting 8:30 a.m. — Biltmore Hotel

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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Jackson 2-8764

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MA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Feb. 6, 1963

Mrs. Montez Albright, Executive Asst.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Montez:

I am bringing Mrs. Dabbs with me to Atlanta on the 18th, when I come to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee and Personnel Committee--on the 19th. Please reserve a room for us at the Piedmont, double bed or two singles. I shall of course take care of her share of the expenses. If the Piedmont is full, the Atlantan will do, though it's a bit farther from the center of things. However, unless I hear, I will go to the Piedmont.

OK 2-8-64 MA

Thanks, and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

J.M. Dabbs

J.M. Dabbs,
President

P.S. We go to a reception at the White House next Tuesday evening. I told Mrs. Dabbs that if she would go to Atlanta with me, she could shop while I was attending our meeting. The joker here is that she never shops. She replied, "What! After the White House?"

March 2, 1963

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Your ms. arrived in good condition, and everyone is pleased and excited that you are so well along on THE BOOK. I read half of it last night, and shall finish it tonight. I found it most interesting, informative, and provocative; and, as usual, your penetrating insights are fascinating. I don't feel qualified to offer any comments or suggestions.

Mr. Dunbar, Staige Blackwell, and probably Paul Anthony and Maggie Long will be reading it as time permits and they may want to write you afterwards.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant
(somewhat)

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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Board "Dabbs"

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

April 18, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les:

Please acknowledge, for me, Mrs. Olivarez's letter, and let her have what pertinent information you can pass on without too much trouble.

I had a happy time at your home Tuesday night. It is clear where you get at least some of the quiet authority you bring to your public life. The adveryisements say that this new Country Club malt has authority. well, so has bourbon. But these are superficial compared to yours. My best wishes to you and Peggy and that fine son of yours.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs,
President.

June 5, 1963

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thank you for your letter. I heard this morning over the car radio that the Connecticut students were being told in South Carolina that "evaluation" had to be the way, so I inferred that they had already got out of your custody.

The press attention to the release was fair, nothing spectacular. We are just beginning to get in the clips, and I am asking Mildred to send copies to you of such as we have now, and will pick out a few later ones if they are interesting to send to you.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

June 2, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les:

I have read again carefully the SRC news release of May 26. This is to congratulate you and the stafff upon it. A political scientist who speaks of "a loving concern for the education of all our children" is A-O.K.--to use space jargon--in my book. I should be interested to know at your convenience what kind of press the release got.

Hope you had a good trip to New York, and got what you went after. That was the trip you were leaving on when I saw you last at the Peachtree Manor.

Tomorrow evening Mrs. D.and I are to entertain a group of some 15 students from the University of Connecticut, who have come to South Carolina in order to see behind the "paper curtain.". They're also going to see Tom Waring and Bill Workman. Mrs. Workman is going to feed them fried chicken and hot biscuits. But I'll see them first, and I'm going to make them suspicious of that chicken and anything else Bill and Tom give them!

As ever,

J. M. Dabbs.

P.S. Maggie sent me a copy of her "Complaint." I told her to get back on that pedestal, for southern women where she belonged! This is the only way to keep a woman in her place — on a pedestal, her! From complaining — she didn't like being a goddess. She said she didn't like being treated with dirty dishes to be washed!

SRC Urges South to Seek Racial Accord

Atl. Jrn. 6/24/63

Interagroup Off. Comm.

The time has come when Southern states can no longer evade and avoid their legal responsibilities in the civil rights struggle, the Southern Regional Council said Saturday.

The council, an interracial organization based in Atlanta which works for equal opportunity for all races, was commenting on last Monday's Supreme Court decision in the sit-in cases. The council statement was signed by members of its Executive Committee.

The council noted that the May 20 court decisions "moved our law a long step nearer the American ideal of equal rights.

"These deicisions confront the South again with an historic choice. They set before us a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity — and intelligence — which we turned our backs on in 1954.

"The South nine years ago was called on by the national will for greatness; instead, it responded with a self-blighting display of malace and futility. The recent events in Birmingham are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit."

CIVIC leaders have demonstrated, in other cities, however, an "unprecedented awareness . . . that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services," the council said.

But the nation and especially the South, it said, are still adopting "measures which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience. . . .

"The legitimate unrest of Negro citizens requires a statesmanship adequate for the time from national, state, and local governments, and from private businesses.

"We need to turn from the mere defense of voting rights against criminal violation to the positive assurance of voting rights; from token school desegregation to a loving concern for the education of all our children. . . .

"Negro Southerners, supported by white people of good will, have been the South's moral leaders these last few years. The whole region and the nation owe them a debt for what they have accomplished, and for their continued faith in American institutions. . . .

"Southern states and cities ought not again, or still, to evade and avoid legal responsibilities which clearly are theirs. The South can recover its title-deeds in American democracy by now taking specific actions that would show its loyalty [illegible] spirit of the law and [illegible] Negro citizens."

These actions [illegible] said, should include [illegible] mediate dropping of [illegible] against peaceful demons[illegible] and removal of segrega[illegible] in governmental facilities and in businesses which serve the general public.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

June 12, 1963

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Enclosed are additional clips which have just come from our clipping service re SRC's public statement of May 26. I'll send others as they arrive.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures

MJ - pls copy for Bob
SB
MJ - file

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Bob & Dabbs

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Aug. 17, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

I wish you'd wait to read my book manuscript until you receive the copy Edith is making for me now. That should be done in two or three weeks, and is not only complete but also a considerably betterjob than the first try. After all, when you're seeking wisdom, two or three weeks won't make much difference. (This is a sample of what Edith calls my startling modesty.)

May I complement you and the Council on the last two pamphlets: Morland's and Coles'. I wrote Morland and will write Coles. Coles' is one of the best combinations of scientific carefulness and human feeling that I have seen. He has what we all need.

I hope Rusk gives us a time that will make it possible for me to see him.

With kindest regards,

~~Sincerely,~~
Bob
~~J. M. Dabbs~~
President

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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LWD-fji

GP 5-0116

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
August 31, 1963

Dear Mildred,

From September 3 to 6, my address will be C/O CarltonJ.Frazier, Dean, Syracuse Area Pastors& School,501 e. Fayette St., Syracuse, N.Y. Friday night, Sept. 6 to Sunday morning, C/O Mrs. Muryal Bernstein, Newfane,Vt. After that, I'll have to let you know.

Sincerely,

J.M. Dabbs
President

Mrs. Mildred Johnson
SRC, Atlanta, Ga.

June 9/15 - 16

Syracuse, N.Y.
HR8-9521
(a pay phone outside room)

Methodist
(staying at
476-5571
Ext. 2978
Area Code 315

Wheeler

475-0116

October 7, 1963

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Thanks for sending us the change of address for Hugh Brimm. We did, however, get this same routine letter in the mails.

Under separate cover I am having sent to you a batch of presidential letter head. We still have quite a bit on hand, and if what I've sent is not enough, let me know and I'll send more.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

Mayesville, S.C.
October 3, 1963

Mrs. Mildred Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mildred:

It strikes me that the enclosed letter should be on file at the office--though perhaps Les already has this information.

I'm practically out of SRC stationery. I doubt if there are any more of those noble "From the Office of the President / Rip Raps Plantation" sheets left. If there are, please have them sent me. If not, please send me a small batch of the garden-variety SRC paper and envelopes--enough to hold me until things turn over in late November. Thanks.

With kindest regards,

~~Sincerely,~~

J. M. Dabbs,
President.

HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY OFFICE
BIRMINGHAM PROCUREMENT DISTRICT
2120 SEVENTH AVENUE, NORTH
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

IN REPLY REFER TO
AMXBI-IRS

17 September 1963

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

This will advise you of the change in address for this activity. Your records should read as follows:

Headquarters, United States Army Materiel Command
Equal Employment Opportunity Office
Atlanta Army Depot, Building 305-B
Forest Park, Georgia 30050

Telephone: Area Code 404 366-5460
Extensions 8821 and 8822

If any questions arise related to the work of this office, please feel free to communicate with us immediately.

Sincerely,

Hugh A. Brimm

HUGH A. BRIMM
Chief, Equal Employment
Opportunity Office

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Oct.16, 1963

Mrs. Mildred Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mildred:

If SRC needs to phone me within the next week, here is where I shall be:

Thursday night, Oct. 17: Dr. Marion Young, 1630 Berkley Circle, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Oct. 18: Meeting of Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Methodist Building, Nashville, Tenn. ~~754-5444~~ ~~244-5910~~ (Parlor Room)
Oct. 20: Rev. Douglas W. Oldenburg, Covenant Pres. Church, Lynchburg, Va.
Oct. 20-22: Heslip Lee, Director, Va. Council on Human Relations, 17 East Cary Street, Richmond, 19, Va. MIlton 9-0872.
Oct. 23: Home.
Oct. 24-27: Tuskeegee Institute, Alabama.

291-6930
Bd of Education

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J.M. Dabbs,
President

October 17, 1963

Mr. Robert Jansen — cc: Gen. Corresp
U. S. District Attorney for
Southern Alabama
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Mr. Jansen:

I had a letter the other day from Mr. James McBride Dabbs who said that you would be interested in visiting our offices sometime when you are in Atlanta. I do hope that you will. I expect to be in the offices most of the time between now and the end of the month, and would be most happy to see you at your convenience; perhaps sometime during the week of October 28?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

Rec'd 10/14/63

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
Oct. 12, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les:

Ten days ago, in Richmond, at a Presbyterian Committee on Christian Action, I ran again into Bob Jansen, United States District Attorney for southern Alabama, office in Mobile. He asked me when I saw you to tell you he'd like to talk with you some time at your convenience. I think he simply wants to clarify his own mind about SRC. He is most friendly to us. He said that if you would let him know when he could see you, he'd run up to Atlanta. He could always find something to do there--like investigating the federal prison, etc!

Since I probably shan't see you for some time, I'm passing this on to you by letter.

Kindest regards,

J. M. Dabbs
President

P. S. You handled the hotel situation beautifully.

November 14, 1963

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Enclosed is a very rough drawing which should be of some little help to you in driving into downtown Atlanta and on to the Howard Johnson Motel. Note the red arrows beginning on Highway 20 on which you will be travelling. As indicated you will take an exit off the expressway at Hill Street, continue on Hill Street to Memorial Drive, turn left onto Memorial Drive and continue again to the expressway where you will turn left onto the expressway. Continue on the expressway to Pulliam Street. (Take special note while driving in that Pulliam Street and the Expressway merge; in order to get onto Pulliam Street you will bear to the right, at the point of merger, to avoid continuing further on the expressway.) When you have come to the end of Pulliam Street, turn left onto Georgia Avenue, continue one (1) block to Washington Street, make a right turn onto Washington Street, and proceed to the motel.

See you on the 25th.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
enclosure - 1.

November 14, 1963

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Just a word on James's interrogation. I had a letter from him on October 7, and he thought we should take the matter up with the FBI and not at all with the Defense Intelligence Agency. After a good bit of thought, we have decided not to write to the FBI. I would not have minded writing to the DIA, but James did not seem to think that that would be appropriate or desirable. The reason that we do not want to write to the FBI is that I do not think it would avail anything to address a letter to the FBI without describing the specific incidence, and if the Bureau checked out our letter at all, I am sure that it would have to take it up with the DIA, and we would be doing, indirectly, what James indicates he does not want.

What we have done is to discuss this at some length, orally, with the FBI, and I think that probably we have accomplished everything that we can.

I have read your presidential address, and I think it is superb.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

cc: Mr. James M. Dabbs, Jr.

To be routed in order arranged

DATE: _____

PLEASE CHECK & FORWARD ASAP

1. LWD
   VEJ ✓
   MMJ
2. SB ✓
   NM
   BP
   JT
   MA
3. RA
   MM ✓
4. ML ✓
   MG ✓
5. MET
   RH ✓
6. RHA ✓
   JS ✓
7. LK ✓
8. BCC
   RB
9. VEP
   WB ✓
   JM
   RB ✓

PWC ✓

JL

JS ✓

FILE ---------- _____

copy

November 26, 1963.

Mrs. John F. Kennedy
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Kennedy:

As president of the Southern Regional Council, the leading interracial organization of the South, an organization which supported the late President and which was, we believe, appreciated by him, I take the liberty of writing you these few words.

We hope that we are among those who recognize greatness when we see it. We saw it in John Fitzgerald Kennedy: courage, vision, humility. Though such words cannot lessen your pain, they may at least suggest to you that quality of splendor, so rare today, which we saw in the life of the late President. Our own lives have been touched by his greatness.

May God keep you, and bless you, and cause His face to shine upon you!

Sincerely,

James M. Dabbs

DREW UNIVERSITY

Madison, New Jersey

VJ

file: Board - J. M. Dabbs

PAV
PWL
MJ. file

FOR RELEASE: IMMEDIATE January 9, 1964

MADISON, N.J. - An interpretation of the Southern heritage and the civil rights problems in the nation will be given in a public lecture, entitled "Beyond the Potomac", to be given by James McBride Dabbs, noted author and educator, at Drew University at 8:00 P.M., Friday January 24th. The lecture will be presented in Samuel W. Bowne Hall, Great Hall and was arranged by the Church History Club of the Theological School.

Mr. Dabbs began his writing career in 1930 and has published more than 100 articles in leading American magazines and journals. His first book, "The Southern Heritage", published in 1958, earned him the Brotherhood Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. In reviewing this book, Jonathan Daniels of the Saturday Review of Literature said, "There is moving poetry in the gentle, logical, loving, informed writing of such a man as James McBride Dabbs." Mr. Dabbs, has recently published an autobiography entitled, "The Road Home".

Since 1957, Mr. Dabbs has been President of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. He also holds membership on the Executive Committee of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and the Advisory Committee of the U.S. National Student Association and is a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

A native of Mayesville, South Carolina, where he continues to farm the family plantation, Mr. Dabbs has a penetrating and perceptive understanding of the American South and the problems of the region. He has been most aptly described as a Southerner who looks at the civil rights problem in terms of humanity.

-30-

File Board - Dabbs

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Jan. 20, 1964

Mrs. Mildred Johnson
SouthernRegional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mildred:

I'm heading North to convert the heathen. Here are several addresses: Thursday night, C/O Wilmer Young, Rendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa. Friday, Drew, Univ., Madison, N.J. Saturday morning, C/O Funk and Wagnalls, New York City. Saturday night, C/O Mrs. Robert Haas, White Plains, N. Y. Monday night, C/O Rev. Robert Ledbetter, Vinton, Va. Wed. morning. PEACHTREE MANOR.

Kindest regards,

J. M. Dabbs

J.M.Dabbs
President.

File
Board - Dabbs, James

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

TA
MS file

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Jan. 20, 1964

Dear Les,

I've written Fay Bennett that I would relay the enclosed request to you. I don't know the people. I have the impression that you want to hire all the really good people yourself, but you might have a discard or two you could mention to her.

Kindest regards,

Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs
President

Mr. L. W. Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR
NSF
SINCE 1937

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • GRamercy 3-0284

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executive secretary

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project director

OCIE LEE SMITH
Louisiana-Arkansas representative

L. S. JAMES
South Carolina representative

ART EMERY
Tennessee representative

JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

January 17, 1964

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

The National Sharecroppers Fund has just been awarded a contract from the U.S. Department of Labor to act as its agent on behalf of the Manpower Development and Training Program to encourage and stimulate training programs among the "hard-core" unemployed and underemployed in the rural areas of six Southern states. I enclose a one-page summary of the project.

I am writing to you now to ask for your suggestions for competent staff people to carry out the project. We are looking first for a field coordinator and would expect him to help in the search for the other three staff people.

I am sure you agree with us that this project is a very exciting one and offers great hope for opening the door to education and training in neglected rural areas in the South where federal agencies have hardly made a dent.

To realize the full potential of this project, we will need a field coordinator who is not only capable, creative, imaginative and knowledgeable about the South, but also the kind of person who can work cooperatively with state officials, educators, and the local people who need the training which will be offered. He would need administrative ability to set up a regional office and direct the work of three field people. He would also need persistence and energy in large measure. The salary would be commensurate with the qualifications of the person.

I do hope you will let me hear from you immediately if you can suggest someone whose qualities approach this description and who might be interested in taking on this important assignment.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:jk
enc.

Summary of an 18 month Demonstration Project
In Developing Job Training Programs Among the "Hard-Core" Unemployed
And Underemployed in Southern Rural Areas, Under Sec. 201
Of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962

Project Agency. National Sharecroppers Fund is a non-profit, voluntary agency with 25 years of experience working to aid rural Southern farm people. Its primary recent emphasis has been to assist, through conferences, informational material, and a field staff, the most disadvantaged rural people in finding solutions to their economic and social problems through participation in governmental farm programs and cooperatives. Its functioning National Board includes authorities in the fields of rural sociology and adult education who will assist in the planning and execution of the project.

Characteristics and Needs of Trainees. Sharecroppers and farm workers who are being displaced by a changing economy often lack the basic education and experience needed to adjust to urban industrial life. They are rural people who, with training and planning, can find more skilled employment on the land and in small rural communities. They have had little experience with state employment offices and are not now being reached by them.

Purpose and Program of Project. The project is designed to demonstrate that unused resources of leadership within the poorer areas of the rural South, in cooperation with the smaller, predominantly Negro colleges, can effectively develop programs of job training that will enable many unemployed persons to lead economically useful lives in their own communities. During the course of 18 months, the agency expects to assist in developing at least two programs in each of the following six states: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee. It expects that 1500-2000 trainees will participate.

By using its experience and local contacts, the agency will reach leaders and potential leaders among the rural groups who are not now being utilized in developing training programs. It will assist them and their communities to analyze their training needs in the light of existing and potential job possibilities and help them to develop a fruitful working relationship with the employment services, agricultural vocational agencies, cooperating colleges, and other state and federal agencies.

NSF will encourage the sponsorship of training programs by those colleges that are best qualified by experience to teach the inadequately prepared, but that have hitherto been restrained by lack of staff and funds from exploiting the potentials of serving in this way. It will help them to establish active relationships with the local communities that need the programs and will assist them in the preparation of these programs. It will seek to develop cooperative action for training between these colleges and larger ones that may have greater staff and facilities available.

Personnel Requirements. The project will require one Field Coordinator and three Field Representatives responsible for two states each, and appropriate secretarial-clerical assistance.

ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

PWL
PA
VJL
ML
MJ-file

File
Board
Dabbs, J. M.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
March 12, 1964

Dr. L. W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.,Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les,

Your annual report came this morning.It has been a pleasure and an inspiration to read. You say too many nice things about me, but I like them, and I think equally nice things about you. By the way, there's one slight error in the Report. My book is being published by Funk and Wagnalls. But this isn't material. I am enclosing for your information what the publishers call an over-all of the bbok. I think they play up too much the conflict that may be aroused by it, but I don't know, and don't really care. "Every brick sells a book."

I will make my financial report on the use of the grant-in-aid before too long.

Did I tell you? The dean at Drew, in introducing me, said that in appearance I was a sort of a cross between Paul Tillich and a Kentucky Colonel. Now, ain't that something? It's a fascinating thing to try, anyhow.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY, INC.

NONFICTION

TITLE: WHO SPEAKS FOR THE SOUTH?
PUBLICATION DATE: October, 1964
SIZE: 5-1/2 x 8-1/4, 416 pp.

AUTHOR: JAMES McBRIDE DABBS
PRICE: $5.00
Jacket:
Index

THE BOOK

The author, past president of the Southern Regional Council ("A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South"), presents an over-all view of the South--what it is; how it came to be that way, and what can be done about it. In brief: the Negro has been at the center of the South's problems all through the history of this troubled region, and in the sense of justice and brotherly love which the Negro has achieved through all of his sufferings lies the solution for the South's present ills. If the Negro has been the Southern Cross, he might also be the way to salvation for the South of today.

This is an ~~eloquent~~ eloquent, quietly compelling, and astute examination of the South by a brilliant, talented writer. Mr. Dabbs begins by sketching its history, distinguishing the aims of the New England Puritans (who were busy making money for the glory of God) and the Virginia settlers (who were busy garnering plantations for the glory of themselves). While the Yankee reached out to the modern industrial world, the Southerner clung to his feudal past, preferring to think he was living Scott's picture of medieval society--a world of pageantry, of knights and ladies and chivalry, games and color and illusion.

At the basis of life--North or South--Mr. Dabbs feels, is religion, and an important part of this is devoted to what the author describes as the South's tragic flaw--a blindness to true spirituality--which has led to the involvements of the past decade. Back of the mid-twentieth-century mind of the South lies a long history, frequently glorious and inspiring, in aspects romantic and glamorous; often blatantly crude with overtones of appalling ignorance, blind bigotry, and idolatry to false gods. Throughout, the history of the South is, in the main, tragic beyond mere words.

The book is invaluable if one is to understand why the South acts as it does. It is also highly controversial--will probably be considered radical by most Southerners; a vindication of the South's acts and motives by Northerners. For example, note the following excerpts from the reports of two informed readers:

From a Southern reader: "I think the author draws on his imagination in describing the wickedness of the Southerner. After I had finished reading the script I asked myself, 'Am I or were my forebears as villainous as the author says we are?' But Dabbs includes himself in his diatribe."

From a Northern reader: "There is just too much good-humored coddling of the South as an attractive and wayward child to win a Northern reader. One finds far too much justification of Southern behavior."

THE AUTHOR

near

Mr. Dabbs lives on Rip Raps Plantation ~~in~~ near Mayesville, South Carolina, where he was born, and devotes his full time to writing and lecturing about the problems of the South. An earlier book, THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE, Knopf, 1958, received high praise from the reviewers, sold around 10,000 copies, and is still in print. Of this, his fourth book, Mr. Dabbs says: "I am writing for Southerners--and non-Southerners--to all who can listen to the large voice of their hearts." He is a member of the board of directors of the Penn Community Services of Beaufort, S. C., an Elder in the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., and a member of the executive committee of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.

File
Brown - Dabbs, James A.

May 14, 1964

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rips Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I noticed in your letter to Mr. Young recently you mentioned that you did not have in your files a copy of Secretary Rusk's letter of last year. You sent that letter to us, and I have made a copy of it and a copy of your reply for your files, enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson

MMJ
Enclosures - 2.

Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, S.C., 5/23/64
1 day

Dear Mildred,

I think for my and Tom Young's letter to the Secretary of State, we should have the proper SRC letterhead. If you have this printed yet, please send me a few sheets and envelopes. Not many. I realize I'll have to start buying my own stationery! Regards.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

Done 5/25/64 file Board

Vice Board - Dabbs, J. M.

June 23, 1964

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rips Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

After reading over that financial report of yours I think you missed your calling. $4,000 on the button! Even with the help of some et ceteras and a miscellaneous that is still pretty good.

I was glad to get your note about the Louisville and Charlotte reports. I agree with you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

Mayesville, South Carolina 29104
June 17, 1964

Dr. L. W. Dunbar
Southern Regional C ouncil,Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

Attached is a copy of my summary financial report to the Field Foundation on the Southern History Project. I will break this down further if the Foundation so desires.

I have just read galley proof on the book. I haven't forgotten that I borrowed from you the ms. copy I sent the SRC. I shall have to hold on to it until I finish reading the page proof. Then I'll let you have it--if you still want to read it before the book appears. This is supposed to happen in October.

With kindest regards,

As ever,

Dabbs.

FINANCIAL REPORT ON SOUTHERN HISTORY PROJECT

BY JAMES MCBRIDE DABBS, RECIPIENT OF THE GRANT OF $4,000

1. Lodging, Chapel Hill, N.C. Set.1, 1961-June 1,1962	$260.00
2. Meals, same period	527.88
3. Travel, mainly during this period and between Mayesville, S.C.,and Chapel Hill, N. C.	417.45
4. Room, board, and medical insurance at home @ $60 mo., Sept., 1962 to Oct. 1963, incl., and Dec. '63 to Feb.,'64 incl.(November was omitted because no work done that mo.)	1020.00
5. Books	232.21
6. Stationery, etc., office supplies &--mainly-clerical aid	983.54
7. Clothing	144.59
8. Laundry and pressing	92.64
9. Medical expenses	122.39
10.Toilet articles, hair cuts	49.67
11.Phone calls	20.99
12.Charity	18.55
13.Tobacco, etc.	12.07
14.Miscellaneous	98.02
Total	4000.00

Submitted to the grantors, the Field Foundation, and to the Southern Regional Council, the sponsor.

James McBride Dabbs, Recipient

June 15, 1964

PWK
PAL
LD

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

Mayesville, South Carolina 29104
June 15, 1964

Dear Les,

Congratulations on the two recent reports, on Louisville and Charlotte. That by Colonel Muse was straightforward and complete; that by Pat Watters more human, personal, and dramatic. I believe Pat had the more interesting subject: the city being further South and more complex in its reactions.

The Southern Regional Council can be proud of both of these reports.

I spoke in Frankfort last week , keynote speech at the Fourth Governor's Conference on Human Rights. Got a good reception. Also received a commisiion as Kentucky Colonel from Governor Breathitt. Unfortunately, it carried no allowance of bourbon, but it's nice to hang on the wall.

I go next week to Spring Hill College to assist Father Foley.

With kindest regards,

~~Sincerely,~~

J. M. Dabbs.

Dr. L. W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

MJ - file
Board - J. M. Dabbs

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S.C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

Mayesville, South Carolina 29104
July 22, 1964

Dear Les,

I have just read the Council's special Report "Law Enforcement in Mississippi." It's a shameful situation that exists there, for Mississippi, for the South, and for the Nation. But I am proud that the South has an organization like the Southern Regional Council to set forth these evils. More power to you.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

Dr. L. W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga.

Mayesville, S.C., Oct. 25, 1964

Dear Les,

SRC should be proud of the book it produced through the hand of Ben Muse. It portrays excellently the great ten years it covers.

Kindest regards.

~~As ever,~~

Daobs.

SW - copy & send to Ben
PWC
BPV
SW - file

November 3, 1964

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rips Raps Planation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I don't think we can help Professor Bouwman. I don't even much like the idea.

These colleges have responsibilities in matters of education which they ought to fulfill without trying to capitalize on the current concern in foundation circles for better Negro opportunities.

Perhaps I have misread your letter, and if so, you can straighten me out.

It was good to see you last week. I meant to bring this up then.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Rec'd 10/22/64

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S.C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

Mayesville, South Carolina
October 21, 1964

Dr. L.W. Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Professor Clark H. Bouwman, Florida Presbyterian College, Dept. of History and Social Science, St. Petersburg, Florida, has asked me for any information I may have about, or contacts with, foundations that might be willing to underwrite the expenses of a dozen or so eligible Negro students in a Florida Presbyterian College next summer at the University of Sussex, England. Field has turned them down. They have another proposal before the Rockefeller Foundation, and think it inadvisable to broach the matter there now. I could help him, but told him I would mention the matter to the two experts I knew, you and Courtney Siceloff. I didn't think any funds FPC might get for the above-mentioned purposes would hurt SRC or Penn. If you have time, and can give Bouwman any helpful advice, please do so and accept my thanks.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

~~Sincerely,~~

J.M. Dabbs.

J.M. Dabbs.

Rec 3/31/65

James McBride Dabbs

RIP RAPS PLANTATION · MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

March 29, 1965

file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W. Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

Unfortunately, Jim Holloway got in only fifteen minutes before we adjourned. I had to rush away to the airport. I ran into him there a little while before plane time, told him I would like to talk with him, but before I could get him away from those he was talking with, I had to board the plane. Sorry.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs.

Mayesville, S.C., 4/27/65

Dear Les,

I have read your report with great interest. It's you all over again--detail, sweep, an conviction. My thanks for the job you're doing, and my kindest regards.

Dabbs

Best -
James M. Dabbs

Mayesville, S.C. April 27, 1965

Dear Maggie,

That's a devastating article you did in the last NEW SOUTH, but devastation with such charm. You mow 'em down so easy. Also a valuable article on Haiti. And tell Vernon I could hear his very voice in that selection from his speech. Tell him to keep on telling 'em. Best regards to everybody d down there. As an old artillerman would say, keep the caissons rolling. ~~with love~~--

J.M.D.

Board

January 17, 1966

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rips Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Your letter requesting out of the Development Committee has been shared with Ray Wheeler and Josephine Wilkins. All of us understand.

With the exception of the South Carolina representative, Ray is asking all members of the Committee to serve another year. From South Carolina, Ray is asking Mr. C. H. Thomas to serve.

We do hope, however, you know of the wish of all of us that you serve ex-officio anytime you are so inclined!

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Dr. Raymond Wheeler

Miss Josephine Wilkins

James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, S.C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs; (CC Ray Wheeler, josephine wilkins)

Your letter requesting out of the development committee has been shared with ray wheeler and josephine wilkins. All of us understand.

With the exception of the South Carolina representative, ray is asking all members of the Committee to serve anotheryear. ~~xxxxxx~~ From South Carolina, ~~xx~~ Ray is asking Mr. C.H. Thomas to serve.

We do hope, however, you know of the wish of all of us that you serve ex-efficio anytime you are so inclined!

Best.

sinc.pa

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Ave.
Charlotte, N.C.

Josephine Wilkins
c/o Biltmore
Atlanta Ga

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Dabbs, James McBride

REGARDING

Original manuscript of the Dabb's ~~book~~ book originating from the Southern History Project.

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Research Department - turned over to Janet Shortt, January 28, 1966

via air mail

April 26, 1966

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rips Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Dabbs:

How good of you to be with us on Friday, the 29th. I made the reservation for you at the Hotel for the night before, and we look forward to seeing you.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

JW/mmj

See Board - Dabbs, James M.

June 22, 1966

Mrs. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Dabbs:

We have learned of your illness from Mr. Dabbs' letter to Pat. This is simply to express the wish of all of us for a quick and full recovery.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

For Board "Dabbs"

November 28, 1966

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Just a note to thank you for your participation in our meeting last week and your substantial contributions to it.

Your introduction of John Wheeler was particularly helpful. John had some concern about the appropriateness of his making the speech at the Annual Dinner and some feeling that his doing so would be misunderstood. Your introduction, followed by the standing ovation given him, corrected any misunderstanding he may have had.

I am sorry that I was unable to be at the meeting on Tuesday to thank you personally as I had hoped.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

See Board "Dabbs"

December 22, 1966

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs

12-19-66

Thank you for the copy of the article from The State. It is gratifying to know we can occasionally be bad enough to make the front page of that paper.

With every warm and sincere wish for the Season to you and Mrs. Dabbs and your family from all of us here.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

re: Southern Regional Council Backs Federal Guidelines, The State - Col., S.C. 12-19-66 (filed in Research)

January 7, 1969

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

We will miss you on Friday and Saturday.

Mr. Plowman is being sent the requested materials.

I will do what I can to follow-through on help for Mr. McNeill. If you are so disposed, you might write to Bob Coles and, perhaps, Robert Penn Warren -- both of them have a particular interest in seeing southern writers supported by the Rockefeller program. Also, you might inform Mr. McNeill that we are always happy to consider material for publication.

Every good wish for the New Year to you and Mrs. Dabbs from all of us here.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

James McBride Dabbs

RIP RAPS PLANTATION · MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

January 2, 1969 29104

Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St.,N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

Three words, no more.

One. I'm very sorry I cannot attend the Executive Commitee meeting on Jan. 10-11. I accepted some time ago an invitation to attend a conference on religion in the South at Duke on those dates--in fact, I have a small speaking part on the 11th. It'll be the first time I have misses an Ex. Comm. meeting in a long time.

Two. A young man passing through on a vacation called me from Sumter today. I know he's a nice young man, because he's been reading WHO SPEAKS FOR THE SOUTH?! He wants to know more about SRC. He's a native of Winston-Salem, but is now studying at Boston University School of Theology, 745 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass. 02215. His name is Ed Plowman.(Sounds like a hard-working boy too.) I told him I'd request the Council to send him some descriptive material. Please have this done.

Three. This may be entirely out of line. If so, forget it. Robert McNeill--whom you may know. He preached for years at Columbus, Ga.--is one of the most liberal preachers in the Presbyterian Church, South. He got run out of Columbus. Since then he has been at Charleston, W. Va. Finally, he just got enough. (Like the airplane pilot--this is true,- who, after having logged up several million miles, sat downin his cabin one morning. reached for a control, drew his hand back, got up and walked out. I've had enough, he said.) So, Rob resigned, quit preaching. He wasn't kicked out this time. And has gone to Chapel Hill to study journalism. He has one book to his credit: God Wills us Free: The Ordeal of A Southern Minister. A good book. I think it takes nerve to quit and start over at his age; he's in the fifties. I don't know whether the Rockefeller people would be interesting in helping him while he gets into the writing field. If you think so, and feel free to pursue the matter, please do.

The three words are up. Three more: HAPPY NEW YEAR.

As ever,

J.M.Dabbs

Reese Cleghorn
MT - file

July 9, 1969

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

You are right. The wording of the subject and purposes of our Annual Meeting need to be improved, and we shall attempt to do so.

The copy of Reese's article was sent to you because I felt it indicated very clearly that Reese was a disciple of yours. And, I am confident Reese would be the first to admit this.

Once when I did, indeed, refer to "Mr. Dabbs's South" I did not mean to leave you with the burden of all of it, but rather to identify a region which I feel you had uniquely interpreted and understood. This is to say, in part, several of us would still like to share with you the "carrying of the ball."

If I may, I should like to share one other thought with you. For a long time -- and before

I became director -- I felt, and still feel, that there is a limited time for a director to serve, to serve effectively. A year ago I felt that I was within two years maximum of my productive period for this position. Now, while you all can fire me at will, you may do so with my blessings. Short of that, I know that we are in a new era in which I and perhaps many of us are inexperienced, but, nevertheless, somewhere along. This is a rambling way of saying thanks to people like you who have not only learned to love this region, but to respect people who are at best what this society has trained us to be. I guess at 41 I am to old to cop out, and toosset in my ways to change.

Warmest regards, as always, to you both.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

James McBride Dabbs

RIP RAPS PLANTATION · MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

July 6, 1969 29104

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N. W. Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

First, as a member of the Executive Committee, I approve of your plans for the annual meeting . However, for the sake of my old love, Language, it should be either "Youth vs. Age", or " Young vs. Old."

Second, and personally, I want to thank you for the copy of Reese Cleghorn's "Southern Consciousness" you had sent me. There were several observations right down my alley. I suppose Reese recognizes that now he should do another since, as I underatand it, SDS has taken SSOC over. Looks as if that leaves me carrying the ball for what you once, not unkindly, referred to, if I remember correctly, "Mr. Dabbs's South." Well, that's fair enough. If it's just my South, just me ought to be carrying the ball.

Third, again, personally--and officially--I want to compliment you on that letter you wrote to the staff. It is concise, conciliatory, and yet firm.

Kindest regards, as always,

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

December 22, 1969

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina 29104

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Ira Kay has requested three copies of your book and would like for you to autograph them. Enclosed are the three copies, along with a separate self-addressed, stamped envelope to send them on to Ira.

Best wishes for the Season to you and Mrs. Dabbs.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

present at the 14th Annual
VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY HUMAN RELATIONS INSTITUTE
Valparaiso, Indiana; July 5 to 7

left to right:

Prof. Karl E. Lutze, Associate Executive Secretary of the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America

the Rev. Noah Ezekiel, President of the India Evangelical Lutheran Church

Dr. James McBride Dabbs, President of Southern Reg. Coun.

Dr. Richard Caemmerer, Head of Dept. of Prac. Theology and Dean of the Chapel, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri

the Rev. Elmer Witt, Executive Director of the International Walther League, official youth organization of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod

SURVIVAL & FREEDOM

A Mike Wallace

interview with

James McBride Dabbs

Produced by the American Broadcasting Company
in association with

The Fund for the Republic

This is one of a series of Mike Wallace Interviews, produced by the American Broadcasting Company in association with the Fund for the Republic for the purpose of stimulating public discussion on the basic issues of survival and freedom in America today. This transcript has been edited. Single copies are available without charge from the Fund for the Republic; additional copies 10 cents each.

James McBride Dabbs lives in South Carolina, where he was born in 1896. He received his A.B. from the University of South Carolina in 1916, his M.A. from Clark University in 1917, and was a second and then a first lieutenant in the Field Artillery during World War I (1917-19). After some years of teaching he started writing freelance articles for magazines, and in 1937 abandoned a university career to devote himself full-time to his plantation and to writing. "The Southern Heritage," published by Knopf this summer, is his first book. In 1957 he was elected president of the Southern Regional Council. He is a member of the board of directors of the Penn Community Services in Beaufort, S. C., an Elder in the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and a member of the executive committee of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.

WALLACE: Good evening, I'm Mike Wallace. Tonight we'll discuss the race conflict in the United States as seen through the eyes of a Southerner, an unusual Southerner. He's James McBride Dabbs, a South Carolinian, a plantation owner, an Elder in the Presbyterian Church, the President of the Southern Regional Council, as well as the author of a new book, *The Southern Heritage,* which is being hailed as one of the most penetrating books ever written about the race problem.

Mr. Dabbs, you've written something very intriguing in your book. You say: "We don't admit this, of course, but the fact remains that the Negro has been the dominant force in Southern life since 1865. Though the problem has been out of sight, its shadow has remained, to darken our minds and dampen our spirits." What does that mean?

DABBS: That means, as I understand it, that we Southerners are democratic, along with the rest of the Americans, and when, following the Civil War and Reconstruction, we clamped segregation and disenfranchisement down upon the Negro against his will (we never asked him anything about it) we had, and have, the sense of doing an undemocratic thing. We may have called it necessity or what-not, but we know deep down this isn't the way Americans act and we therefore have a bad conscience about it. We have pressed it down. We don't take it into the open and face it. And therefore it forever shapes and colors all of our opinions and actions.

WALLACE: The South has a mass guilty conscience, in a sense, about it?

DABBS: Basically, I think that's true, although I wouldn't emphasize "mass" too much in the guilty conscience.

WALLACE: What do you mean?

DABBS: I mean that I don't know how much the average man, the man in the street, as we say, bothers about the right and wrong of social questions. He does what's done. But I do think that throughout history thoughtful Southerners in their quiet moments have unhesitatingly admitted that the slavery situation was wrong and the segregation situation is wrong, but that we're doing the best we can.

WALLACE: What is at the root of all this racial conflict? You hear various reasons given. Are economic reasons basically at the root of racial conflict?

DABBS: I don't think economic reasons are all of the root but certainly they're a part of it. The Negro is discriminated against. The white man gets the better jobs; he gets advancement where the Negro does not; he gets training for the jobs. Negroes in the South have very few white-collar jobs, for instance, and the whites are afraid to lose this short-term gain. I think it's a long-term loss but probably it is for some people a short-term gain. But that isn't the only reason. I think there's also a psychological or spiritual reason. The South is seriously handicapped because she has been on the defensive too long—really since 1830, with the first high tariff. She has lost her battles and therefore she faces everything with the feeling that deep down she is going to lose. That means she carries a chip on her shoulder—she becomes too aggressive—she wants to protect herself unduly.

WALLACE: As to the economic root of racial conflict, though, you quote a Mississippi newspaper editor who said ironically that integration would be a grave threat. He said it this way: "We've lived for years off the labor of the Negro and now we're just plain scared out of our wits. We may have to go to work for a living. Some of us right now don't know where our next mint julep is coming from."

DABBS: Yes, that's P. D. East, and I would agree in general with that. As I say, I don't think the economic factor is the only cause but certainly it is one of the chief factors.

WALLACE: You have written: "The middle and upper class whites, exploiting the poorer whites, have given them grounds for bitterness, and have exercised upon them sufficient influence to turn that bitterness against the Negroes." Do you suggest that the wealthier whites have sometimes deliberately influenced the poorer whites to make the Negro a scapegoat for their own troubles?

DABBS: How deliberately they have done it I don't know, but I feel sure that much of the responsibility for the ills of the South rests with important Southern economic and political leaders. I can't for a minute go along with the theory the Southerners put forth: "Oh, we could advance. We could do this for the Negro. He could have this and that. But you've got to consider the poorer whites. They're bitter. You can't tell what they'll do. You'll have violence." The theory that the lower strata can control society and tell the upper class what to do is nonsense. The poorer class will do, by and large, what the people who own the mortgages and the land and the capital tell them to do. You don't have to tell them outright.

WALLACE: And yet the threats of violence continually come from the so-called lower class. They're not "egged on"—that's not the form that it takes—but we are warned by the upper-class whites that the lower-class whites in the South just might be driven to violence if certain things happen.

DABBS: That's exactly the case. You don't have to egg them on if you've got people who are dissatisfied and unhappy anyhow. Of course the South is happier now than she ever was before. She's on the make. There isn't any question about that. But there are plenty of people in the South who are on the lower edge economically and they're not satisfied the way things are and they're ready to be turned against somebody. You just let the word go down to them that "we need a little bit of rough talk here, we need a little bit of roughness but not too much," and you can get it.

WALLACE: In your book, *The Southern Heritage,* you write that as far as Southern politicians are concerned, the race issue is central to their existence. That ascribes considerable cynicism to Southern politicians.

DABBS: Well, I am a little bit cynical about Southern politicians. I think far more of the average Southerner than I do of his politicians. In fact, I think one of the tragedies of the moment is that there is much more good within the South than the politicians are making use of. They're making use of the ill.

WALLACE: When Governor Almond of Virginia says there'll be no mixed schools in his state and when Governor Faubus resists integration, are you suggesting that they don't really have a conviction about this but are using it for pure political gain?

DABBS: A conviction? You mean that it's right?

WALLACE: Right.

DABBS: Oh, they may have some conviction it is right and they probably have some conviction it's wrong. But suppose there was no Negro question tomorrow morning. Suppose it had all been settled. What would the Southern politicians do? What would the Southern voters do? They'd line up then according to their interests—with the voters of Maine some of them, with the voters of California some of them, and the voters of Montana others of them—and the Southern politicians would have to understand the national issues. As it is, all they have to do, if the going gets tough, is to drag in the race issue, and that solidifies all of the white opinion.

WALLACE: In other words what we call the "solid South" is kept solid basically because of the race issue?

DABBS: I surely think so. There was a time, of course, when the South was largely agrarian and the rest of the country was highly industrialist. Then the Southerner had more to defend. But the South now is becoming day by day more industrialized, more and more like the rest of the country. The race issue is the basic thing that keeps the South solid.

WALLACE: Won't the fact that the South is becoming more industrialized ameliorate the position of the Negro because the South is going to need Negro laborers, Negro help?

DABBS: It should, in the long run. Ashmore points that out—I believe it's Ashmore—that many Southerners working hard to bring industry into the South and fighting for segregation are working at cross-purposes with themselves, because machines have no use for racial differences. Machines want trained men and that's all they want. In a complicated industrial set-up you can't afford to carry on all the distinctions you could have in the simple farm situation. So, in the long run, industrialization will be a body blow to segregation, but it may be a rather long run.

WALLACE: There's one other serious explanation advanced by Southerners against integration besides the purely psychological and the purely economic. Arthur Krock, of *The New York Times,* says that "it goes to the heart of the controversy, this deep underlying issue." He says that Southern opposition to school integration, for instance, is based on fear that "interbreeding would be the result of propinquity in mixed schools of adolescents." What about that?

DABBS: That's the $64,000 question which always enters the conversation. I think that many Southerners are as sincere about their reactions there as they are sincere about many other things. The trouble is, of course, that they don't stop to analyze the matter at all. They probably are afraid of racial intermixture but they don't consider the possibilities against any slightest chance of its happening. They can't be too much against racial intermixture because the history of the South and the presence of mulattoes in the South prove that the Southerner is not deeply opposed to racial intermixture. This is a very, very complex question but the best I can say is that the Southerner is mainly defending status. He always asks, for instance: "Would you want your *daughter* to marry a Negro?" He never says: "Would you want your *son* to marry a Negro?"

The history behind that, of course, is that the child goes with the mother, and it doesn't make any difference how many white men mate with how many Negro women because the white race remains pure white and, according to definition, everybody else goes with the Negro race. And the white maintains status. I think basically this argument is a defense of status but they probably think it's a defense of some divine law.

WALLACE: Why is status, as such, so important to Southerners?

DABBS: I suppose it goes clear back through the whole history of slavery. Under slavery there were many very poor white people. There were also many yeoman farmers who, of course, weren't poor but were good honest farmers. But the one thing the white man had was that they were not Negroes. That's the one thing that unites all white people in the South—"I am not a Negro."

WALLACE: In your book you make an eloquent plea for Negroes and whites to regard themselves as "one," in other words as human beings regardless of skin color. Now, if Negroes and whites *do* attend schools together and eat and play together and learn that they are actually "one," won't that inevitably break down the artificial barriers against interracial marriages?

DABBS: In the very, very long run it may.

WALLACE: Does that concern you?

DABBS: It doesn't concern me. I've got enough troubles today. I can't see the point of these people who are terribly concerned about what's going to happen to the race in 500 years when they can't do something about what's happening to them tomorrow. I think it's sentimental, to say the least. The best scientific reading I can find is that in the long run, as I say in my book, where races have met, they have mixed. You are up against a human factor and you and I can talk about it all we please one way or the other but in the long run it won't make any difference. Personally I think the run will be so long—the change will be so slow—that it doesn't really matter.

WALLACE: Mr. Dabbs, you speak here and you write in your book of a psychological burden—a weight on the soul, so to speak—that all Southerners must bear because they realize the injustices heaped upon the Negroes, in spite of their inability or unwillingness to deal with the problem. But, at the same time, can an average Southerner ever totally free himself from his emotional feelings about the Negro simply by telling himself or having the Supreme Court tell him that segregation is wrong?

DABBS: No, you can't reason about it. Most Southerners won't reason about it at all. The only hope I see for a fundamental psychological change to occur is for the South to get new pictures and new images of what it wants; for instance, a new picture of the Negro. The South carries in its mind now a picture of the Negro of 1865-76—the Reconstruction years—the person who had broken loose and was running wild, who dominated legislatures and so forth and so on. That simply is not a true picture. If we could see the Negro of 1958 as the reserved, resilient person he really is—and he's got many fine characteristics—we would begin to appreciate him as a resource, not as a liability.

WALLACE: Well, you're an enlightened person by any standards, Northern or Southern, Mr. Dabbs. You've lived in the South most of your life. Are you yourself completely free from the age-old social patterns involving Negro and white in the South?

DABBS: Personally I am, but if you ask me whether I invite anybody to my house and my meals any time, no I don't. I've got a sense of what the community feels. I'll unhesitatingly invite anybody there if I think it's worthwhile. But I'm perfectly aware of what I'm doing when I do it. Personally I've got no feeling about the thing. People are equal so far as I'm concerned.

WALLACE: How are you regarded in the South? Are you "the strange fellow who lives down at the end of the lane"?

DABBS: I don't know myself. Perhaps I belong to the aristocracy of the damn fools in the South. That's one way of putting it. A Citizens Council man of my native town said: "Oh, why bother with Dabbs—everybody knows he's a damn fool." So if you rise to that rank, they quit bothering you. There are other stories which indicate they aren't quite sure whether I'm a damn fool or not. But so long as I can keep them guessing—if I'm *not* a damn fool, maybe *he* is.

WALLACE: In your writing you seem to look at the South and the future of the races in the South in an extraordinarily optimistic fashion. You seem to have faith in the intelligence and good will of the majority of white Southerners. You speak of their dignity and their hospitality and their understanding of how to live. Do you have so much faith that you think that school integration would be, could be achieved without court orders, Federal troops—without forcing the South to accept it?

DABBS: Not without court orders. Federal troops are something else. The South likes to say: "We do these things because of our good will." A leading Southern politician said some years ago: "We've got to provide for the Negro, even if we provide equal but separate facilities. We have got to provide for the Negro because it's just." And then he said: "Because we *have* to." He made the same speech about six months ago and he said: "We have provided for the Negro because it was just." He'd forgotten all about the fact that he'd said "we had to." So that may be human nature—certainly Southern human nature. We move when we're pressed and we say it's a fine thing to do. The truth of the matter is that our conscience begins to work when you put enough pressure around it. It's not going to work entirely by itself.

WALLACE: All right, we come to this immediate issue then —the use of Federal troops to enforce the Supreme Court's idea of justice—and perhaps even your personal idea of justice—on millions of Southerners. As an American, do you find nothing at all repugnant in seeing armed troops carrying out policies against the will of so many millions of United States citizens?

DABBS: Against the will of so many millions? Actually the troops in Little Rock were responding to a particular situation and who knows what the will of the millions is. They may be making all kinds of shouting statements but who knows what their basic will is.

WALLACE: Well, they returned Governor Faubus to office by an overwhelming majority as the result of his actions in Little Rock just a year ago. So there were millions involved there, either in actual voting or in sympathy.

DABBS: Yes, that's true. I don't feel as strongly as many Southerners do about the use of troops. I think that the national government got itself maneuvered into a bad situation and then reacted too violently on the spur of the moment. Possibly they could have avoided using the troops. But after Faubus had called out his troops to prevent the execution of the laws, the Federal government had to use some form of force—if necessary, troops—to insure the passage of the laws. The main trouble is that the South is still thinking in terms of the Constitutional Federation of Madison and the founders of this country. The South has never accepted the fact that we fought the Civil War and lost it, and that the Fourteenth Amendment was written. I am a citizen not only of South Carolina but of the United States.

WALLACE: How do you account for that? You said to me before we went on the air: "The South has really never been willing to face up to the fact that it lost the Civil War."

DABBS: I don't know how to account for it, but I do think it's a fact—one of the deepest facts in Southern psychology. We lost a war and we admitted that slavery was wrong, but we didn't admit that discrimination was wrong. We didn't admit that any Negro could become a citizen. We simply dropped our lines back a little bit further and reinstated segregation in place of slavery. Whether we'd have done differently if more force had been used I don't know, but I do feel sure of this: that we not only failed in

the Civil War but failed to understand what the Civil War meant. A great defeat like the Civil War is one of the greatest assets one could have.

WALLACE: How so?

DABBS: Well, consider the edge I've got on you, if you're a Northerner. You're living in the same history you began in. Your life started here three or four hundred years ago and what you started to do then you're still doing and succeeding in. The South started on another track and went a long way. It built up some kind of a civilization —I think a great one in many ways. And then it failed absolutely and we had to start over again. I can become conscious of my history because a large part of it is different. I can look back and see that there was that and there is this and if I can put the two things together, and if I can understand what happened and relate the present to the pre-Civil War period, there is a richness possible to my outlook on life that simply is not possible to yours. But until I do it—and the South usually hasn't done it—there is a trauma cutting right straight across the life of the South, and we don't know what to do with it.

WALLACE: Let's move to something that happened this week at President Eisenhower's press conference. He said, I believe, that he felt that school integration in the South should go slower than it has been going. Do you think that integration has been going too fast?

DABBS: I don't think integration is going too fast. There is no integration at all in the so-called hard-core states of the South. But I don't care particularly how fast or slow it goes, provided we're going somewhere. My basic criticism of the South is when she says she wants time. What does she want time for? The indications are that she wants time to build up the defenses so that she won't have to do anything at all. If she indicated any real desire to make a change, I should say, certainly, she should have time. But if she's going to put off Little Rock for two and a half years, just getting Faubus out is not going to solve the problem. The people are still there and you're going to fight the same thing over again.

WALLACE: Do you believe that there are sincere, well-intentioned, intelligent people in the South who believe that they can actually stop the coming of integration and really feel they can reverse the Supreme Court decision?

DABBS: I think they're sincere. From my point of view I can't think they're very intelligent. Too many world forces are moving. The South may be looking back to 1876. The Federal troops withdrew from the South in 1876-77 and left the South to handle the racial problem as it saw fit, and we know what happened. The South may still hold that the union—the nation—will back down and leave the South to do what it wishes. But the nation cannot back down. What difference did the racial issue make to the world, to the position of America in the world, in 1876? None. What difference does it make now? It's the key issue. Our relation to the colored peoples of the world is more fundamental than communism and democracy. It is a bigger issue and it will be disturbing the world longer than the democratic vs. Communist issue. The nation cannot withdraw today and let the South do what it wishes.

WALLACE: President Eisenhower has said that he will enforce the Supreme Court's decision with troops if necessary, but he has consistently refused to commit himself about integration. He has consistently refused to say whether he approves of a law which permits Negro children to sit next to white children in classrooms. What is your reaction to the President's refusal to take a public stand on an issue of this importance?

DABBS: I'm very grateful that the President made it clear that the power of the nation was behind the Federal Courts. I'm very glad of that. I do regret the fact that he doesn't see fit to take a moral lead in this matter. We have had Presidents who would have taken the lead on one side or the other. Franklin Roosevelt would have done it. Woodrow Wilson would have done it. Both of them had the theory that the President could make the office about what he pleased. He was elected, it's true, by one party, but he becomes the leader of the nation. Who else is the leader except the President? The

President has tremendous moral influence, which it seems to me should be used. This is a democratic issue—I don't see how he can see it otherwise—this is a movement of democracy, and I wish the President would take a stand on the moral issue.

WALLACE: Mr. Dabbs, you've expressed yourself rather wryly about certain Southern politicians up to now. Who are the leaders in the South whom you respect and who can lead the South to a better understanding of our racial problem?

DABBS: The men I think of are the men I am more or less associated with in the Southern Regional Council. I think of both Negroes and whites. There's President Clement of Atlanta University and Benjamin Mays of Morehouse College. There's Hodding Carter and Ashmore—both anathema, of course, in certain parts of the South now. There's John Wheeler, a banker, of North Carolina, Paul Green of North Carolina, a nationally known dramatist.

WALLACE: Martin Luther King?

DABBS: Martin Luther King, of course—one of the outstanding figures of the South. The Montgomery episode is absolutely unprecedented.

WALLACE: Let me ask you one final question. What do you think about Orval Faubus?

DABBS: Well, I said in September, 1957, when this mess was developing for the first time: "I think Faubus is playing by ear and he hasn't a very good ear." I know, of course, that he figured out Arkansas correctly but I still think he hasn't too good an ear for the whole business.

WALLACE: Time will tell. James McBride Dabbs, I surely thank you for coming here from Sumter, South Carolina, to spend this half hour with us. I think it may be fitting to quote here from James Dabbs' book, *The Southern Heritage,* in which he, a Southerner, hurls a challenge to his fellows. He writes: "If Southerners could rise to the level of loving passionately not only their hills and valleys, but also the rich and varied configuration of people, black and white, who dwell therein, we should not only solve our greatest problem, but our age would become a challenge to generations as yet unborn."

The Fund's Study of the Free Society

The major program of the Fund for the Republic is a study of the basic issues underlying a free society. This study is directed at clarifying fundamental questions concerning freedom and justice that emerge when the forms and principles developed by eighteenth century America meet the ideas and practices of today's highly developed industrial society. One of the aims of the study is to widen the circles of public discussion of these questions. It is for this reason that the Fund is assisting in the presentation of the Mike Wallace Interviews.

The task of clarification is being undertaken by ten distinguished Americans acting as a Central Committee of Consultants to the Fund. These men are:

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NS

FOREWORD

A while ago James McBride Dabbs, President of the Southern Regional Council, wrote out some thoughts regarding the Centennial of the Civil War, now being observed throughout the country under the auspices of the national and state governments. He shared these with a few of his colleagues. Mr. Dabbs' letter, full of concern that the Civil War is still today an intellectual and psychological problem for Southerners, and the thoughtful responses which it elicited from his fellow members of the Council, make up this publication.

The Centennial may or may not have been a wise venture for a nation again in the throes of a grest struggle over human rights. It may or may not have been soundly planned and conceived. We nevertheless have it with us. Having it, there is need, we think, for some voices from the South to speak calmly, and with awareness that it must not longer be a stumbling block to national unity.

The Civil War is and has been a deep emotional problem peculiarly for white Southerners. For this reason, all but one of the contributions to this pamphlet are by white men. The concluding piece, by a distinguished Negro Southerner, is in a sense a response, written with charity and a clear vision of the national purpose, from one of the peoples of the South to the other.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PROJECT: SOUTHERN WORDS FOR TODAY

We live by a few emotion-charged words, phrases, and images. One of our chief difficulties lies in keeping these words up-to-date, so that they represent fairly accurately the ever-changing world. This is especially true in a revolutionary period like the present. In such a period, conservative people, fearful of change, cling blindly to the old words.

This is the situation in the South today. The words that many of us are attempting to live by, however effectively they may have represented the actualities of the past, are woefully misleading in regard to the actualities of the present. For instance, "state sovereignty," to some degree "states rights", represent the world of a hundred years ago. "The Negro" is mainly the Negro of Reconstruction and earlier. Even the self-image, "The Southerner" or "the South," is badly put of touch with actuality.

Such key words as these have been packed with meaning, today largely irrelevant, both by the circumstances of their origin and the passage of time. In the long run, other key words, more descriptive of the existing situation, will arise and ### take the places of the outmoded words. The question is, Can we by thought hasten this process? Can we by examining the history and nature of the South discover words that not only describe more accurately the present situation but also touch the heart of the South and invite it to action? Can we find in our experience the living words that will relate us positively instead of negatively to the world revolution in which, willy-nilly, we are involved?

If this can be done, the next, and simpler problem, is the dissemination of such words and images through the news media. This may sound like Madison Avenue, but its basic purpose is to discover, if possible, in the South a self that can make a contribution to the modern world.

To consider these matters, the Southern Regional Council plans to invite a small group of not more than a dozen thoughtful, imaginative Southerners to meet together late this summer for about two days. All expenses will be borne by the Council. Of the exact place and time of meeting, you will be informed later. We hope that you will be able to participate.

J. M. Dabbs, President.

THE TRAGIC FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERNERS

BY

JAMES M. DABBS

An address delivered in Little Rock, Arkansas, to an inter-church meeting for worship at Collins Temple Baptist Church under the auspices of the Greater Little Rock Ministerial Association on Brotherhood Sunday, 1960.

JAMES McBRIDE DABBS is president of the Southern Regional Council, an Elder in the Presbyterian Church in the United States, a member of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.

Mr. Dabbs lives and operates Rip Raps Plantation in South Carolina adjacent to the farm where he lived as a boy. He is a graduate of the University of South Carolina and of Clark University. He has done free lance writing since 1937. His first book, *The Southern Heritage,* was published by Knopf in 1958. He wrote the first part of a symposium, *This is the South,* published by Rand McNally in 1959.

The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners

By

James McBride Dabbs

This is Brotherhood Week, and this Sunday is being celebrated as Race Relations Sunday; that is to say, Christian race relations is included in brotherhood. The phrase "Christian race relations" seems to me a doubtful one. I understand brotherhood — whether I practice it or not—but I can't quite see what Christian race relations would mean. Christian relations are preeminently personal relations; race relations are preeminently impersonal relations. Undoubtedly there are good race relations, and bad race relations, or better and worse race relations; but all race relations, to the degree that they are race and not personal relations, are not Christian. And both the intention and the effect of setting up race relations is to prevent personal relations. Always in race relations the man is modified and to a degree lessened by the adjective "white" or "colored." As I act within the frame of race relations, I do not see the man, the embodied soul, but the colored man, and he sees in me the white man. The effect of segregation is to make us see like this. Segregation is a curtain—originally woven out of cotton, it may be called the Cotton Curtain—that both refracts and distorts our vision. The white can see the Negro through it, but he sees him as smaller than natural and as below him; the Negro is influenced by the curtain to see the white as larger than natural and above him.

Behind the question as to whether race relations can become Christian or not is the question as to whether they can even be democratic. They might be so if the two races in question were so organized that each could elect its representative, or representatives, to confer with the representative or representatives

of the other race, and to come to a mutual agreement. This of course is not the case, certainly not in the South. A good many whites have seemed to think it was when they talked as if the Negroes as a whole could bind themselves to voluntary segregation. No Negro is authorized to bind the race. The unadmitted and undemocratic fact in the South is that every white man is considered the representative of the white race, and when he speaks to any Negro he speaks for the whole white race to the whole colored race. This may sound far-fetched, but this is the basic psychology; think it over. In such a psychological climate the white scoundrel can with impunity abuse the Negro gentleman.

I hasten to add that we in the South, both whites and Negroes, have been much better than the system; we have outwitted the system at many points, and persons have spoken to persons even through the Cotton Curtain. But the relations thus established were not race relations but personal relations, and were created against the pressure of race relations. In such moments the goodness of our hearts overcame the evil of our institution.

Let us leave, therefore, Christian race relations with its contradictory implications, and discuss brotherhood. Of course, you aren't safe in defending brotherhood. In a recent address in South Carolina, Governor Ross Barnett, of Mississippi, attacked "pious phrases and professions of . . . brotherhood." Whether I am merely pious or not, you will have to decide.

Since Governor Barnett was defending segregation in this criticism of brotherhood, I'm sure he was not talking about the brotherhood I am. It's true, there's a plenty of spurious brotherhood, spurious Christian brotherhood. Almost anybody is willing to be brothers to almost anybody else in a spiritual vacuum, especially if that vacuum is postponed to a future heaven. Well, perhaps not anybody. Dr. Cowart, of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, outlining recently for a north Georgia Methodist audience the hard choices of a future life, said, "You won't be happy in heaven, because heaven won't be segregated, you don't want to go to hell, and you can't stay in Georgia." But most people are willing to let God do what he wishes about other-worldly spiritual matters, if no real implementation is demanded in this world. Well, spirit in this world is inseparable from matter; and to be concerned about the spiritual welfare of men is to be concerned about their hunger, their pain, their frustrations—all the shock and weariness of human life in this world. If

my brother hunger, would I not give him bread?

"Any religion", says Martin Luther King, "any religion that professes to be concerned with the souls of men and is not concerned with the slums that damn them, the economic conditions that strangle them, and the social conditions that cripple them, is a dry-as-dust religion."

I hope you will pardon a personal reference in my discussion of brotherhood. I don't like to talk about things I don't know from experience. The only truth I really know is what I have felt. Even the rather difficult things I have said about race relations are based upon experience. What I have to say now is, in a sense, simpler. It is what I know about the brotherhood of man.

Twenty-five years ago, I faced bitter, tragic disappointment. In the depth of my depression, I suddenly had a clear realization of what I'd been stumbling toward for years: that in my disappointment, I was a human being, suffering what all men in one way or another suffer. I was one with the human race. With that realization came a surge of confidence, even of joy, such as I have seldom known. I stood at last upon solid ground, because I stood shoulder to shoulder with mankind. Maybe we were still in the dark, all of us, maybe we still don't know where we were going; but wherever it was, we were going there together.

Did I love the human race in that moment? I think it is fair to say, Yes, as I loved myself. I don't say that I have maintained this love, or have ever expressed it to each individual. This, however, is the perpetual gap between the vision and the achievement. In the moment of vision, we say, "Lord, I believe"; but with its immediate fading, we add, "Help thou mine unbelief." Whether we believe continuously or not, we know we want to believe.

But you may ask, where did God come into my experience? I shall ask another question. Whence came that miracle—a miracle of love—through which my moment of greatest need became the moment of greatest abundance: the miracle of man the neighbor? Did it not come from God, who at that moment out of nothing created everything? If man is a creature that loves, whence comes that love but from the Creator? And if, as John says, we cannot love God except as we love our neighbor, isn't it possibly true —though John didn't say so—that we cannot help loving God as we love our neighbor? That this love of our neighbor is the love of God—God's love—

reaching out from us to the love of God in him. This could be so.

I am sure only of this, that in my poverty I had found riches. I was rich in my poverty because I found mankind poverty-stricken with me. Did I love men out of my poverty or out of my riches? Was I seeking their love to sustain me, or was I bestowing the newly discovered wealth of my love upon them. I couldn't have loved them if I hadn't realized our common poverty. But neither could I have loved them if I hadn't been rich in love. I loved them, perhaps, as men always love, out of a rich poverty, out of poor riches. I loved them because I realized the depth of our common poverty, but without the riches of love I couldn't have known we were poor. I loved them because I felt them worthy of love, and I felt this because I felt myself worthy of love. If I had hated myself, I should have hated or despised them as I saw them without myself.

Whether this is the Christian view or not, I don't know, but I have to stand by it as the best I know. I think it is the view men may come to when they have accepted the tragedy of life, and are ready to move beyond it.

I don't know that anyone has expressed the tragic view better than Ortega y Gasset in *The Revolt of the Masses.* ". . . To live is to feel oneself lost—He who accepts it has already begun to find himself, to be on firm ground. Instinctively, as do the shipwrecked, he will look round for something to which to cling, and that tragic, ruthless glance, absolutely sincere, because it is a question of his salvation, will cause him to bring order into the chaos of his life. These are the only genuine ideas; the ideas of the shipwrecked."

We are all shipwrecked, or due to be, if only we know it. We are all brothers in shipwreck. As such, we reach for the hand of any neighbor, search the face of every man, seeking some hope. You remember the pagan Saxon king, seated on a winter's night with his liege men around him, being asked if he would receive certain visitors—they were Christian monks—just come from a far-off place named Rome. What was his reply? Life, he said, is like a bird, which on a night like this flutters in from the darkness to our lighted hall, circles the fire a few times, and flutters into the darkness again. If these strangers can tell us anything of this bird, let them speak.

If these strangers can tell us anything of the bird, let them speak. This is the question underlying

all questions, the mood of the Saxon king the mood in which a man meets a man. For each of us, in our moment of essential humanity, is a shipwrecked sailor, and every face is a sail upon the far horizon. We reach toward it, we listen for the reassuring cry, "Brother, be of good cheer, we too have known". Known the loneliness, the darkness, and the fellowship around the fire.

In that moment in which I realized the tragic oneness of human life, was I conscious at all of the several races of men? I assure you, I was not. I think I would have laughed then if you had asked me. All this happened years before I had the slightest interest in the race issue in the South. So far as I was concerned then, segregation was the way we did things and the question of change never entered my mind. But when the race issue became central in the South, I must have applied to it what I had learned in that moment of vision. Under that universal light, the issue simply vanished. So far as I am concerned, race is a marginal comment, a footnote, in the book of life. When you've got to get the story itself in order to survive, you can't bother much about marginal comments.

So much for the human predicament. Let's turn closer home, and seek for brotherhood in the South. Whether Southerners possess that tragic temperament which both Unamuno and Ortega attribute to their Spanish fellow-countrymen, I am not sure. I read recently some comments of a Southern specialist in Spanish history who thinks they do. Like the Spaniards, he says, we are proud, inflexible, resentful of outside interference, blind to the changing world, clinging to the past as if it alone held the secret of our identity. And there are other similarities, and a few dissimilarities. Regardless of this, it can surely be maintained that the South has had a tragic history. For a brief period we created a life with a touch of splendor, and through our achievements and through our great failure, we have become a myth in the western world. Whether we are known for our achievements or our failure, I don't know. Perhaps for both, for even the failure was splendid. I have remarked sometimes that the South should either have won the war or should have lost it meanly. But she lost it so grandly that it is hard for us to forget the splendor of that defeat. Indeed, I think that to some degree we tend to follow lost causes even today just because they're doomed to be lost. This is one heritage of Pickett's immortal charge.

It's this knowledge of defeat that makes us the most mature section of the country. We are unique

in the United States. But this very difference from other Americans brings us closer to Europeans. I recently heard an outstanding Southern historian remark that Europeans have no trouble in understanding the South, for Europeans too have known failure and defeat. What they find difficult to understand is the brash successful Yankee. Among Southerners, they find brothers in defeat.

It must have become apparent by now that I've been talking for the last few minutes mainly about the white South. The colored South was not defeated in the Civil War; its cause was victorious. And though it had furnished much of the labor to create the splendid South that was defeated, it has never received proper credit for it, and could not be expected to be especially disturbed by its destruction. Nevertheless, American Negroes have had, and continue to have, a tragic life. A life of hopes deferred, of visions dimmed, of few opportunities and many frustrations. The tragedy of the colored South is different from that of the white South; perhaps its most striking difference is that to a considerable degree it was caused by the actions of the white South. This being the case, Negroes might find it impossible to recognize the tragedy of the white South, or to recognize in white Southerners their brothers in defeat. It's possible, however, that, strange as it sounds, they may be able to do this better than we. For we were the first to inflict the injury, and we have continued to take the lead, and it's very difficult to accept as your equal one whom you have injured. In fact, you need to look down upon him to prove to yourself that you have the right to injure him.

In contrast to this, I have seen many Negroes show keen sympathy for the white Southerner's dilemma. They have reason for disliking us, but two of the main reasons for dislike, they lack: They have neither injured us—at least they have taken no initiative in this—nor have they given us anything. We mostly took what we wanted. You know the old comment: "What d'you hate me for? I never gave you anything."

One difference between the tragedy of the white Southerner and that of the Negro Southerner is this: the Negro Southerner has learned more from his experience than we from ours. We too have learned—our sense of the complexity and difficulty of life, at our best a gentleness, a kindliness—but we are far from learning from our history what we may yet learn. The Negro has learned conciliation and patience—highly civilized virtues. And in his music, especially in his spirituals, he has created out of his

tragedy enduring art. I don't know what we whites have created out of ours to match it. And yet I am happy to recall, as the scholars tell us, that the Negro spirituals are rooted in the revival songs of the whites; and I am happy and humbled to remember that it was out of the injustice that my forefathers inflicted upon their forefathers that the songs were born. No, this isn't quite accurate. I am happy in the songs; I am happy, and amazed, that our strange life here together produced these songs. This is to me the grace of God: that out of much evil beauty should flower. Should I therefore continue to sin that the grace of God might the more abound, asked Paul. God forbid. But I hope I can recognize the grace of God when I see it.

I recall once, on a summer afternoon, attending services in the Negro church at home. We were singing some hymn, I forget what it was, but it must have carried the assurance of heaven. For as I gazed through the open door across the summer fields beyond, I shouldn't have been surprised to see Jacob's Ladder rising there in the corn, with the radiant angels ascending and descending upon it.

The Negro has learned more from his tragic life than we from ours because he put the main quarrel were it should be put. The spirituals show this. They express his quarrel with God. The philosopher Whitehead says that men are first indifferent to God, then they quarrel with him, then—sometimes—they go on to love him. In the spirituals the Negroes lament that life isn't what they would have it, nor are they the people they would be, but they go on to express their faith that God will make it right. Now, I know that religion can be an opiate, and to a degree it has been with the Negroes. But if you look around you today, you will find the Negro, having quarreled with God and made some peace with him, prepared now to move with assurance into the quarrel with men. Remember the walking thousands in Montgomery. You see, it goes like this. When you quarrel with God, you take on the whole show. And when you get licked—as you will—and yield to God's love, you conclude, properly, that what licked you can lick anybody else. You go into the struggle, therefore, with assurance, having the All-Powerful on your side.

The basic reason why we Southern whites haven't learned from our history the great lessons it contains is that we have quarreled too much with men, too little with God. We've generally assumed that *so far as the social order* was concerned God was on our side. We have put an enormous amount

of energy into our personal quarrels with God over cards and liquor and women—or men, as the case may be. We have fought God and sinned, and repented, and fought him again. We have tried, we still try, to be better men and women. But it seldom occurs to us that God might want us to build a better South, nor to ask how you can have good men and women in an unjust social order.

The reason for our prevailing quarrel with men lies deep in history. When we adopted slavery and the aristocratic government that naturally went with it, we turned our faces toward the past, while the rest of the country, along with Europe, was turning toward the future of the machine and democracy. Developing then a kind of life radically different from the life of the rest of the Western World, and yet determined to be closely united economically with that world, we laid the groundwork of the quarrel, and have been engaged in it, and unsuccessfully, ever since. We lost the Civil War and slavery; we lost our aristocratic government and have been moving into a "numerous democracy" with insufficient preparation. (It was John Locke, in the Great Charter of the Province of Carolina, who hoped to God we'd never have a "numerous democracy".) In brief, we've had such fundamental and continuing reasons to quarrel with the rest of the world, that, *as regards the structure of our society,* we have rarely quarreled with our better selves, with the voice of conscience, with the voice of God. Nineteen sixty finds us engaged in the same quarrel, with continued fervor but with weakening effect. All our trouble, we say, lies with the NAACP and the Nine Old Men. I'm not here to defend either the NAACP or the Supreme Court. I'm simply remarking that we're caught in the old trap. We set up a society that had to quarrel with Western society; the more we quarreled the more aware we became of outside evils, the less aware of evils at home. The more we quarreled with men, the less we quarreled with God. Indeed, our general claim is that God is on our side, and all the rest are heathen. I think we might wrestle with God a while and see what he would say about that.

But what's all this got to do with Brotherhood Week? We're considering the possibility of spiritual brotherhood here in the South as a whole. Such brotherhood rests, as I see it, upon the tragic view of life—or, maybe, upon the Christian view, which is tragic, with a cross at its center. Both whites and Negroes in the South have had a tragic history. But neither group has really understood its history and

accepted it. The Negroes have understood theirs better than the whites, but even the Negroes are slow to realize that their basic strength lies in the very hardness of the life they have lived; upon such a past as this, it is possible for them to create a towering future. As for the whites, we have admitted that through the Civil War we lost the institution of slavery. But that we destroyed through secession the federal union of Madison and Jefferson, and became a strongly national state, we haven't yet admitted or accepted. I mean by "we" the loud and so-far accepted voices of the South.

Now, with my individualistic background, and with my individualistic, hot-tempered father, I'm the last man to say accept what you don't believe. If a thing seems wrong, fight it to Kingdom Come. But be certain you know what you're doing. In a life and death struggle like this, no man should merely accept the name of goodness—what people say, what's done, what the custom is, even what the way of life is—but should inquire if it be goodness. That is, you've got to take the fight inside yourself, you've got to quarrel with yourself; you've got to quarrel with God. As you do this, you may find that many of the vehement quarrels of earlier days don't seem to matter at all.

As we white and Negro Southerners come to accept our history, we shall find that we are much closer together than we had thought. We whites don't mind admitting in our pride that the Negroes have copied us; but we hesitate to admit that we have copied them. It would be extraordinarily strange if, living here together so long, we haven't copied them. We Southerners have copied each other, in good things and in bad. Far more than we think, we are one people. Put two Southerners of equal training in a dark room, one white and one colored, and listen to them talk, and I doubt if you'd be able to tell by the expression or by the ideas which one was talking—unless the Negro thought they were being listened to.

Most of us as Christians believe that what happens happens in the providence of God. God controls and uses even the selfishness of men to his own purposes. What exists in the South today is therefore God's providence. Whether it shall affect us as his mercy or his judgment, depends, I think, upon whether we can accept it or not. I do not mean that we shall do nothing about the present; of course not. I merely mean that we shouldn't waste time longing for another time or place or situation, but should make out of the present the best we can. As

the old phrase has it, we should improve every occasion. To improve any occasion is to discover and to create within it more of the spirit of brotherly love which we have learned from Christ, our elder brother in God. The South today waits for this improvement. All Southerners are bound together by their long and tragic history. Though our institutions say we are two, our hearts increasingly whisper we are one. Let us listen to our hearts and go on from there.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES, JAMES MCBRIDE DABBS

Born, Sumter County, South Carolina, May 8, 1896. Education: A.B., Univ. of South Carolina, 1916: M.A. Clark University, 1917; graduate work in English, Columbia University, 1924-25 and 1929-30, and several summer sessions.

Military experience: second and then first lieutenant, field artillery, U.S. army, 1917; one year's service overseas.

Professional experience: as teacher: member of English dept., Univ. of S. C., 1921-24; member of English dept., Coker College, Hartsville, S.C., 1925-42; head of dept., 1925-37.

Professional experience: as writer: have contributed more than one hundred articles to important American journals, including Scribner's, the Forum, Yale Review, Southern Review, South Atlantic Quarterly, Virginia Quarterly, Sewanee Review, Southern Review, the Christian Century and the Presbyterian Outlook. Wrote the introduction to Pee Dee Panorama, picture book of eastern South Carolina (Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1951). Contributed a chapter to Approach to Literature (La. State Univ.,Press, 1936.) Recognition of Robert Frost (Holt, 1937); The Lasting South (Regnery, 1957); This is the South (Rand McNally, 1959); and We Dissent (St. Martin's Press, 1959). Under a grant from the fund for the Republic, published the Southern Heritage (Knopf, 1958), recipient of the Brotherhood Award, National Conference of Christians and Jews; The Road Home (Christian Education Press, 1960); and, under a grant from the Field Foundation, Who Speaks for the South? (Funk and Wagnalls, 1964). Some of my material has been used by the Depaetment of State in the Voice of America broadcasts.

I am an honorary Phi Beta Kappa (Alpha Chapter, South Carolina, 1937); doctor of humane letters, Morehouse College, 1959; doctor of laws, Tuskegee Institute, 1964. I was president of the Southern Regional Council, 1957-63, and am a member of the executive committee. Member of the Board of the S.C. Council on Human Relations; chairman of the Board, Penn Community Service, Inc.; member of the Board of Claflin University; member of the Committee of Southern Churchmen; ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church in the United States; in the same church, member of the General Assembly's Permanent Committee on Christian Relations; member of Sodete Europeenne de Culture; listed in Who's Who in America, 1938, and Who's Who in the Southeast, 1961.

In 1937 I moved back to my farm in Sumter County from the Coker Collge community; since 1942, when I stopped teaching I have been making my living by farming and writing. My chief interest for some fifteen years has been the race situation in the South. I see the South as a region of magnificient resources, especially human resources, but sadly confused and inclined to think of its resources as liabilities.

My address is Mayesville, S.C., 29104 Telegraph, Sumter, S. C. Telephone, Sumter 469-3321.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES, JAMES MCBRIDE DABBS

Born, Sumter County, South Carolina, May 8, 1896. Education: A.B., Univ. of South Carolina, 1916: M.A. Clark University, 1917; graduate work in English, Columbia University, 1924-25 and 1929-30, and several summer sessions.

Military experience: second and then first lieutenant, field artillery, U.S. army, 1917; one year's service overseas.

Professional experience: as teacher: member of English dept., Univ. of S. C., 1921-24; member of English dept., Coker College, Hartsville, S.C., 1925-42; head of dept., 1925-37.

Professional experience: as writer: have contributed more than one hundred articles to important American journals, including Scribner's, the Forum, Yale Review, Southern Review, South Atlantic Quarterly, Virginia Quarterly, Sewanee Review, Southern Review, the Christian Century and the Presbyterian Outlook. Wrote the introduction to Pee Dee Panorama, picture book of eastern South Carolina (Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1951). Contributed a chapter to Approach to Literature (La. State Univ.,Press, 1936.) Recognition of Robert Frost (Holt, 1937); The Lasting South (Regnery, 1957); This is the South (Rand McNally, 1959); and We Dissent (St. Martin's Press, 1959). Under a grant from the fund for the Republic, published the Southern Heritage (Knopf, 1958), recipient of the Brotherhood Award, National Conference of Christians and Jews; The Road Home (Christian Education Press, 1960); and, under a grant from the Field Foundation, Who Speaks for the South? (Funk and Wagnalls, 1964). Some of my material has been used by the Depaetment of State in the Voice of America broadcasts.

I am an honorary Phi Beta Kappa (Alpha Chapter, South Carolina, 1937); doctor of humane letters, Morehouse College, 1959; doctor of laws, Tuskegee Institute, 1964. I was president of the Southern Regional Council, 1957-63, and am a member of the executive committee. Member of the Board of the S.C. Council on Human Relations; chairman of the Board, Penn Community Service, Inc.; member of the Board of Claflin University; member of the Committee of Southern Churchmen; ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church in the United States; in the same church, member of the General Assembly's Permanent Committee on Christian Relations; member of Sodete Europeenne de Culture; listed in Who's Who in America, 1938, and Who's Who in the Southeast, 1961.

In 1937 I moved back to my farm in Sumter County from the Coker Collge community; since 1942, when I stopped teaching I have been making my living by farming and writing. My chief interest for some fifteen years has been the race situation in the South. I see the South as a region of magnificient resources, especially human resources, but sadly confused and inclined to think of its resources as liabilities.

My address is Mayesville, S.C., 29104 Telegraph, Sumter, S. C. Telephone, Sumter 469-3321.

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

June 22, 1944.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The clipping from the Constitution is most interesting, and possibly we shall be able to get up something similar here on the Times-Dispatch. I shall look into the matter.

I did get a copy of Lillian Smith's letter as you surmise. I suppose, given her very deep and immovable convictions on segregation, there was nothing else for her to do but decline. Actually, when I saw that she had been invited to serve as a director, I wondered what sort of consequences there would be, if she accepted. I knew her position, and feared constant wrangles in board meetings over segregation. Much as I admire her for her ability and her conscientious convictions, I cannot help a certain sense of relief that she decided not to join us.

I am looking forward to seeing your reply in COMMON GROUND. They did the only right thing in affording you the opportunity to answer her and Redding.

I doubt if it would be wise to open up the Southern Frontier to comments on these COMMON GROUND articles. It seems to me that that would be going out of our way to stir up opposition to our Council. You would have to invite comment from persons who took issue with your position, and that would make our situation more difficult, it seems to me. Naturally, if someone demands the right to be heard in the Southern Frontier in opposition to us, such a demand would be on a different basis, but to go out and seek dissenting views for distribution in our own publication impresses me as making trouble unnecessarily, and hurting our own cause.

I am looking forward with much pleasure to seeing you here next Thursday.

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney

Virginius Dabney.

July 25, 1944

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Editor
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

Dear Virginius:

As Gunnar Myrdal would say, "Hell now, why don't we just drop these titles?"

Thank you too much for your good letter of July 19. Your comments on my COMMON GROUND article are good for my soul. I hated to indulge in this little controversy, but after all, we didn't start it!

We have not secured anybody yet to do the research job. In fact we have about given up the idea of having a specialist devote several months to our research project. However, we are working up several projects which we hope to farm out to men in various universities. Your suggestion about John Van Sickle and Clarence Nixon is fine, and I hope we are going to be able to get both these men to do something for us.

It was good to see you in Richmond. I wish that I could have stayed several days.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Board

June 19, 1944

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Dabney:

Here is a clipping from today's ATLANTA CONSTITUTION which I thought might be of interest to you. There is so much tension here and so much misunderstanding on the part of white people as to what is going on among Negroes that we have been trying to see what we could do through the newspapers. We convinced the CONSTITUTION that there was a good story in the citizenship work Negroes are doing, and they assigned Miss Sibley to do the story.

I suppose you received a copy of Lillian Smith's letter to me setting forth, among other things, her reasons for not accepting membership in the Council. I believe that the exchange of shots in COMMON GROUND is going to be good for the Council; not that it will convince any of the all-or-none crowd that they may be woefully lacking in realistic strategy, but that it will boost the morale and solidarity of those who think that the Council has strong potentialities. My reply to Mr. Redding and Miss Smith appeared in the summer issue of COMMON GROUND which came out a few days ago. I am getting reprints which I will distribute to the members of the Council as soon as ~~it~~ they arrive.

Do you think there is any point to inviting comments on the COMMON GROUND controversy and publishing them in the SOUTHERN FRONTIER, or is it better just to let the matter rest?

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

zone 11
July 19, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy Johnson:

I am slow in thanking you for your very fine article in the current issue of "Common Ground" in answer to those of J. Saunders Redding and Lillian E. Smith. I have been delayed by the fact that my secretary is on vacation.

I think you have performed a genuine service in composing this very effective and, indeed, devastating answer which puts the case in the proverbial nut-shell, and I consider it unanswerable. The comment of the editor of "Common Ground" at the bottom of your piece impresses me as a feeble reiteration of an untenable position.

At your request I am returning the copy of "Common Ground" to you under separate cover.

I wonder if you have secured anybody to do that job of research this summer? I am belatedly suggesting the name of John Van Sickle, whom I don't know, but who is mentioned in Clarence Nixon's article in the current "Virginia Quarterly Review." He is referred to as the author of a book on "Southern Planning" which might qualify him to do something for you if he is not already tied up. Nixon might be available himself, too, or he might have somebody there at the Vanderbilt Institute of Research and Training in the Social Sciences.

It was a pleasure to see and hear you in Richmond last month and I wish I had not been so tied up. Getting to the meeting at all was about as much I could manage, due to my crowded schedule these days.

Sincerely,

Virginius Dabney

Virginius Dabney

August 7, 1944

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear V. Dabney:

Just a line to say that I listened to you on the NBC hookup on July 30. Your talk was excellent, and I am sure that the whole SRC would want to extend you a vote of thanks.

We are worried over the poor propsects of getting our March of Time film shown here. We discovered that the film is here, and that a small group of movie men plus a few outside advisers had a look at it about two weeks ago. We were on the list to see the preview, but we were not invited. When we discovered that there had been a preview, we called up the man who is in charge and asked him if he could arrange a showing for a small group. He said he would try, but he had that hedging tone which led us to wonder whether we would ever see the film or not. Jack Glenn was through here last week on his way to Mexico. He called me up and said that the film had a showing—a preview, I suppose—at Newnan, Georgia, and that "they stopped it." Sounds bad, doesn't it?

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Rec'd 28/44

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

Dear Guy:

Just a line to say that I am putting in a plug for the Southern Regional Council this Sunday at 2 P.M.over a nationwide NBC hookup,auspices of the Federal Council of Churches. Am to make a three-minute introductory talk for a half-hour panel,in which Benj Mays will participate,on ~~minorities~~ "The Church and Minorities." You may know about it.

I see that our "March of Time" will be out soon. The advance ballyhoo is being distributed by the producers,as you probably know. I judge it will be on the screen in August,but haven't seen any dates.

Thanks for your note. Glad to abandon all formalities in the good old hell and Myrdal tradition.

Yours,

V. Dabney

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

August 21, 1944.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Guy:

I haven't had any information for a couple of weeks as to whether the March of Time would be shown in Richmond, but ~~at that time~~ about two weeks ago I got the definite impression that it would not be.

As in the case of Atlanta, there is a reluctance on the part of anybody in authority in the local theaters to say flatly that it is not going to be shown. Nevertheless, I gather that it is not. Despite the endorsements from various Jewish organizations, some Jewish people do not like the linking of anti-Semitism with the Negro-white problem. They regard it as confusing a "religious" question with a "racial" one. That and the fact that most theater owners seem to be Jewish alone gives reason to believe that the film will have a relatively limited audience. Then, too, in this region there is the phobia which so many people have on the race problem. It is too bad that we have run into this sort of thing, but it is something which cannot be overlooked. I have heard of the film being shown in Sewanee, Tennesse, but do not happen to know of any other Southern showing. Perhaps there have been some, or many. I do not know. Like you, I have not seen the film at all, not having been invited to the preview here. In my case, however, there was no understanding that I would be invited.

Thank you for listening to the little chat over the NBC hookup on July 30th.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

January 2, 1945.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia, (Zone 3).

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I wonder if you have a handy list of the fellows and members of the Southern Regional Council from Virginia. I'd like to see such a list before making nominations. I can return it to you, if you like.

Wishing you every success for 1945, I am

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M

file

Richmond Times-Dispatch

PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

January 6, 1945.

Dear Guy:

I am made somewhat unhappy by your letter of January 4th, in which you surprise me by saying that if I do not accept the presidency of the Council, you do not know "what on earth we can do".

It is extremely kind of you to say this, but aside from the fact that I am utterly unable to take on a responsibility of this magnitude, I do not believe the Council is going to take the direction which I believe to be essential to its success. The vote at the recent meeting on Carter Wesley's resolution convinced me that it will be impossible to get such a resolution through on January 31st. Either the approaching meeting will say nothing on that much discussed point, or it will adopt something like the resolution sponsored by Benjamin Mays at the preceding meeting. In the latter event, I fear it would be necessary for me to resign from the organization. I see that Francis Bridges has done so already, and his reasons are to be found in the rather obvious unwillingness of a substantial majority to take a realistic view.

I am convinced that relatively few white Southerners are going to have anything to do with the organization as long as they suspect that we are working to get rid of all segregation. This is particularly true, of course, in the business and professional fields, where the brethren are more jittery than anywhere else. It is difficult for me to believe that we can be effective if we are to rely so heavily upon ministers, teachers, welfare workers and a few others, as we have been doing. It just cannot be done on the proper scale with such a constituency.

I am deeply sensible of the honor which you and Dr. Odum do me in suggesting that I become president of the Council. As I explained to him, the whole thing is too fraught with explosive issues for me to accept the presidency on a largely nominal basis, under which I would do practically nothing. It seems to me that we are heading into a period where many crucial decisions must be made, and I would not feel justified in being named president of

an agency, if I planned to do little more than have my name on the stationery. Besides, I think the president ought to be more than a figurehead in so important an organization as this. On top of everything else is the highly important question of whether I can afford to be connected with the organization at all. The Mays resolution, if adopted, would finish me, I'm afraid. I admire and like Dr. Mays, but his slant on this would be ruinous, I am sure.

Have you considered Mark Ethridge as a possibility? I talked with Dr. Alexander on my recent trip to Atlanta about getting Mark into the organization. He thought it was a good idea. It might be possible to get him not only into the organization, but into the president's chair. Does this idea appeal to you? I am sorry to note that Dr. Odum seems determined to retire, and if that be true, Mark strikes me as well worth serious thought.

Please accept my sincere thanks for your suggestion that I become president. My extremely heavy schedule there, frequently seven days a week, and frequently without any vacation during the year, combined with various additional burdens already assumed, makes it impossible for me to consider your proposal. My schedule is not flexible like that of many other people, some of whom have the 5-day week, and some of whom have two or three months in the Summer. It is a year-round grind with the paper coming out on every one of the 365 days.

I shall send you some names for members, and perhaps some Fellows also.

By the way, I haven't any record of having paid anything lately to the Council for dues. Can you tell me how much I owe, if anything?

Dues

I suppose you saw the complete series by Barry Bishop, of the Dallas News, issued in pamphlet form, and just distributed by the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association to all its members.

Sincerely yours,

V.

Virginius Dabney.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

January 4, 1945

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dabney:

Thanks for your note of January 7. I am enclosing a list of the members and Fellows of the Council in Virginia. Please keep it if you wish.

I hope that you are going to see your way clear to accepting the presidency of the Council. We are at a very crucial point, and I, for one, do not know what on earth we can do if you are not willing to take the leadership.

I have been doing a good deal of thinking about the future of the Council, and the more I think, the surer I am that we have to dispose of this segregation issue one way or the other. Theoretically, it was disposed of in the conferences which preceded the formation of the Council, and the Council was to be not merely a "race relations" organization but was to work on a broad program for progress in the South. Yet we find that at almost every turn, we get pushed into the "race relations" category and that there is a continuing malaise on the Council's policy on segregation. I wish that we could have had a clear cut vote on the Wesley resolution at the annual meeting. When Mays introduced his resolution and it looked as if the discussion would go on forever, I voted for tabling both resolutions. We have been trying to carry along or appease too many different kinds of people in the Council. We can't go on this way; we either have to take a segregation stand such as Mays proposed, lose most of our white support and see the Council become more and more an agitation agency, or we have to take the alternative course as embodied in Wesley's resolution, sacrifice some of our Negro members, and go out for the support of influential Southerners who are not now willing to come into the Council. Personally, I am now ready to support the latter course. In fact, if we don't do something of this sort pretty soon, I don't see much point in my being here. We might as well turn it over to somebody like Lillian Smith.

Excuse my letting my hair down this way, but I really want to see us work out of our dilemma. I hope to get up to Chapel Hill this weekend and chew the rag at some length with Dr. Odum.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

Charge to the account of _____ $_____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER	X	NIGHT LETTER	
SPECIAL SERVICE		SHIP RADIOGRAM	

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WESTERN UNION

1206-B

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

January 12, 1945

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

JUST BEFORE LEAVING ON HIS TRIP, MCGILL ASKED ME TO HELP FULFILL PROMISE HE HAD MADE TO R. R. WRIGHT, A 90 YEAR OLD PHILADELPHIA NEGRO, TO GET SOUTHERN SPEAKER FOR FREEDOM DAY CELEBRATION, PHILADELPHIA ACADEMY OF MUSIC, EVENING OF FEBRUARY 1.

COULD YOU DO THIS? PLEASE WIRE REPLY.

Guy B. Johnson

PAID
Charge to:
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
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QA52

Q LC127 10 DUPLICATE=RICHMOND VIR JAN 13 NFT

GUY B JOHNSON=

:SOU REG COUNCIL ATLA=!

MANY THANKS BUT ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE. HAVE CONFLICTING APPOINTMENT NEW YORK=

VIRGINIUS DABNEY...

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

January 22, 1945

Mr. Virginius Dabney

Richmond Times-Dispatch

Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Dabney:

Dr. Johnson left town last week on Council business, and has not yet returned to the office. He asked me to write to you, and tell you that your dues for 1944 have been paid, of course, and that we have not yet sent out the notices for 1945.

We are ordering the series to which you referred by Barry Bishop.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs. Philip C. Jay, Jr.)

GBJ:

January 30, 1945

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear W:

Thank you for your letters of January 24 and 27. It was very thoughtful of you to send such a good list of names for nomination to membership and for Honorary Fellowship.

I certainly agree with you about the importance of having more colored ministers in the membership of the Council. I feel that the Negro membership is not as representative of the rank and file as the white membership is. It is unfortunate but true that very few of the nominations which have been submitted include the names of Negro ministers.

I think it is grand that Dr. Odum received the Bernays award. I was afraid that he would not have a chance, on the theory that if the committee chose a Southerner the majority would favor a Negro or an outspoken white person such as Lillian Smith.

We shall certainly miss you at the meeting tomorrow. I hope you can be with us next time.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON

GBJ j

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

January 24, 1945.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Guy:

Enclosed is a list of names of persons whom I believe to be interested in race relations, and able to aid the Southern Regional Council in one way or another. They are all well-known citizens in Richmond, or other sections of Virginia.

I also have a couple of nominees for Virginia Fellows. They are: Miss Louise Harrison Hagner, Wellesley College, Wellesley, 81, Mass., and Mrs. Reid A. Dunn, 1100 W. 43rd Street, Richmond, 24, Va.

I think the award of the Bernays prize to Dr. Odum should not only make us all feel better about the Council, but it should encourage Dr. Odum to remain at the helm, if no one else is uncovered who can take over.

I hope the meeting next week will be altogether successful, and I am sorry indeed not to be on hand. I shall await the outcome with considerable eagerness.

I think I have mentioned before, and I reiterate, that we seem to have very few colored ministers in our membership by comparison with the number we might have, and hardly any on the board. I believe you or somebody said that efforts had been made to do something about this, but without much success. I believe it is our greatest weakness on the colored side.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M
enc.

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

January 27, 1945.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Guy:

I have another nomination for a Fellow for the Southern Regional Council. She is, Miss Reynell Goodman, 4014 Monument Avenue, Richmond, 21, Va., a Richmond schoolteacher who is doing some interesting things with white and colored children in the schools here. She did not know about the Council when I mentioned it to her, and while she was receptive to the idea of working with you, she could not commit herself until she knew more about the duties involved.

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M

May 4, 1945

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Editor
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

Dear Mr. Dabney:

Dr. Johnson has asked me to acknowledge your letter of April 28, since it was necessary for him to go out of town before he could give proper attention to it. He will be back in the office early next week, and he asked me to tell you that the letters from you and Mr. Wilson Brown will have top priority on his schedule as soon as he returns.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

May 8, 1945

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

Dear Dabney:

Dr. Reid and I have received your letter of April 28 and Mr. Wilson Brown's letter of April 26. Since you and Mr. Brown raised the same questions, I am writing identical letters to you and him.

Let me discuss first your point concerning the circulation of Dr. Alexander's article. Clark Foreman suggested, as you observed in the minutes on pages 4 and 5, that the Council purchase a hundred thousand reprints of the article and circulate it as the Council's accepted policy on segregation. This was objected to, and the motion was dropped. During the discussion I stated that we had thought of sending the article to members of the Council, but that we could certainly not undertake to distribute a hundred thousand. Later, page 7 of the minutes, it was voted "that the Executive Directors be directed to procure and circulate as many reprints of the Harper's article by Dr. Will W. Alexander as the Council's funds and the paper situation will permit." In accordance with this action, we negotiated with Harper's for reprints. We finally got permission to reprint not more than 5,000. The Rosenwald Fund is taking a thousand of these, and another organization will want at least a thousand, leaving us about three thousand. It has been my intention all along to send the reprint to members of the Council and to announce to the readers of Southern Frontier that we have copies of the reprint available on request.

I agree with you that if the Council gets branded as an organization which is primarily concerned with the abolition of segregation, its effectiveness will be greatly hampered, but I do not feel that the circulation of Dr. Alexander's article is likely to put the Council in this category. There are people who stand against us and who will continue to do so merely because we are a bi-racial organization. For example, certain persons in Florida recently fought the efforts of Negroes to register as Democrats by whispering around that the Southern Regional Council was financing the Negroes who were attempting to register. Likewise Eugene Talmadge's Statesman blasts forth at "Ralph McGill's Interracial Council" in almost every issue. This sort of thing will probably go on regardless of what we say or do.

Now for the question which you raised concerning the statement at the beginning of the memorandum on the projected study of segregation which was submitted to the Board meeting by Dr. Reid. This memorandum was presented for information and discussion only, and there was no action upon it as such. It is not for publication, and was inserted in the Board minutes as a matter of record. In view of the long discussion of segregation in connection with the question of inviting Mark Ethridge to accept the presidency, culminating in Dr. Mays' statement, which seemed to meet with general approval, namely, that "the Council should be known by its works," I am sure that there would have been immediate objection by some of the Board members if they had felt that the presentation of the memorandum committed the Council officially to the opening statement.

I considered the memorandum a very tentative one but felt that it should be given to the Board in the hope that the Board members would offer some very definite suggestions as to how the study should be conducted. I concede that the opening statement violates good research procedure because, in effect, it states possible conclusions of the study before the study is made. I can assure you that the final research memorandum will be as free from value judgments as possible and that it will have the approval of the Board or of the Executive Committee and whatever research committee is set up before it becomes an official statement of the Council's plan for a study of segregation and discrimination. As a matter of fact, practically all of the details, such as scope of the study, the time schedule, and budget, remain to be worked out. I am sure that Dr. Reid and I agree that there is no point in making the study unless it can be impartial and objective.

We appreciate your criticisms. If more of our members would come forth with their honest criticisms perhaps we could do a better job for the Council.

Very sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j
cc: Dr. Howard W. Odum

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

April 28, 1945.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Associate Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson and Dr. Reid:

I have been considerably jolted by two of the items in the material recently received from you concerning the board meeting of January 31st. Since I was not present at that meeting, I was particularly interested in reading carefully the minutes and memoranda concerning the deliberations and actions of the board.

Two things disturbed me, as Mr. Wilson Brown has already written you, following a discussion which he and I had concerning these matters. The first is that it was voted to circulate as many reprints of Dr. Alexander's Harper article as possible. With great respect for Dr. Alexander, whom I admire very much, and also for his article, which seemed to me to be a good statement of his viewpoint, I feel that circulation of this article by the Southern Regional Council would, in effect, place the organization on record as favoring abolition of segregation in all its forms. Dr. Alexander's article it seems to me, is an argument for such abolition. If we circulate that article, as likely as not a copy will fall into the hands of somebody like Talmadge, and it would be most embarrassing. We have specifically declined, as I understand it, to adopt abolition of segregation as an objective for the present, or the future. We have also declined to say that we accept it as existing under the law. How, then, are we to justify circulation of material which argues that segregation is wrong in principle and practice, and should be done away with?

Even more alarming, from my point of view, is the memorandum submitted by Dr. Reid with respect to the projected study of segregation by the Council. I cannot be sure whether this memorandum was adopted or approved by the board, and I do not think it was. The memorandum places the Council in flat opposition to segregation in all its forms, and I do not see how the statements in the opening paragraph can be justified. I refer particularly to the flat declaration that "acceptance of the principle of segregation or of established segregation is not only wrong but impolitic and inexpedient".

Such a statement is either made on behalf of the Council, or it ought not to be made at all, in my view. If this statement is to be used with foundations to obtain money for the proposed study, it will be tantamount to a declaration that the Council is about to make an all-out drive to get rid of segregation. Even if it is not to be used with foundations, it seems to me to put the Council in a most awkward, if not indefensible position. We have specifically declined, as an organization, to make the statements which are made in this paragraph of Dr. Reid's memorandum. Yet if the associate executive director of the Council makes them, it seems to me that he is, in effect, committing us to a point of view which we not only have not adopted, but which we have specifically declined to adopt.

If the circulation of the Alexander article were to become known and embarrass us, the statements in this memorandum would embarrass us doubly.

I am not sure that it is wise to make any study of segregation at all, but if one is to be made, I am entirely convinced that it ought to be an objective, impartial study of the facts, and not an inquisition whose purpose is announced in advance. All of us can admit the injustices and inequities which have been parts of the segregation system without feeling that any useful purpose can be served by the sort of approach which this memorandum sets forth.

I am convinced that such an approach will not only lose us the support of many persons and agencies which now are backing us, or which may do so, but I believe that it will win active antagonism from the overwhelming majority of white Southerners. It seems to me that the Council can accomplish a great deal by working within the framework of segregation to alleviate the injustices and inequities. It can only wreck itself by trying at this time to get rid of segregation entirely.

I realize how deeply Dr. Reid and our other colored friends feel on this issue, and I respect their feelings and understand them. However, given the present state of public opinion in the South, I can think of nothing more disastrous to the Southern Regional Council's future than its identification in the public mind with an effort to abolish the segregation system. I certainly did not enter this movement with any such purpose in mind.

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M
CC: Dr. Howard W. Odum,
Mr. Wilson Brown.

September 26, 1945

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

Dear V:

Thanks for your letter of September 20 and the enclosure of Mr. Lavenroth's letter to you. A letter was on the way from the Council to Mr. Lavenroth at the time he wrote to you.

We were sorry that there was quite a delay in giving this man a reply, but his question was a very difficult one which called for a good deal of thought and inquiry at this end. As you know, there are practically no private agencies whose job it is to look out for aged colored people in the South. There are a lot of sub-standard homes for old folks, but we do not feel like recommending any of them. We are still studying the matter and we are going to write Mr. Lavenroth some further suggestions. One thing which we are trying to interest him in is the annual clinic which is held at Tuskeegee and which gives a good deal of free service to poor rural Negroes.

I feel that things are looking up for the Council. We have several new staff members and are beginning to get our stride. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you at our annual meeting which incidentally has been postponed from October 10 to November 14th.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
SEP 24 1945
Southern Regional Council

Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

September 20, 1945 .

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Guy:

I enclose a letter from a Mr. Ben Lavenroth of San Francisco who says he is trying to get some information from the Southern Regional Council.

Since he appears to want to give some money to the cause of alleviating poverty among aged colored people of the South, I am sure you and the Council are interested. You probably did not get his letter a month or so ago about this matter.

I do no know the gentleman at all, but I referred him to you, and it seems to me that he is a man with whom you will want to cooperate.

Hoping all goes well, I am

Sincerely yours,

V Dabney

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M
enc.

220 Montgomery Street
619-21 Mills Bldg.

Phone EXbrook 1188

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San Francisco, 4, California

September 13th, 1945.

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor,
Richmond Times-Dispatch,
Richmond 11, Virginia.

My dear Mr. Dabney:

Your letter dated 7/25/'45 in response to my inquiry of 7/14/'45 received for which I beg to thank you. You suggested that I write to the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia for information regarding certain persons interested in alleviating poverty among aged colored folks in the south where, I think, such aid would be most necessary; I wrote to the Southern Regional Council, telling them of your suggestion but to date I have not been favored with any reply.

I wonder, Mr. Dabney, if your request to them might help, or if you know of any other means wherein my purpose may be accomplished. Thanking you for any comment you may care to make on the subject and again thanking you for your courtesy, I beg to remain,

Most respectfully yours,

Ben Lavenroth

BL/MC

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

September 28, 1945.

RECEIVED
OCT 1 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dear Guy:

Best thanks for your letter concerning Mr. Lavenroth. I knew there was some perfectly good explanation, and you need have no doubt that I understand your difficulties.

I am glad that your prospects are improving. Mrs. Havens was here yesterday, and Wilson Brown and I had the pleasure of lunching with her. I think she is a fine choice for the sort of thing she is doing, and the Council is fortunate in securing her services.

I am planning to be down for the annual meeting in November, unless something unexpected intervenes. One difficulty may be the problem of getting a berth on the train. Unless I can get one both ways, I cannot make the trip, as too much time would be consumed, I fear.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

November 25, 1945

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

Dear V:

Just a line to express our appreciation for your good editorial on Mr. Williams and Dr. Odum. I wish we had more people who are as thoughtful and cooperative as you are.

Best wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

April 24, 1946

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear V:

I have tried all over town to get a copy of the Saturday Review of Literature containing your article on the South, but I am told that it is obtainable only by subscription. Do you have a spare copy which you could lend us? We want very much to read your article.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

May 2, 1946

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear V:

Thanks for your letter of April 27. I shall look forward to receiving a copy of the Saturday Review.

Since our Columbia Report is now in the hands of the printer and should be out before long, perhaps it would be better to wait for it before making any reference to it.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Zone 11.

RECEIVED
APR 29 1946
Southern Regional Council

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

April 27, 1946.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Guy:

I have ordered a copy of the April 13th Saturday Review from the magazine's offices, and I hope it will reach you by the middle of next week. Sorry you had so much trouble trying to find one in Atlanta.

I have been up to my eyebrows with two speeches, and I haven't been able to read the full text of the report which the Southern Regional Council made on the Tennessee disorders. I suppose you have seen "Terror in Tennessee: The Truth About the Columbia Outrages" by Oliver W. Harrington, distributed by the "Committee of 100", Carl Van Doren, acting chairman. This sort of stuff really makes me mad. It is of a piece with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare's tirade on the same subject. I am increasingly grateful that we have a balanced organization such as yours to appraise these things reasonably and sanely.

I thought I would write something about these misrepresentations when I am able to study all the documents carefully. To what extent do you think I might cite the Southern Regional Council's report? I note that its contents are marked "not for publication". I suppose I ought not to refer to it specifically, or in direct quotes, until it appears under the imprint of the Council for public distribution.

On the whole, I think I shall wait until that time, and then have something contrasting your report with the other two. Does that seem wise to you?

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M

May 7, 1946

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

Dear V:

Please don't go to any more trouble about the Saturday Review. I think we can get a friend here in Atlanta to lend us a copy.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

May 3, 1946.

RECEIVED
MAY 6 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Guy:

It is difficult to understand, but the Saturday Review for April 13th had been entirely sold out by the time my order reached the office.

I have only one copy, which I need here from time to time. I understand an agency here is planning to run off mimeographed copies of the article, and I think I can get hold of one and send it to you.

The references to the Southern Regional Council are two in number. The first one speaks briefly of it as a great asset to the South, and an evidence of the South's interest in the race problem. The second reference was simply the inaccurate one which I wrote you about, involving Dr. Odum.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M

May 23, 1946

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear V:

Thank you very much for the copy of your Saturday Review article, "Is the South That Bad?" I like it very much and I wish that we could afford to reprint it and give it to all of our members.

I think you know something about the Survey of the Negro Community in Jacksonville, Florida, on which we have been working. We think it is a fine example of community self-study. It was sponsored locally by the Council of Social Agencies and was financed by a grant from the Community Chest. The SRC helped to plan the study, gave advice and supervision throughout the work, helped to assemble information from published sources, and edited the entire work. The editing was completed about ten days ago and the printing is now being done. An outline of the Table of Contents is enclosed.

In our opinion the best thing about this survey was the fact that over 200 Jacksonville people were actively involved in it. These included some of the City officials, school officials, Health Department, etc. Whites and Negroes worked together to collect the data, and each sub-committee in charge of one of the sections of the survey agreed upon recommendations it wanted to make. The recommendations are specific things that can and should be done, and a great many local people are sincerely interested in seeing them implemented.

What I am leading up to is this: We think there is possibility of a popular magazine story in this survey and we wonder whether you would be willing to undertake to write the story. Of course, it could be written from the material which we could supply, plus some correspondence with some of the people who took part in the work, but it would really be better if the writer went to Jacksonville and got the story first-hand. If you don't feel that you can do

this, I would appreciate your suggestions as to how we might proceed to get a popular story written in a sympathetic way. Paul Williams, who was here yesterday for a meeting of the Executive Committee will probably get in touch with you soon about this matter.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Zone 11.

RECEIVED
MAY 29 1946
Southern Regional Council

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

May 27, 1946.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Guy:

I greatly appreciate your suggestion that I do an article about the Jacksonville study. I really do not know how I could manage this. I agree with you that the person who does it ought to go to Jacksonville, and I see no prospect of my being able to do so.

Isn't there someone in Florida who would be well equipped to handle this subject? What about the man on the Tampa paper who is head of the Florida Commission? Jacksonville is so far from Richmond, that I really find it impossible to get down there to go over the field. I should think there would be some newspaperman either in the State or nearby who could handle the article advantageously. Sorry not to be able to do this myself. It sounds as though a very good piece of work has been done.

I am glad you thought the Saturday Review article was all right.

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

June 27, 1946.

RECEIVED
JUN 29 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Guy:

Thank you very much for your note about the tentatively scheduled magazine article bringing in the Jacksonville survey.

It turns out now that I cannot go to Jacksonville. I had a speaking engagement there for July 19th, and the meeting has been cancelled because of the polio. I hesitate to go myself, now that this disease has reached such proportions in Jacksonville. Consequently, I think I had best abandon the trip.

However, I believe it will be possible for me to write the article anyway. I feel that the survey's report as to the interracial situation in Jacksonville is excellent.

However, this document alone does not seem to me to be quite enough to justify an article for one of the mass circulation magazines. I have the feeling that it is something which might definitely be brought into an article on a broader theme, namely, the interracial situation in the postwar South, but I do not see how it could be handled in any of the magazines you have in mind except as part of a broader canvas.

Since I am unable to get to Jacksonville, I am wondering if you would give me any thoughts you have as to the significance of the survey. What tangible results have been obtained as a result of it? What notable difficulties occurred while it was

going on? What sort of of cooperation was vouchsafed by local officials and citizens? Also any dramatic highlights you know of. I think you will agree that a survey which is largely statistical and dryly factual is not precisely the sort of material from which to weave an article of the kind I hope to write.

I trust you agree that the approach I have in mind is a good one. I should like to discuss the relatively good race relations which we have had since the war ended in the South; the one major outbreak at Columbia, Tenn., and the various reports made concerning that outbreak (including your own excellent summary); the other good work being done by the SRC; the effect of the Talmadge and Bilbo campaigns and related subjects. It seems to me that there is a much better chance of landing an article in Marshall Fields' "USA" or some other comparable organ, if I go at the problem in this manner, rather than if I confined it almost entirely to the Jacksonville study.

I should like also to have something on the Atlanta transportation study with any results obtained there as a consequence. And do you agree that we have had pretty good race relations in the South since the war? I thought there would be a good deal more trouble than we have had.

Another thing; will you send me a reprint of your good article in Common Ground answering Lillian Smith? I had one, but I don't seem to have it any more. It is a fine statement of the Council's stand vis-a-vis segregation.

I heard that you had had great anxiety in connection with an injury to your son, and I hope very much that he is now entirely well, or on the road to recovery.

With cordial regards, and hoping that you feel the outline I have given of the projected article to be in the right direction, I am

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M

July 12, 1946

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear V:

I am very sorry that you cannot make the Jacksonville trip. Although there is practically no Polio in the Jacksonville region, somebody might try to quarantine you after a trip to Florida and thereby cause you considerable inconvenience.

I believe you are quite right about doing a general article on the South and including something about the Jacksonville Survey, rather than trying to build the whole article around the Survey. The Survey makes an interesting story, but after all, it was completed only two months ago and there are not yet very many tangible results to show as a result of it.

The fact that the Survey was made is due largely to the efforts and influence of Richard P. Daniel. He sold the idea to white and colored leaders, and to the Council of Social Agencies, which was able to get $2,000 from the Community Fund to finance the work. There was some opposition, of course. Among the Negroes, there were a few who were disappointed because the National Urban League was not asked to come in and make the Survey. One or two others were fearful that the study would show up the defects of their agencies. Among the white people, the chief opposition--or perhaps it would be better just to call it indifference and uncooperativeness--came from some of the public officials. Dr. Trigg did a swell job of selling the Survey to the Negroes who were cool toward it at first. Mr. Daniel, Mrs. Havens and Mrs. Frances Ewell were chiefly responsible for getting the white officials in line. The upshot was that practically everybody who was asked to help in some way, pitched in and did his share.

Now a few words on what I would consider the significant values of the Survey. As I have said to several people, this job is not to be evaluated from the standpoint of a hardboiled sociological analysis of a community. It belonged to the local people and they definitely did not want an academic treatise which nobody could understand and which they would not feel inclined to act upon. Here are the ways in which the Survey differs from most community studies. First, It was conceived and carried out from beginning to end by local people, with professional assistance from the outside, namely, from the Southern Regional Council. Second, Over two hundred local people of both races had some part in making the Survey.

This was in itself a fine educational process for the local people. Many of them learned things which they had never known about their own city. Third, since it was their own survey, they feel a definite responsibility for seeing that the recommendations are acted upon. At a meeting called by the Council of Social Agencies on May 30, a hundred people were present, including some of the city officials, the Survey and its recommendations were unanimously approved, and it was voted to set up a continuing committee to implement the recommendations.

As I stated above, it is too early to speak of tangible results. However, there have already been some indications that the Survey has prodded the city officials into taking certain constructive steps. For example, they have included the supervision of Negro playgrounds and have taken steps to install a new garbage incinerator. The bus station has made improvements in its Negro waiting room and the local bus lines have already improved their services in Negro areas. Furthermore, we know that some of the key people have been sold on the idea of Negro police and we believe that it will not be long before a change along this line is made. Of course, we do not want to claim that all of the improvements which have been made or which will be made in the near future are due solely to the Survey, but we are confident that the Survey is a strong influence in the right direction.

I certainly agree with you that race relations since the war have been more peaceful than most of us expected. I think that this is due to a number of factors such as the relatively high rate of employment, the greater tolerance of the white veteran for the Negro as a result of his war experiences, and the general trend toward democracy in political and civic affairs in the South. When I think of the number of opportunities for violence which have existed lately, particularly in connection with the political campaigns in Mississippi and Georgia, I feel that it is really remarkable that there has been so little interracial trouble. If we can get through next Wednesday and slap down Mr. Talmadge without some racial outbreak in Georgia, we shall have passed an important milestone.

Incidentally, we have been working quietly to do what we can toward protecting the right of Negroes to vote in the Democratic Primary in Georgia next week. As you may know, there is a movement on foot to challenge the registration of Negro Democrats. We have been in touch with the United States Department of Justice on this matter and we have been ready to offer legal assistance wherever it was wanted. This challenge was inevitable, but the most encouraging thing, as I see it, is the way in which local white people over the state are standing up for the fair thing. For example, in Gainesville, the three registrars who weighed the challenges are members of a local committee of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, and they have assured us that they will see that there is no injustice done to the Negro voters in that county. In another county, (Appling) some of the registrars resigned in protest and joined in a complaint to the Department of Justice over what they considered a conspiracy to eliminate Negroes from the voting list. This morning the papers announced that a group of citizens in South Georgia have got an injunction in Federal Court to restrain further efforts to exclude Negroes from the

registration lists. I mention these things because I think they are so encouraging and because they show that there are many people who are willing to come out and fight Talmadge's race-baiting methods in a courageous way.

I shall enclose one or two things which may be of interest to you and which may be of some little help in the preparation of your article.

Our son, Edward, who was badly injured when he was struck by an automobile on June 4, has recovered very satisfactorily. The only signs of his accident are a few scars and seven missing teeth.

Very best wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

P. S. I think I can find a copy of the reprint of my article in Common Ground. If so, it will be enclosed.

I was about to forget that you mentioned the Atlanta Transportation Study. We have turned the action job over to Mrs. Tilly and some of the other local church women. They have not got very far yet, partly because they have been too busy working on political matters, and partly because we have deliberately held off in order not to give Talmadge any further ammunition during his campaign. Talmadge has already attacked SRC in The Statesman, and he has in the last few days distributed a leaflet on one side of which he has reprinted an article from The Southern Frontier about the use of Negro women in textile mills. My guess is that he has another leaflet up his sleeve and that he will release it a day or two before the Primary. If I am right in my guess, it will be a garbled version of some of Miss Fisher's indiscretions which occurred just before she "resigned" from our staff.

G.B.J.

September 9, 1946

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear V:

I am enclosing some biographical facts abour Ira De A. Reid and Harold L. Trigg. I hope they will be suitable for your purposes.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT
Encl.

P. S. Dr. Trigg has just returned from Jacksonville where he learned from Dick Daniel that the next issue of Newsweek is going to have something about the Jacksonville Survey. Edward Barrett, of Newsweek, is Dick Daniel's son-in-law.

GBJ

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
SEP 5 1946
Southern Regional Council

Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

September 3, 1946.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Guy:

Would you mind sending me a thumbnail sketch of Ira Reid and Harold Trigg? What I want is just some elementary facts such as are contained in "Who's Who in America". I want to refer to both of them in the article I am preparing about the Southern interracial situation, and I do not know enough of a precise nature about either of them. Just a paragraph of dates and official positions for each will do, with any impressive additional material which is handy. For example, I believe Ira Reid studied in Europe, for I saw an excellent reproduction of one of the French masters on his office wall at Atlanta University. Sorry to bother you with this. Thanks very much.

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M

Nov. 22/46

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Va.

Dear V:

I should have been able to hand this article back to you when you were here last week, but there was too much to be done.

I think the article is fine. I don't like to see myself played up, but you know the tricks of journalism, and if you think that is what it takes, then o.k.

You will see a few marginal notes I have made. On page 4, I wonder whether "ultra-radical" might not be unnecessary. The quotation shows them up enough, maybe. If there is space to add anything (p. 5) it might be good to point out that Georgia officials welcomed outside help from FBI and that numerous groups, including a Methodist church at Monroe, passed strong resolutions. On p. 6 I think the phrase "relative restraint" might be misunderstood and lay you open to carping criticism. The addition of the verdict in the Lawrenceburg trial, and —space permitting— a word on SRC's emphasis for next year on law enforcement, police methods, and anti-lynching, will round the thing out beautifully. The Council is certainly indebted to you for this labor of love!

It was good to see you here last week. We were all pleased with the meetings.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson

Enclosure

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

November 19, 1946.

TELEPHONE 3-4242

RECEIVED
NOV 20 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Guy:

Thank you very much for sending the enclosed material. I am returning it for your files, in accordance with your request.

I have not been able to get definite word, but I understand that Marshall Field has abandoned his plan to publish the magazine USA. I think I shall probably offer the article to Collier's and the Saturday Evening Post. If they do not take it, as is probable, I'll tell the Saturday Review to go ahead with it. Let me know what specific changes you would suggest before I revise it, and bring it up to date.

Allow me to say again how distressed I am over your forthcoming departure from the SRC. It will be a great loss to the organization, and to the cause of better race relations, and filling your place will be a tough job indeed.

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M
encs.

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

November 6, 1946.

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Guy:

Rather than wait any longer to revise the enclosed manuscript in order to take note of developments which have occurred since it was completed, I am sending it to you for your perusal.

I wish to include the verdict at Lawrenceburg, of course, and to make a few other changes, taking account of the voting yesterday in the Southern states where the franchise was involved. But these are details, and I wanted you to see the article, and to have your criticisms before I make the final revision.

USA has accepted it, provided USA appears within a reasonable time. If they are unable to make use of it, it will be published in the Saturday Review. The latter now has about one hundred thousand circulation.

Please be frank in criticising the enclosed, as I wish to have it just right. If anyone in Jacksonville would like to see the manuscript, I have no objection. I haven't enough copies to send them around, but you are welcome to keep this one, and to send it anywhere you like.

I look forward to seeing you next week.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.,
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

JOHN STEWART BRYAN, *1871-1944*
DAVID TENNANT BRYAN, *President and Publisher*
VIRGINIUS DABNEY, *Editor*

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Sunday, November 24, 1946

It Is Vital to Save Electricity

THE COAL strike is just beginning, and nobody knows when it will end. We may be in for weeks, even months, of deprivation and hardship. Every Virginian must realize the seriousness of the crisis, and co-operate to the fullest in all measures which will save coal.

There are many ways of doing this. You don't have to burn coal in your furnace or your grate in order to be a user. Electricity is created through the burning of coal, and the steam plants of the Virginia Electric and Power Company cannot be kept operating without it. Electricity can also be generated by means of water power, of course, but the Vepco current comes almost entirely from steam plants. Hence it is absolutely essential that use of this current be held to a minimum.

Turn out the lights in your home whenever you are not using them. Turn off the electric stove or the electric heater. Wastage of electricity is wastage of irreplaceable fuel, so long as this strike is in progress. If you waste current today, you may find that there is no current tomorrow, and your cooking, washing, lighting and heating systems, if they are electrically operated, will be paralyzed. Don't forget either that oil burners for home-heating are electrically operated. This means that if the coal supply gives out, and there is no electric current, there won't be any heat in an "oil heated" house, even though the oil tank is full.

Theaters, stores and business houses have been ordered by the State Corporation Commission to operate under a brownout, effective today at 6 P. M., and to discontinue the use of electricity for comfort air conditioning, display lighting, sign lighting, window display lighting, and similar uses. Many began co-operating with the commission's order as soon as its contents were made known, and it is assumed that the co-operation of all will be complete after 6 o'clock today.

It is annoying and exasperating, to put it no more strongly than that, for this devastating strike to have been called by JOHN L. LEWIS just as the country was hopefully hitting its stride toward full production. There may be widespread suffering, illness and even death before this battle for survival is won by the forces of law and order against the wanton ruthlessness of a labor czar.

The best way to insure victory in the contest, and to insure it with a minimum of hardship for all concerned, is for the average citizen to turn in and work wholeheartedly for the conservation of coal and electricity. Not everyone uses coal, but almost everyone uses either coal or electric current. Hence the entire population must begin an immediate and determined fight to prevent waste. We are in this thing to the finish, and we are in it to win!

Another Eclipse?

The Cavalier

By Thomas Lomax Hunter

WHERE I live the world grows dark after the twilight dies. No street lights are lit to illumine our way. No neon signs blossom upon us. Moonlight, when the moon is approaching fullness, and for some nights after it is full, carries for us a glowing lantern through the skies. We see the moonlight as you city folk never do. Upon a fair night of its fullness it gives more brightness to all the world it shines on than do all the man-lit candles of Broadway. I have driven an automobile by it and by no other light upon our country roads.

When Astarte marched through the high heavens I have walked abroad at night as certain of my going as when Phoebus rode the skies. On moonless nights the starry skies were all I needed to light my nightly paths.

I have always loved the night, but not those little garish spots that boastful man calls Great White Ways, which are mere brush-burnings of humanity along the desert's dusty way. I know that the same moon which is lighting my woodland path as she walks across the zenith, is riding the Atlantic billows far down the ocean's east, and also shining on the ripples of all our inland streams where wide America reaches toward the west. Compared to the scope of her high-held lantern man's puny Great White Ways are but glowworms under leaves of grass.

When the skies are fair we see infinitely grander and auguster lights than do those who walk on Broadway, their eyes blinded from the heavens by man's candles.

WE SEE Orion slowly sloping to the west. We look on the Pleiades, glitter like a swarm of fireflies. We see the vast procession of celestial luminaries, and the terminal star of the Great Dipper point us to that steadfast lantern, Polaris, the pilots' star.

In the garish cities man's little candlelights blind our eyes to God's siderial luminaries.

But when the moon is shining on the other side of the earth and the clouds have drawn their blindfold across the face of heaven, darkness indeed covers us.

On such nights have I walked abroad in the long ago, and have threaded the woodland paths using senses quite instinctive. I was familiar with the voices of my neighbors' dogs. The paths had a feel familiar to my feet and I literally felt my way along. I did not carry a lantern. A lantern just made me a conspicuous point in the engulfing blackness.

Even today it would be impossible to lose me in any near-by woods. The pilot stars are blacked out, but the noises of the cars on familiar highways would guide me. I am on the north side of the Northern Neck watershed, and the streams make their devious ways toward the Potomac.

SOME people feel lonely and afraid in the dark. The dark covers me like a a shield. I feel secure behind the shelter of the blackness. I walk through it with a serene sense of security. When, during the war, the silly blackouts were enforced in the rural neighborhoods the housewife just blew out the kitchen lamp and the wings of night covered the house. It probably did not even have the designed propaganda effect and the impatient housewife, wishing to be doing the washing of the kitchen things, murmured at the nonsense of it.

I am told that there are people who live in big cities who sit up all night having what they call fun at nocturnal resorts and sleep all day and arouse and dress themselves in the late afternoon for another night-watch. These poor people never see Phoebus Apollo as he comes majestically up and goes down in golden clouds of glory.

To me this seems a most dismal way of life, and feeling and finding my way through a dark piney woods when there is a heavenly blackout, a genuine adventure compared to it. I feel nothing softer or more intimate than a Summer's night. Walt Whitman felt its caress:

Press close, bare-bossomed night, press close, magnetic nourishing night—
Night of south winds—night of the large few stars.

Leader With Feet on the Ground

NEWS that DR. GUY B. JOHNSON, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, is returning next year to his teaching post at the University of North Carolina, is being received with regret by all who are familiar with his work as head of the Atlanta agency. DR. JOHNSON became the council's first executive director in 1944, with the understanding that he would return to Chapel Hill in a year or two. He feels that he must go back to teaching, now that the council is well-established.

His balanced point of view in race relations will be sorely missed by the Southern Regional Council, whose president is PAUL D. WILLIAMS, Richmond book-publishing executive and nationally known Catholic layman. GUY JOHNSON always keeps his feet on the ground, and refuses to be bemused by the advice of hot-eyed zealots counselling radicalism.

A typical example of his sane and all Negroes as blameless, his SRC report said: "We believe that although the primary responsibility for the creation of tension situations of this sort rests upon white people, the responsibility for the course of events in this particular situation, once it was created, is about equally divided between whites and Negroes." He found, of course, that the civil rights of the Negroes had been seriously violated, and concluded that "some white people and some Negroes deserve punishment under the law for what they did at Columbia."

Unfortunately no whites have been punished. The defendants were 25 Negroes. Thanks, no doubt, in part to the fairness of the Southern Regional Council in creating a dispassionate point of view in that section of Tennessee, 24 of the 25 defendants were acquitted, and one has just been given not more than five years. This writes finis to a case involving highly serious charges against

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WILLIAM L. BRITTS.
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Virginia Rebuked!

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I am a North Carolinian by birth and a Virginian by choice. I love the South and want to see it achieve the greatness of which it is capable. But greatness and prejudice can never survive side by side. It was with surprise—then with shame—that I read in The Times-Dispatch this morning (November 20) that our State had been guilty of a gross example of race prejudice. It is beyond me

laborers produced goods it should be able to exchange them for what other laborers produced on a fair basis, or to the advantage of both.

We readily replied that he was right, and added that in the division of labor we might produce one thing or service, and he another, or someone else still another; all should be able to receive benefits from labor and service, and if we happened to have a cook and she gave us a good breakfast on time and we went to our work and succeeded, the cook should be recognized as a part in such success and be paid for it.

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tablishing their homes. By the year 1664, there was a line of parishes on the south side of the Potomac covering every foot of inhabited land from the Chesapeake Bay as far west as settlement extended

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I think, Mr. Editor, it would be a real help to the State to have your paper devote a page carrying VMI's Major-General Richard J. Marshall's photograph, with the following, which are his words:

Washington Calling

By Marquis Childs

THE signposts are multiplying that American foreign policy may be moving in a new direction. The latest such signpost is a speech by one of the moguls of the Republican party which went almost unnoticed.

Speaking before the Petroleum Institute in Chicago, J. Howard Pew, of the Sun Oil Co., made a more or less direct attack on the kind of practical economic co-operation proposed through the United Nations. The speech was a ringing declaration that America as a nation of rugged individualism must stand aloof from a wicked, collective world.

Pew is, of course, not a member of the new Congress, nor is he ever likely to stand for elective office. But his influence within the party is very great. Through the lean years, Pew and his more politically minded brother, Joseph N. Pew, Jr., have contributed large sums to keep the Republican party alive.

Their influence in the inner circle of Republicanism is impressive, partly because they speak for the industrialists who are an important nucleus within the

until the world's food supply is back to normal. He directed a more oblique attack on the State Department's proposal for an international trade organization under the U. N. This, according to Pew, contains provision for "intergovernmental cartel agreements."

His chief fire, however, was reserved for the petroleum agreement which we negotiated with Great Britain two years ago. Because of the vigorous protests of the petroleum industry in this country, that agreement was watered down in renogiations a year ago. In the form in which it now is pending before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, it is little more than a promise to consult on world petroleum problems.

YET Pew cited the remark of a State Department oil advisor to underscore his conviction that a battle is on to subject the oil industry "to a superstate cartel." He pointed a finger of suspicion at the "recent call for the convening of a United Nations scientific conference on resources, conservation and utilization, to meet in the last six months of next year

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His balanced point of view in race relations will be sorely missed by the Southern Regional Council, whose president is PAUL D. WILLIAMS, Richmond book-publishing executive and nationally known Catholic layman. GUY JOHNSON always keeps his feet on the ground, and refuses to be bemused by the advice of hot-eyed zealots counselling radicalism.

A typical example of his sane and thorough work was the report he made for the SRC on the Columbia, Tenn., racial disorders of last February. In contrast to the tirades emanating from certain other quarters, some of them Southern, the council sent several investigators to Columbia before it said anything at all. Then GUY JOHNSON sifted the evidence carefully and presented it objectively. Instead of lambasting every white person in the town and presenting all Negroes as blameless, his SRC report said: "We believe that although the primary responsibility for the creation of tension situations of this sort rests upon white people, the responsibility for the course of events in this particular situation, once it was created, is about equally divided between whites and Negroes." He found, of course, that the civil rights of the Negroes had been seriously violated, and concluded that "some white people and some Negroes deserve punishment under the law for what they did at Columbia."

Unfortunately no whites have been punished. The defendants were 25 Negroes. Thanks, no doubt, in part to the fairness of the Southern Regional Council in creating a dispassionate point of view in that section of Tennessee, 24 of the 25 defendants were acquitted, and one has just been given not more than five years. This writes finis to a case involving highly serious charges against the accused of firing on and wounding four policemen. Acquittal of 24 out of the 25, and the relatively light penalty imposed on the twenty-fifth is a tribute to Tennessee justice.

For all this, and for numerous other advances in the field of race relations, GUY JOHNSON deserves a major share of the credit. His departure from the Southern Regional Council during 1947 will be a serious loss to that body.

Austin—Internationalist, American Style

WHATEVER the red ink of history may record on the debit side of MR. TRUMAN'S ledger, he will be given credit for selecting WARREN ROBINSON AUSTIN as our representative on the Security Council of the United Nations. MR. AUSTIN is a Vermonter, and therefore a Republican for the same reason that the late SENATOR GLASS was a Virginia Democrat. But during his terms in the Senate, MR. AUSTIN proved himself to be primarily an American and a statesman. When conscience and good sense commanded, he was not afraid to cast his vote with the Democrats, and to uphold the ROOSEVELT administration's foreign policy.

AUSTIN is an American internationalist—which is quite different from being a Russian internationalist. The Russian internationalists, whose disciples may be found in all countries, have, through their representative, MR. MOLOTOV, created the impression that they are incapable of visualizing a world in which conflicting forms of government can dwell together in peace. MR. AUSTIN believes, as all Americans do, that the sovereign states of a federation may hold sharply varying political views and still work and live together in amity.

America, being a living example of that sort of federation, understands MR. AUSTIN, and Britons like FOREIGN MINISTER BEVIN. America cannot understand men like MOLOTOV, whose deliberately obstructionist tactics threaten to block the road to world co-operation.

SENATOR AUSTIN likes people the way country-bred men like people, not romantically, not sentimentally, but with a full knowledge of the flaws and frailties that flesh is heir to. He not only likes American people, but people of all nations, including Russians.

In conversations with MR. AUSTIN it becomes apparent that here is a man who, although he hitched his wagon to a star, has no fond illusions. He looks upon the unlikelihood of reaching that star as no reason for not trying. He believes that America has a mission, a responsibility imposed upon it by reason of its fortunate position as the most vital, the most prosperous and collectively the most tolerant people on earth. He is firmly convinced that America can, if it tries hard enough, play the role of MOSES to a war-enslaved world and lead it to the promised land of peace.

WARREN AUSTIN spent his boyhood and his early manhood among the steep hills of a mountain State, and he knows that it takes determination to climb to the summit. The temptation to backslide, to become discouraged, to call it a day is always there; but he also knows that reaching the goal at the top is worth all the effort.

AUSTIN came up in life the hard way, tending cows, doing odd jobs for the neighbors after school, working his way through college. He is the kind of conservative who wants to conserve those things for which Americans like himself have worked and scrimped, and he knows that this cannot be done in a world where neighbor has reason to fear neighbor.

Those who heard him reply to the belligerent appeal in behalf of disarmament made by STALIN'S envoy, realized that MR. MOLOTOV had found his match at last.

"After the last war we made the mistake of disarming unilaterally," said MR. AUSTIN, and with grim emphasis: "We will not repeat that mistake."

VINCENT SHEEAN, commenting on that speech in the *New Republic*, said: "I had a feeling . . . that the Soviet delegates themselves might have applauded some of AUSTIN'S remarks, if they dared."

AUSTIN is well aware of the fact that you cannot save the world with words. He has pointed out that wars are bred by a feeling of economic insecurity, by the fear of national impoverishment. He believes that the Security Council is important to maintain law and order, but he feels that the United Nations Economic and Social Council is of even greater importance because it seeks to forestall the causes of war. A sensible man and a lawyer, he knows that force and the threat of force are required to compel unethical persons—or nations—to keep the peace. That is why long ago he talked of an "international police force" when those words had a strange and unfamiliar sound.

AUSTIN believes that we can get along with the Russians if we play our cards right—if we say what we mean, and mean what we say . . . and if we say it in such a way that they will not mistake firmness for "toughness." He is perfectly willing to give the Russians the benefit of the doubt, to proceed along the line that we trust them—unless they prove otherwise. But there was no mistaking the intentions of the country he represents when he said:

"We made the mistake of disarming unilaterally. We will not repeat that mistake."

Now that the GOP has cut itself in, will Harry turn over his troubles with Republicans like John L. Lewis to his new partner?

In New Orleans a Communist with only 15 minutes in which to speak made the mistake of being introduced by another Communist.

Trash on the floor and writing on the wall give the phone booth that look of being lived in, which is probably the case.

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WILLIAM L. BRITTS.
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Virginia Rebuked!

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I am a North Carolinian by birth and a Virginian by choice. I love the South and want to see it achieve the greatness of which it is capable. But greatness and prejudice can never survive side by side. It was with surprise—then with shame—that I read in The Times-Dispatch this morning (November 20) that our State had been guilty of a gross example of race prejudice. It is beyond me to understand the action taken in the case of Samuel W. Tucker, a Negro, who was asked to move two seats back of the seat in which he had ridden all the way from Washington to Richmond. This was done, not because he was acting unmannerly, but because his skin was black.

One might expect such a thing to happen in Georgia or Mississippi, where the Talmadges and Bilbos thrive, but it should never have happened in Virginia.

This State, generally respected throughout the country, can lead the South in putting an end to this unfair and unjust attitude. I do not feel the bus driver alone was responsible for his action. He undoubtedly felt strong pressure to do as he did. But why is it so wrong for a man to sit in the same seat on the bus after he reaches Richmond which he was allowed to sit in all the way from Washington to Richmond? Do we want travelers, white or black, to expect the minute the Richmond area is reached an "iron curtain" be drawn?

It seems a small concession, indeed, to one who has been commissioned an officer of the Army and licensed to practice law that he be allowed to sit on a bus a little nearer than halfway to the front.

In the South, because of the large numbers of colored people, I believe a double system of education (except in graduate schools) may be desirable from the standpoint of both races. But the systems should be equally good. But in the case of buses and trains, it is not practical to offer equal accommodations. Therefore, the fair person will recognize that the only thing to do is to allow every person, regardless of color, who behaves in a proper manner, to ride anywhere on a bus or train in safety and comfort.

I am hoping that the higher State courts will reverse the judgment of the Police Court. Let Virginians themselves take this step. We should not wait for the Supreme Court to force us to do so. I hope Virginia will show the country that the action of a few does not represent the desire of the entire population of this State.

Ashland. W. A. MABRY.

Lewis—The New Samson

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

In days gone by, one heard men say that we should not go the way of the Roman Empire because of the growth of Christianity. Would they say that now?

Court-packing was not thought of and no one dreamed of dictators in labor. All wished for better things for labor and all mankind, but overlooked Epstein's law published by Nock to the effect: "If self-preservation is the first law of human conduct, exploitation is the second."

So we have the new Samson, John L. Lewis, about to pull down the temple on his head.

The writer once congratulated Mr. Lewis on having told a congressional committee he was in favor of a minimum wage and not of a governmental board to fix wages, because it meant government by law and not by men. Mr. Lewis then said that what he was interested in was "distribution." He explained that by "distribution" he meant when one set of laborers produced goods it should be able to exchange them for what other laborers produced on a fair basis, or to the advantage of both.

We readily replied that he was right, and added that in the division of labor we might produce one thing or service, and he another, or someone else still another; all should be able to receive benefits from labor and service, and if we happened to have a cook and she gave us a good breakfast on time and we went to our work and succeeded, the cook should be recognized as a part in such success and be paid for it.

Mr. Lewis seemed to us to have done more to restrict distribution than to help. Yet we question whether it is all his fault and whether our government of recent years is not much to blame. The decision of the United States Supreme Court that the Federal "kickback act," designed to punish whoever induces another person employed on a Federally financed job to give any part of his compensation on threat of dismissal did not apply to union leaders shows the trend in Washington.

FRANCIS HARBOYL.
Richmond.

Settlers and Headrights

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I have no desire to continue the Brent controversy unless calling attention to actual facts may give a clearer idea of history.

Chester H. Brent, in the VOP of November 17, has no right to give the impression that Giles, Mary and Margaret Brent brought over to Virginia 184 settlers, or that George Brent brought over 62, unless he can present evidence to prove they brought this many. He is also going on mighty thin ice when he states that the roster of names would "suggest" that many or most of them were Roman Catholics.

He bases his statement upon the fact that Giles Brent "patented over 12 thousand acres of land for the importation of at least 184 souls" (240 souls would be the correct number). And George Brent patented 3,118 acres for 62 souls. The actual fact is that nobody at that time could patent an acre of land in Virginia from the King without presenting for every 50 acres a "headright," or certificate, that somebody had brought to the colony a certain new settler, whose name was mentioned therein.

Every new settler, man, woman or child, freeman or indentured servant, was entitled to 50 acres. If a man paid his own way, he received a certificate for 50 acres and a similar certificate for wife, every child and servant who came with him. A ship captain who brought indentured servants would receive a similar headright for every one.

People could not buy land from the King; all one could do was to go around buying up headrights. There was always a ready market for them at somewhere about five shillings apiece. Consequently, when Giles Brent desired to patent 12 thousand acres he shopped around and bought "more than 184" headrights, and turned them in.

I have never seen evidence that the Brents were shipowners or shipmasters, engaged in transporting new settlers, and specializing in bringing Roman Catholics. Incidentally, also, one might remind Mr. Brent that a fair-sized settlement in the Chickacoan country, which is in Northumberland County, could hardly be commemorated by a shrine up in Stafford.

It is hard to understand what Mr. Brent means by his statement that "Father Andrew White was just across the Potomac, and no other church existed as far as records show." If he intends to convey the impression that there were no churches on the Virginia side of the Potomac, his statement is untrue to fact. Parishes began to be organized and churches erected just as soon as settlers began establishing their homes. By the year 1664, there was a line of parishes on the south side of the Potomac covering every foot of inhabited land from the Chesapeake Bay as far west as settlement extended

G. MacLAREN BRYDON.
Richmond.

'I Deplore Hazing'

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Two VMI cadets are dismissed for hazing. This practice during the last half-century has not only been serious but tragic. This evil, no doubt, has been tolerated by the universities as "boys will be boys," and the schools fear rebellion and the loss of students. But why the State has never attempted to stop it I cannot understand, unless it be politics.

I think, Mr. Editor, it would be a real help to the State to have your paper devote a page carrying VMI's Major-General Richard J. Marshall's photograph, with the following, which are his words:

"I deplore physical hazing in any form and as long as I am superintendent, I am going to make every effort to stamp it out."

RICHARD F. DYER.
Chester.

The Favored Son

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Today's paper (November 20) contains a news item concerning the Stubblefield family, whose corporal son was found alive after having been lost for two years. The parents state it was their prayers which preserved their son.

Do people like the Stubblefields realize what they are saying? Do they think that families of countless thousands of other men reported missing or dead did not pray, or do they think that they—the Stubblefields—are so much more beloved of God that He answered their prayers while ignoring all others except, of course, Eddie Rickenbacker?

S. H. RELGIS.
Richmond.

Winchell's 'Sour Grapes'

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Just a word of congratulation to Walter Winchell on his column of November 11—one of the sweetest "sour grapes" columns it has been my pleasure to read.

Our poor President! W. W. says he has torn down in 18 months everything FDR built up in 13 years. When is Walter going to awaken? The biggest FDR building project—our many-billion-dollar public debt—doesn't show even a dent for those 18 months' effort.

It is too bad that since FDR's passing there is only one man in the USA 100 per cent right all the time—good old W. W.

One thing I'll go along with the T.-D. on—keep Winchell on the comic page.

ALTON LONG.
Petersburg.

The Burning Questions

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

It seems we do not have a free country any more. We have no President, only a dictator, and he is John L. Lewis.

How can one man have the right or authority to tie up most of the coal fields and railroads for lack of coal? Are the hands of the government tied?

How long do our people have to put up with this?

JNO. TYLER BEALE.
Scottsville.

20 Years Ago Today

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE VIRGINIA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, headed by Fred M. Alexander, president of the association and principal of the Newport News High School, met at Roanoke preliminary to the opening of the association's convention.

OGDEN MILLS, defeated candidate for the governorship of New York, was seen as the likely choice of President Coolidge as Under-Secretary of the Treasury.

THE MILITARY STAFF OF GOVERNOR BYRD was to accompany him to the VMI-VPI football game on Thanksgiving Day at Roanoke.

PLANS FOR A NEW HOTEL, the President Madison, to built at Orange, were made at a meeting of business men in Orange.

Washington Calling

By Marquis Childs

THE signposts are multiplying that American foreign policy may be moving in a new direction. The latest such signpost is a speech by one of the moguls of the Republican party which went almost unnoticed.

Speaking before the Petroleum Institute in Chicago, J. Howard Pew, of the Sun Oil Co., made a more or less direct attack on the kind of practical economic co-operation proposed through the United Nations. The speech was a ringing declaration that America as a nation of rugged individualism must stand aloof from a wicked, collective world.

Pew is, of course, not a member of the new Congress, nor is he ever likely to stand for elective office. But his influence within the party is very great. Through the lean years, Pew and his more politically minded brother, Joseph N. Pew, Jr., have contributed large sums to keep the Republican party alive.

Their influence in the inner circle of Republicanism is impressive, partly because they speak for the industrialists who are an important nucleus within the GOP. That is what gives so much significance to the Pew speech in Chicago. Apostrophizing the greatness of American "initiative, ingenuity, skill and industry," Pew went on to say:

"Now we are told that the economy which produced this standard of living for the American people must be abandoned—that we must embrace economic collectivism. This, it is said, we must do in order that we may live in harmony and prosperity with nations that have chosen the collectivist course.

"SUCH is the primary justification offered for the multitude of proposals now being projected under the auspices of the United Nations. These are the threads now being woven into the fabric that may become a straitjacket of government control for our American domestic economy as well as world trade. Each of these United Nations proposals should be studied in its relation to the other, for under the master plan it is intended that they should be co-ordinated under the U. N. Economic Social Council."

Pew then attacked specifically the proposal of the U. N. Food and Agriculture Organization for an international food board to regulate commodity surpluses until the world's food supply is back to normal. He directed a more oblique attack on the State Department's proposal for an international trade organization under the U. N. This, according to Pew, contains provision for "intergovernmental cartel agreements."

His chief fire, however, was reserved for the petroleum agreement which we negotiated with Great Britain two years ago. Because of the vigorous protests of the petroleum industry in this country, that agreement was watered down in renogiations a year ago. In the form in which it now is pending before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, it is little more than a promise to consult on world petroleum problems.

YET Pew cited the remark of a State Department oil advisor to underscore his conviction that a battle is on to subject the oil industry "to a superstate cartel." He pointed a finger of suspicion at the "recent call for the convening of a United Nations scientific conference on resources, conservation and utilization, to meet in the last six months of next year to survey the extent of exhaustible natural resources throughout the world."

And, finally, he indicated that while he had at one time been willing to "go along" with the renegotiated treaty, his doubts were so aroused that he would probably have to oppose it. A large and growing segment of the oil industry, he said, opposes Senate approval of the treaty.

The Pews are a remarkable family. As independents they successfully fought the big oil companies. They took on Roosevelt and the New Deal as a personal vendetta. Joseph Pew, otherwise a mild-tempered man, was capable of gloating in the recent campaign as follows:

"The Pied Piper is gone. The golden voice which charmed our children away from their loyalties is stilled. But in Pennsylvania the political rats are left."

Although they speak from the opposite side of the ideological fence, men of the Pew type sound curiously like the extreme leftists in the British Labor party who do not like the American system of free enterprise. Therefore, just as do the Pews they want to pull away from any co-operation. Between them, they are likely to tear our world apart and, in the process, destroy the very liberties that the rugged individualistic profess to be defending.

Fair Enough

By Westbrook Pegler

NEW YORK—Joseph Scottoriggio, a minor Republican political worker against Vito Marcantonio, the candidate of the Communists, in the Eighteenth Congressional District of New York, was beaten to death on election day. That is, he was beaten so badly that he died a few days later. Marcantonio was elected by a close margin after an angry campaign in which the Republican workers repeatedly complained of Fascist terrorism.

Governor Tom Dewey called on Scottoriggio in the hospital the day after election and announced that justice would be done. It was the standard "no stone will be left unturned" statement appropriate to such situations, but the death of Scottoriggio has changed matters. Now we have a celebrated case.

Marcantonio, whose votes in Congress are consistently agreeable to Communist policy, replied that his organization had had no part in the crime.

For light on the political methods of the Communists in this district and for guidance in evaluating Marcantonio's denial, I turn to an authorized biography of Fiorello La Guardia, by Lowell M. Limpus and Burr W. Leyson, published by E. P. Dutton, in New York, in 1938.

The biographers write that, after LaGuardia opened a law office in New York, in 1922, an ambitious Italian youth came seeking a place and obtained it when he explained to LaGuardia, described as "a quiet, reserved, soft-voiced man with pain-seared eyes," that he wanted to be a lawyer.

"It was the beginning of the career of Vito Marcantonio, later Congressman and a power in New York politics," they tell us.

NOW, developing the close relationship, we read that a few years later, "LaGuardia was literally the idol of the New York Italian colony, and always received an uproarious ovation from its members. His entrance into an Italian speakeasy was the advent of royalty. He had acquired a number of proteges whom he chided in fatherly fashion. Chief among these was young Marcantonio, on whom LaGuardia lavished his attention. Marcantonio was now practicing law and LaGuardia was proud of the boy's success. He carefully supervised Marcantonio's legal training and worked him into the well-oiled little political machine which he was gradually evolving in Harlem. Afterward, he founded a law firm, admitting his protege to partnership. Seven years later, he had the satisfaction of seeing Marcantonio take the very seat he had occupied in the House."

This discussion of the idolatry refers to a sad political situation into which bewildered immigrants were drawn for political exploitations by padrones or "wise guys" who pretended to be their althruistic friends and by petty generosities wrought them into a faithful political following.

NOW, the authors tell us, the Ghibonnes "came into being" in La Guardia's campaign of 1924.

They explain that "Ghibonne" is an Italian word meaning about the same as "swashbuckler." But they are naive. Actually it is the Italian word for Gibbon, the lowest of the anthropoid apes, and it means gangster.

Our word for this type is "gorilla," meaning gangster, hoodlum, or goon.

"In the ensuing years," Limpus and Leyson write, "The Ghibonnes were to increase in number until they had 18 hundred on their rolls. Eighteen hundred idealistic hero-worshippers, led by the brilliant Marcantonio."

So in La Guardia's authorized biography which he edited and censored we have the unchallenged statement of friendly historians that his protege, Marcantonio, was the leader of La Guardia's gangsters.

"They were all young and madly devoted to La Guardia," the biography continues. "They gathered to do battle for their idol and each of them took a secret oath of allegiance, promising to follow his leadership unswervingly. This secret fraternity included young lawyers, professional men and war veterans and youngsters just out of college.

They were crusaders and they followed their leader blindly. They were the vanguard of a youth movement which swept the district. They mobilized around La Guardia and were true to him. This organization, of which most of New York never heard, was a secret fraternity. The members took an oath of personal allegiance to La Guardia."

December 4, 1946

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

Dear V:

Your note and copy of your editorial arrived just as I was taking off for the little Thanksgiving vacation in Florida with my family. I appreciate more than words can express your kind remarks about me in your editorial. I only wish that I deserved all the good things you have said.

We are thinking of calling together in Richmond a small committee of SRC members in Virginia to discuss just what we should do about setting up a state group there. As you know, there is a somewhat delicate question with respect to the Virginia Commission, which is now the Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches. Since all faiths are not represented in the Council of Churches, a good many of our members feel that they cannot participate completely in the membership and work of that department. Of course we do not want to muddy the waters any, but we think that it might be wise at least to get a group together and discuss the situation. I would appreciate your frank advice on this.

With every good wish,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:mp

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 3-4242

November 25, 1946.

RECEIVED
NOV 26 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Guy:

Thanks very much for your helpful suggestions as to the article. I shall try to carry them out, and also to bring the piece up to date.

Enclosed is an editorial from yesterday's paper which discusses your forthcoming departure from the Council.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M
enc.

December 18, 1946

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

Dear V:

Thanks a lot for your letter of December 16. I am glad to have your reactions to the questions I raised in my letter.

We certainly do not want to do anything to hinder or duplicate the work which is being done by Tom Allen and the Virginia Council of Churches. Apparently, the main problem is to work out some liaison committee as you have suggested. I shall discuss this with Paul Williams.

I hope also that we will be able to hold our usual conference of State Committee Directors in February. At that time we should be able to get something specific done about cooperation with the Virginia Council of Churches

With highest regards and with Christmas greetings to you and yours,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
Zone 11.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

RECEIVED
DEC 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

TELEPHONE 3-4242

December 16, 1946.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Guy:

I have delayed answering your letter because I wanted to talk with Paul Williams about the problem you have raised.

I have had a talk with Paul as to the advisibility of having a conference of Southern Regional Council members in Virginia to discuss future steps. His conclusions were quite tentative, but I think I reflect his opinion accurately when I say that he is inclined to believe that it would be a mistake to establish a branch of SRC in Virginia. He feels that a liaison committee between denominations not participating in the present inter-racial effort of the Virginia Council of Churches and the council could be effective. This would avoid duplication of the work now being done. I do not recall that Paul said anything very specific as to whether a conference ought to be held or not.

My own feeling is that it would be a pity to have two organizations operating in Virginia, and that if we can bring into the work of the Council of Churches, in an advisory capacity, representatives of non-participating denominations that would be better.

I was under the impression that Paul was on the board of the Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches, He says Tom Allen, the executive secretary, consults him frequently, but as far as he knows he is not on the board. In fact, he doesn't see how he could be, in view of the fact that the Catholic Church is not taking any part in the work. He does think that adequate results could be obtained by a liaison committee.

Perhaps you will wish to write Paul about these matters. I think he fully understands your dilemma, and is anxious to help in any possible way.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M

February 27, 1947

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Dabney:

Thank you for your check for $5.00 covering your dues for 1947 and an additional contribution of $3.00. We appreciate this gift very much.

In sending the enclosed receipt, I would like to take advantage of this opportunity to tell you how grateful we are for your financial assistance and also your moral support as a member of our board of directors. In carrying on a task which at times seems discouraging, it gives the staff assurance to know that we have your continued interest and confidence.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

Inez B. Tillison
Secretary-Treasurer

IBT:k

P. S. We didn't know that you had been Europe. I hope that you had an enjoyable and interesting trip.

IBT

April 1, 1947

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

Dear Virginius:

That was mighty nice of you to write your note of the 29th.

I am most anxious to keep the Council doing the things that are wise and constructive.

You do not know how much I am helped by your backing.

Sincerely,

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
Executive Director

GSM:k

Richmond Times-Dispatch
MORNING · SUNDAY · EST. 1850
RICHMOND 11, VIRGINIA

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

March 29, 1947.

Dear George:

This is just a note to wish you every possible success with the executive directorship of the Southern Regional Council. I believe you are to take over on Tuesday, and I wish to extend my most cordial congratulations, and my assurances of complete cooperation in the work.

I believe your approach to the race problem to be sane and intelligent. This seems to me to be the essential prerequisite in a position of this kind, and I am happy that we have a director who meets that vital requirement.

I shall look forward to seeing you personally from time to time, and learning of developments in the Council. Meanwhile, do not fail to call on me for any assistance which I am in a position to give.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dabney

Richmond Times-Dispatch

PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY

RICHMOND 11, VIRGINIA

November 26, 1947.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 7-1851

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Director of Information,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for sending me the material recently with respect to the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council. I enclose an editorial from today's Times-Dispatch based on it and other material. I appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M
enc.

Dabney, Virginius

May 24, 1948

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Virginius:

That was a most gratifying editorial on May 20 about the housing pamphlet. We had used that measurement device exactly in the hope that editors would take it as a point for discussion of the problem in each state. We were so pleased that you wrote thus, helpfully and constructively.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ms

SRC - Bd. of Dirs. -
Ck Tue 7 Membership

Richmond Times-Dispatch

PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY

RICHMOND 11, VIRGINIA

December 13, 1948.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 7-1851

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

I am honored to be re-elected to the board of the Southern Regional Council, and am happy to accept. I was sorry that I was hospitalized at the time of the annual meeting.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

RECEIVED
DEC 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Bd of Dirs - Membership

December 10, 1948

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
The Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Virginius:

The Southern Regional Council has been honored by your service as a member of its Board of Directors for the four-year term 1944 - 1948.

It is a pleasure to inform you that at the annual membership meeting on November 10, 1948 in Atlanta you were reelected as a member of the Board for the four-year term 1948 - 1952.

Unless I hear to the contrary from you, I shall take for granted your acceptance.

We are grateful for the assistance which your continued interest in the Council gives to its work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
cc: Mrs. Agnes McKoy

GSM:t

8. Dabney, Virginius

December 23, 1948

Mr. Virginius Dabney
The Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Virginia

Dear Virginius:

We got excellent coverage on the story about farm tenancy, and several editorials.

Yours of December 20 is by far the most thoughtful and informing of all the editorials.

Thank you very much for it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

8- Dabney, Virginius

September 14, 1949

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Virginius:

I think I told you some time back that we were hoping to get together a pamphlet on Race in the News. Here it is.

You will see that on page four we had occasion to speak appreciatively of the Times-Dispatch.

We heard yesterday that the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association will distribute copies of the pamphlet to all its members.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

8- Dabney, Virginius

December 1, 1949

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Virginius:

That was very kind, indeed, of you to send us the group of clippings. Several of them, we had not seen before.

We appreciate the Times-Dispatch carrying the AP story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Dabney, Virginius

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND 11, VIRGINIA

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

January 9, 1951.

TELEPHONE 7-1851

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, S.E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

You certainly are prompt and helpful, and I appreciate both your letters. They contain just the information I wanted.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

RECEIVED
JAN 11
Southern Regional Council

January 8, '50

Dear Virginius,

We keep a file of newspaper clippings about Negro voting. I have drawn on that for 1950 figures. In some cases the best I could do was to guess as to a fair revision of Luther Jackson's figures. Here's my table:

REGISTERED NEGRO VOTERS IN THE
SOUTHERN STATES 1950

Alabama	50,000	A.P. story, 1950
Arkansas	65,000	GSM revision of Luther Jackson, for 1950
Florida	106,420	A.P. story, 1950
Georgia	133,004	1950 figure from an excellently informed local source.
Kentucky	33,000	1951 guess by informed Louisville ctzn.
Louisiana	35,000	Guess by informed local source, 1950
Mississippi	8,000	GSM guess
North Carolina	70,000	GSM guess (My weakest figure, best check by a 'phone call to Raleigh GSM)
Oklahoma	35,000	GSM guess on Luther Jackson's figures
South Carolina	70,000	AP story, 1950
Tennessee	85,000	GSM guess on Luther Jackson's figures
Texas	110,000	GSM guess on Luther Jackson's figures
Virginia	66,000	Luther Jackson's 1942 Report
TOTAL	906,424	

I saw somewhere recently a headline estimate that there were a million Negro qualified voters in the South. Probably a hundred thousand too high.

In 1948 the National Negro Press Association estimated that in July of that year registered Negro voters made up about 12,% of the total of all registered voters in the South. If that figure was well worked out it would yield a guess for today that Negroes are about a third of the population of the South and about 13% of the electorate.

We checked V. O. Key's book, but found his figures not as late as Luther Jackson's, which you have.

Sincerely,

1/8/51

GSM;

Here is a copy of Cleaver's notes of Greenville Follow-UP for V. Dabney. It does show progress, and I made a complete copy for him so that he could get the real "feel" of it.

jpf

Attached also is all available dope on Negro voters since L. Jackson.

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND 11, VIRGINIA

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

January 5, 1951.

TELEPHONE 7-1851

Mr. George Mitchell, Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

Do you have any up-to-date figures on the estimated number of Negro voters in the various Southern states?

I believe the latest pamphlet published by SRC is about two years old. That may be the best data available. I have the pamphlet, so don't bother to send me another.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M

RECEIVED
JAN 8 1951
Southern Regional Counc

SRC Board Members corres.

March 15, 1952

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Va.

Dear Virginius:

The Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council met March 7. I laid before them the matter of your resignation from the Board, and they regretfully accepted.

We still count you as a main man in the job ahead.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

Williams Gets Southern Area Board Position

Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, will continue his activity with the Southern Regional Council after serving six consecutive one-year terms as its president.

Williams was elected a member of the council's board of directors at the annual meeting Wednesday in Atlanta, Ga. He was succeeded as president by Marion A. Wright, of Linville, Falls, N. C.

Williams

Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, was reelected to the board, and another Richmonder, the Rev. John Page Williams, former headmaster of St. Christopher's School, was named a director of the council.

DR. HANCOCK ELECTED

Dr. Gordon Hancock, Baptist minister and professor at Virginia Union University, was elected a vice-president of the council.

John Garland Pollard, Jr., of Somers, Lancaster County, was reelected to the council's board of directors.

At the meeting the council issued a policy statement pledging itself to work toward establishing a South "where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race."

The council was organized eight years ago by white and Negro citizens of 13 Southern States.

News Leader 1-12-1951

Exec. Comm.

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND 11, VIRGINIA

February 4, 1952.

RECEIVED
FEB 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 7-1851

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

Thank you very much for your letter.

The Richmond News Leader carried an article about the middle of December saying that Mr. Wright had been elected president of the Southern Regional Council succeeding Paul Williams, and mentioning among other things that I had been re-elected to the board of directors. I thought it strange that I had not received any notification to this effect, but in chatting with Paul Williams, he indicated that the item in the News Leader was correct as to my re-election. I assume, therefore, that such was the case, and did not trouble to check on the length of my present term. As you will see from the enclosed clipping the story in the News Leader was apparently written in the News Leader office.

I appreciate your understanding of my situation, and I do feel that I cannot continue to serve on the board of an organization with whose affairs I am able to keep in such remote touch.

I hope you will continue to drop in to see me whenever you are in town.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney.

VD/M

SRC Board Memo, Corresp.

February 1, 1952

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Va.

Dear Virginius:

Sorry for you to resign, but it is true that we have had hard luck on getting you here to meetings.

You were originally elected in 1944 to a four-year term and then re-elected in '48 to a second four-year term. This second term is over at the end of 1952. Under the by-laws members of the Board are eligible for not to exceed two successive terms.

Technically, accepting a resignation is a matter for the Board or its agent, the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee is expected to meet at the end of February or early in March, and I will bring your letter to their attention then. I have never known the Executive Committee to do other than accept a resignation, so I suppose it will go through.

We will be sorry to lose you, Virginius. You have been a source of real strength to us in Virginia and elsewhere. Mostly I cherish, though, the privilege of stopping by your office and talking over some Southern need or opportunity, and that privilege I claim for good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. I give myself the luxury of treating you as a Board member for this last circular!

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND 11, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
JAN 31 1952
Southern Regional Council

January 29, 1952.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 7-1851

Mr. George C. Mitchell,
Executive Secretary,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

I am afraid I am going to have to resign as a member of the Board of the Southern Regional Council, owing to my inability to give adequate attention to the organization's affairs.

I have had to adopt the principle that I cannot serve on boards, unless I am able to take some part in the organization's activities, and to perform the duties expected of me.

It has now been several years since I have been able to get to a meeting of the directors of the Southern Regional Council, owing to conflicting engagements which made it necessary for me to be here or elsewhere. Since this is true, I feel that I ought to tender my resignation. I thought probably I would not be re-elected at the recent meeting, owing to my inability to come for several successive years. However, I seem to have been chosen again, and I must reluctantly ask you to put someone else in my place who is able to discharge his duties more adequately.

I still regard the Southern Regional Council by far the best organization in the field, and wish it well for the future. I feel, too, that you have done exceptionally well as executive secretary, and that you have served the organization ably and beyond anything that might reasonably be expected of you.

Hoping you understand my position, and with all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney

Virginius Dabney.

July 17, 1952

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Va.

Dear Mr. Dabney:

Dr. Mitchell is on vacation, but he asked me to write you that he will be back in the office August 1 and will be delighted to see you.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

P9

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND 11, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
JUL 17 1952

July 15, 1952.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 7-1851

7

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

I am preparing a magazine article concerning the probable results in the South if the Supreme Court decides (1) that all segregation in the public schools is illegal or (2) that segregation may be continued where facilities are equalized with all possible speed.

This is obviously somewhat speculative, and I need all the light I can get on the subject. I should like to have the benefit of talking with you and any others on your staff in Atlanta who might have helpful information.

My intention is to come to Atlanta around August 1 for this purpose. Do you expect to be there at that time? August 1 is a Friday and would, I think, be suitable from my standpoint, if it is agreeable to you.

I'd be especially anxious to know what you think will be the repercussions in such states as Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi, in the event that segregation is knocked out completely. I also wish to obtain some guidance with respect to whether a great many counties and cities with small Negro populations won't admit the colored children to the white schools in the event equalization is ordered. I do not see how they could avoid doing so, in view of the expense involved.

I have the recent publications of the Southern Regional Council, some of which are extremely valuable for background.

Looking forward to seeing you, and with all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney

Virginius Dabney.

Dabney

August 26, 1952

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH
Richmond 11, Va.

Dear Virginius:

Right. The two beginning paragraphs were meant to be available for quotes. Any way you want to use them.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND 11, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

August 16, 1952.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 7-1851

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, S. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

I am much pleased to have your letter, and to have your two paragraphs about the admission of colored children to white schools where the number of Negroes is very small. You do not specifically authorize me to quote those two paragraphs at the beginning of your letter, but I assume that this will be all right with you. I cannot see how it would be anything but helpful, and I can't imagine any colored leaders holding it against you, even remotely.

Your statement would be made in response to a question from me in your office, and I would present it as an oral statement rather than as being made in a letter. I see no possible unfavorable involvement, and trust you do not either.

The material on low incomes seems to me to have given you and your staff an appalling lot of trouble, and I had not the remotest notion of imposing on you, or them, to that extent. However, it is most helpful, although, as you probably surmise, much more detailed than I requested. I shall look forward to hearing from Mrs. Holden.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

September 2, 1952

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor
RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH
Richmond 11, Va.

Dear Virginius:

Here's our clipping.

There could be no objection to using Mr. Brittain's name, as it went out so widely anyway. SRC simply makes it a policy to avoid involving individuals. But good Mr. Brittain is already involved.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Dat

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND 11, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
SEP 2 1952
Southern Regional Council

August 28, 1952.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 17-1851

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

Do you see any objection to my mentioning the name of the principal of Clinton High School at Clinton, Tennessee, in quoting what you have him saying in one issue of "New South"?

I understand he is Mr. D. J. Brittain, Jr. What he says is extremely valuable to my article, and I think it would be even more so, if I could use his name. The fact that you did not use it makes me wonder why you didn't. If you see no objection, I should think I would be justified in using his name without writing him direct. Please give me your reaction to this.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

Dabney

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

September 17, 1952

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
SEP 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I think your letter to Mr. Dabney under date of August 18, 1952 is an excellent one. I wish you would let me know when Mr. Dabney's artice is supposed to come out.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:H

V. Dabney

December 2, 1952

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 11, Va.

Dear Virginius:

I think the article was mighty fine, and its references to us were done with superb skill. I have heard many favorable comments on the whole article.

Thanks a lot for the letter from my friend of many years, Davis Ratcliffe. I will write him in English.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Richmond Times-Dispatch
PUBLISHED MORNING AND SUNDAY
RICHMOND 11, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1952
Southern Regional Council

November 25, 1952.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY
EDITOR

TELEPHONE 7-1851

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
The Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

I enclose a message sent me by a former friend and classmate of yours. It is mainly in German, but I am sure one of your attainments will have no difficulties in translating it.

I hope the references to you in the Post did not embarrass you in any way. I tried to follow the script exactly.

Sincerely yours,

V

Virginius Dabney.

LAW OFFICES

DANIEL & THOMPSON

RICHARD P. DANIEL
FRANK THOMPSON
JAQUELIN J. DANIEL
ALLEN L. POUCHER

1100 FLORIDA NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
JACKSONVILLE 2, FLORIDA

November 28, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thanks for yours of November 20 notifying me that I have been elected a member of your Board of Directors to serve for four years.

I appreciate the confidence expressed in your Board's action and will be pleased to serve.

At your leisure please send me a list of the Directors and their addresses, and their occupations.

Kindly assure each member of the Board of my desire to give any service possible.

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Daniel

Richard P. Daniel

RPD:j

SRC Board membership

November 20, 1945

Mr. R. P. Daniel
1100 Fla. National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Daniel:

It is my pleasure to inform you that at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council on November 14, you were elected to membership on the Board for a term of four years. I sincerely hope that you will accept this election and that you will give the Council the benefit of your wisdom as a member of its Board of Directors.

For your information the Board holds two regular meetings annually. One of these is held on the day preceding the annual meeting of members and the other is held immediately on the adjournment of the annual meeting. The time of the annual meeting is the second Wednesday in November. Special meetings of the Board may be called from time to time. The Council bears expenses of Board members when they attend meetings.

Again let me say that we hope that you will accept service on the Board of Directors. May we hear from you soon.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:MS

December 5, 1946

Dr. Robert P. Daniel
President, Shaw University
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Daniel:

I have just had the pleasure of reading the November issue of the Shaw University Bulletin which contains a well-deserved tribute to you personally and to the fine piece of work you have done as President of Shaw University. I know of no other person who could have taken over that situation where you started and who could have done as much with it as you have. Mrs. Trigg joins me in wishing you and Mrs. Daniel many more years of success and the expanded opportunity to achieve greatly.

With kindest good wishes and highest personal regard, I remain

Yours very faithfully,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:mp

January 24, 1947

Mr. R.P. Daniel
Florida National Bank Bldg.,
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Daniel:

It is always a pleasure to have a few moments with you, and I feel expecially happy after the conference with you and Mrs. Havens on January 13.

I was particularly interested in your reaction to the final incident of the forum the previous day, and was just as happy as I could be to see that it was merely a small incident to you. I think that the attitude of the audience was wonderful.

I was also glad to get your attitude toward the addition of Negro police to the Jacksonville force, as well as the es the establishment of a branch of the Urban League. Both of these items should be of inestimable value to the local Negro population. You are the one person who can make both of these objectives realities.

If the SRC, during the next fifteen (15) years, can discover in every community in the south leaders like you, the Council itself will no longer be needed.

I wish you many more years of happy and effective living.

Yours sincerely,

HLT:k

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

February 11, 1947

Mr. Richard P. Daniel
Florida National Bank Building
Jacksonville 2, Florida

Dear Dick:

Thank you ever so much for your letter which arrived yesterday. We are very grateful for your check for $8.00 covering dues for yourself and three new members of the Council. We are delighted to have such people as Mr. May, Mr. Knowles, and Mrs. Baskin in our membership.

I deeply appreciate your kind words about my work with the Council and with the Jacksonville Survey. The past three years have been exceedingly interesting to me and I hope that I have done some little good. In many ways I feel that I should stay here, but I believe that in the long run I can make a better contribution in teaching and research at Chapel Hill.

With all best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:ms

LAW OFFICES

DANIEL & POUCHER

RICHARD P. DANIEL
JAQUELIN J. DANIEL
ALLEN L. POUCHER

1100 FLORIDA NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
JACKSONVILLE 2, FLORIDA

RECEIVED FEB 10 1947 → S.B.T.

February 7, 1947

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I note with very sincere regret that you have tendered your resignation as Director of the Southern Regional Council, to take effect late in the Summer.

I feel that the University of North Carolina will be very fortunate to have you rejoin its faculty next fall.

I hope our Council will be able to secure a good man to take your place. It will have difficulty in finding a successor with your consummate tact, intuition, sincerity, intellect, love of humanity and quiet force of character.

Our Jacksonville group will always be grateful for all you did to help us with our Inter-Racial Survey during the past two years. We will give your successor our whole hearted support.

I wish to propose for membership in the Council:

Mr. Philip May, Lynch Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Mr. G. B. Knowles, Knowles and Kirk Bldg.
Bradenton, Florida

Mrs. Marjorie Rawlings Baskin, Cross Creek
Hawthorn, Florida

Mr. May and Mr. Knowles are both distinguished Florida lawyers, and citizens of wide influence in our State. I have known for some time that Phil had a deep interest in improving conditions among our Negro citizens. While in his office yesterday he told me that Mr. Knowles shared our feelings. Men like Virginus Dabney of Richmond and your other Southern leaders will find congenial spirits in Phil May and "Gabbie" Knowles.

Of course you know that Mrs. Baskin is the famous author of "The Yearling" and other books and plays. I know she has a very sincere and real interest in our Inter-Racial problems.

I am presenting them with complimentary memberships, and enclose my check for $8.00 to cover their dues and my own for 1947.

Please thank Dr. Trigg for the nice letter he recently wrote me. I will reply soon.

With my very best wishes to you and yours, I remain

Very sincerely,

Dick

RPD:as

Enc.

March 25, 1947

Mr. Richard P. Daniel
Florida National Bank Bldg.
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Dick:

Thanks very much for sending me copies of the correspondence with Mr. Muller of Reader's Digest. It will be fine if he will do a write-up of the Jacksonville Survey for Reader's Digest.

I have written to Mr. Muller about the Council and have sent him several selected publications as exhibits. I hope he will find the stuff usable.

My successor here will be Dr. George S. Mitchell, who has been on the staff of our Veterans Project for the past year and a half. He is a fine man and the best wish I can make for him is that he will have the cooperation and support of people like you and Mrs. Havens. Dr. Mitchell will take office on April 1 and I will stay around several months to help before returning to Chapel Hill. I hope that I am going to have a chance to see you again before I move away from Atlanta.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:r

May 13, 1947

Mr. R. P. Daniel
Florida National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Daniel:

I can not recall the title of the book on Booker T. Washington which you said you wished to read when we talked on the telephone on Saturday.

We have a copy of "Up From Slavery" the auto-biography of Booker T. Washington which we would be glad to lend you from our office library. I understand that this book is out of print.

Please let me know whether this is agreeable and the book will be sent at once.

I trust that all goes well with you, and that all of the objectives so close to your heart will be achieved.

With kindest good wished, I am

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

D. Wise

October 16, 1947

Mr. Robert P. Daniel, President
Shaw University
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Daniel:

Thank you for your letter of October 14 about the Prairie View meeting December 3-5. I will be on hand.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:s

SHAW UNIVERSITY

RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
OCT 16 1947
Southern Regional Council

October 14, 1947

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

According to the tentative draft of our program for the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes meeting at Prairie View College, December 3-5, you are scheduled to speak at the Morning Session on Thursday, December 4. There will be three speakers during that Session between 9:00 a.m. and 12:00 noon, with consideration of time for discussion.

With every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,

Robert P. Daniel
President

RPD:w

8-D- Misc -
Daniel, Richard P.

November 24, 1948

Mr. Richard P. Daniel
1100 Florida National Bank Building
Jacksonville 2, Florida

Dear Mr. Daniel:

We are deeply appreciative of your check for $50.00, sent us as part of your pledge for Jacksonville, toward our 1948 deficit. Your gift means much to us, both materially and for the cheer and encouragement it gives us.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

LAW OFFICES
DANIEL & POUCHER

RICHARD P. DANIEL
JAQUELIN J. DANIEL
ALLEN L. POUCHER

1100 FLORIDA NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
JACKSONVILLE 2, FLORIDA

November 20, 1948

Mrs. Agnes McKoy,
Secretary-Treasurer,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

RECEIVED
NOV 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I acknowledge receipt with thanks of yours of November 17th, with its enclosure.

I herewith enclose my check for $50 payable to the order of the Southern Regional Council. Please see that it is credited on account of the contributions I agreed, at our recent Directors meeting, to raise in Jacksonville or Florida. While I promised to raise only $100, I feel justified in the hope of raising two or three times that amount. I have already secured a commitment for another $50 from my young friend Crawford Solomon, whom I brought up to the meeting.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely,

Richard P. Daniel

Richard P. Daniel

RPD/s
Encl.

8 - Daniel, R.P.

May 20, 1949

Mr. R. P. Daniel
1100 Florida National Bank Building
Jacksonville 2, Florida

Dear Mr. Daniel:

I am delighted with your letter of May 16. It seems to me that enough has been done to make it clear to other states, as well as to Florida, that the effort made in the questionnaire was a trespass to be condemned.

I am sure that your inquiring about will have been influential in making people back away.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

LAW OFFICES

DANIEL & POUCHER

RICHARD P. DANIEL
JAQUELIN J. DANIEL
ALLEN L. POUCHER

1100 FLORIDA NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
JACKSONVILLE 2, FLORIDA

RECEIVED
MAY 17 1949
Southern Regional Council

May 16, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executor Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Since our phone conversation last Friday, I have talked with Crawford Solomon. He phoned the University of Florida's Business Manager and the latter told him that the President of the University of Florida, and of the Florida State University, and also President Gray of Florida A. & M. College were appearing before the Legislative Investigating Committee and unanimously protesting against segregation questions, and they felt their united front would prevail. Since then L.I. Alexander has shown me the enclosed newspaper clipping showing that several prominent Negroes have already conferred with the Legislative Committee. I have also conferred with Mrs. Zeuch, Mrs. Ewell and several other Florida Regional Board members, including Alexander, and they all agree that no further action is needed at present by us.

Sincerely yours,

RPD

RPD/s
Encl.

FLORIDA TIMES UNION May 11, 1949

Segregation Issue in Red Quiz Debated

TALLAHASSEE, May 10 (AP)—The House communism investigating committee told members of the Florida A. and M. College Alumni Association tonight professors at the negro college are not expected to declare themselves in favor of the State's racial segregation laws.

Twelve members of the association appeared before the committee to seek clarification of a questionnaire the House group is asking faculties of A. and M., Florida State University and the University of Florida to answer.

The question which the negroes said "perturbed" them asks: "Have you ever taught or expressed yourself as being against any provision of the racial segregation laws of Florida?"

"If many (negro) professors answer 'No' to the question, they should very properly consider their positions in doubt for lying," commented Representative Strayhorn of Lee County.

The questionnaire asks those answering it to report whether they are Communists, would support violent overthrow of the Government or have ever belonged to any subversive organizations. It includes a long list of queries on background, education and military service.

J. Leonard Lewis, Jacksonville attorney and executive vice president of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company, said he and other negroes were wondering what connection there is between Communist leanings and opposition to segregation laws.

"The question paramount in our minds is what would be the interpretation of the committee of an affirmative answer to the question," he said. "No honest person being exposed to the culture we've been exposed to can honestly say he hasn't expressed himself in opposition to the segregation laws as administered by Florida officials."

Lewis commented a negro might have no quarrel with the laws but could object to the way they are administered.

Representative Bollinger of Palm Beach County said he did not think either an affirmative or negative answer to the question "would be convicting.

"The committee is trying to find out how honest people are. It's possible that's the reason why the question was put there."

Representative Strayhorn told the negroes one reason for the query is that "a basic tenet of communism is class agitation—class against class. We feel we have a right to know if teachers are teaching contrary to the laws of Florida.

"That's the main point we are interested in. The question of whether you've expressed yourself against the laws is merely a follow-up."

Lewis agreed a "person being supported by taxpayers' money shouldn't teach against the laws of Florida." He added, however, that the query on personal feelings about the laws "invades the privacy of a man's conversation."

RECEIVED
MAY 17 1949
Southern Regional Council

8- Daniel, R.P.

August 11, 1949

Mr. R. P. Daniel
1100 Florida National Bank Building
Jacksonville 2, Florida

Dear Mr. Daniel:

Here is a copy of Mr. Fleming's write-up on the events around Groveland.

I am in hopes you will agree that it is a good balanced job.

We are grateful to you for your help to him on his trip.

If the account, in any important way, differs from your knowledge of the situation there, please let me know. I have allowed a copy to go to the printer; but, for a week or so, we could still make needful changes in the proof.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

8- Daniel, R.P.

LAW OFFICES
DANIEL & POUCHER

RICHARD P. DANIEL
JAQUELIN J. DANIEL
ALLEN L. POUCHER

1100 FLORIDA NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
JACKSONVILLE 2, FLORIDA

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1949
Southern Regional Council

August 15, 1949

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of August 11th to Mr. R. P. Daniel. Mr. Daniel is presently on vacation and will not return to the office until the middle of September, at which time your letter will be brought to his attention.

Very truly yours,

J. J. Daniel

JJD/lf

Daniel

September 27, 1949

Mr. R. P. Daniel
1100 Florida National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Daniel:

A western Floridian wandered into my office today, sent here from Tuskegee, with a queer story. He is a white man named R. L. Ellis, RFD #1, Baker, Florida. Owns a hundred acres or so thereabouts; used to be a barber, I believe; has lived in Florida eighteen years. Came there from Montgomery, Alabama. Baker is in Okaloosa County.

He was anxious to tell his story but unskilled in getting it in sequence. I can do a more exact job (from our notes) than the following, but this is a rough summary of his tale.

Back in the northwest part of this county there had settled from just after slavery days a community of colored land-owners. Prominent among their names was Hendrieth. Just about at the end of World War I, white people thereabouts began to covet the land the colored were on. One young man of the Hendrieth family and another young man disappeared and their bodies were found not long after in the Conecuah River. A year or two later another colored man, named John Sipp Hendrieth, was shot in the hall of his house, from outside the house. A little later a young boy was shot. These last two victims survived and are living respectively in Crestview, Florida, and Selma, Alabama.

Under this pressure practically all the colored people moved out, I would say about 1925. A little later four white men took tax title to most of the ex-colored land.

Ellis knew about the colored ownership of the property and was from time to time in touch with some of the heirs. Nothing has ever been done about the murders, and nothing was done to retain title for the colored owners of the land.

In 1948, I believe, one of the white tax-title owners let it be known that he intended to cut timber from some of the tax-title land. Ellis got the circuit court to enjoin any cutting or removal, and himself posted $500 cash bond to save the enjoined persons whole in case the injunction were wrongly issued. The enjoined tax-title holders then sold their interests to the Northcut Lumber Company which, notwithstanding protest by Ellis, proceeded to cut the timber. Ellis estimates that cut was $10,000 worth. The Northcut Lumber Company was then operated by a man named W. A. Gooch, who has since then moved to Montgomery.

Ellis has since that time got his attorney, William F. Flournoy of De Funiak Springs, Florida, to enter suit on behalf of the stated heirs of the original owners for recovery. However, the suit does not move. Ellis considers that he is up against ring resistance among the county politicians.

Another item involves a visit by Ellis and one of the principal heirs to the property in question, made only a few weeks ago. This one of the heirs walked over the property and located with exactness "every stob". Ellis had provided himself in advance with a plat map by sections of that part of the county. According to the heir in question, the plat map shows certain portions as in the original ownership which were not in the original ownership, and is otherwise in error.

It also seems to be the case that one of the heirs, a colored woman school teacher in Washington, D. C., has within the last few years asserted her original title to lands upon which tax mien had not been filed, and has been confirmed in that ownership.

Ellis says he has no interest in acquiring land from any of the parties, that his interest is in justice, but that if the rightful heirs recovered, he would expect them to compensate him for some of his trouble and interest —as, of course, they would have to compensate their attorneys. Ellis is fairly close to the wool hat type, but impressed me with a native sense of justice. He pronounces "Negroes" like "chiggers" and is otherwise quite local. Says he once belonged to the Klan for four years, just to find out what they were doing.

I told Ellis I would write to somebody in Jacksonville and ask for some advice on what ought to be done.

I would be most grateful for your kind pondering of these circumstances and for a letter telling me what, if anything, in your judgment is wise. A copy of the injunction is enclosed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

September 27, 1949

Mr. Arthur Jones
417 West Cervantes Street
Pensacola, Florida

Dear Mr. Jones:

I had the pleasure of a visit this morning from Mr. R. L. Ellis about your land problems.

I have written to friends in Florida for further advice and shall be in touch with Mr. Ellis later on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

September 27, 1949

Mr. Albion L. Holsey
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Dear Mr. Holsey:

Mr. R. L. Ellis, of Baker, Florida, came over here this morning and we talked at length about the land problem which you had advised him to come and see me on. I have written to a legal friend for advice and shall stay in touch with Mr. Ellis. Mr. Ellis asked that I write you.

The publicity for Gamson is going great guns. Probably you saw that last Sunday's Constitution, in pages 4 and 5 of Section B, made a precedent in handling by the Constitution of Negro matters.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

CIRCUIT COURT OF OKALOOSA COUNTY,

FIRST JUDICIAL CIRCUIT OF FLORIDA.

Clara Hendrieth, widow; Pastoria Hendrieth Johnson, Arthur Hendrieth, John Hendrieth, Guy Hendrieth, Algie Hendrieth, Argeon Hendrieth and Albern Hendrieth, being the widow and all of the heirs of Arthur Hendrieth, deceased, Plaintiffs, vs. M. J. King and J. F. King, and I. G. Cook and Marlin Cook, Defendants	INJUNCTION

IN THE NAME OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA, SS:-

This cause coming on to be heard upon application of the plaintiffs for temporary injunction against the defendants, their agents, employees and all persons claiming by, through or under them or either of them and upon the sworn bill of complaint, upon consideration thereof;

IT IS ORDERED, ADJUDGED AND DECREED, towit.

(1) That the defendants, their agents, employees and all persons claiming by, through or under them, or either of them, he and they are hereby enjoined from entering upon the lands towit:

> East half of the South East quarter, and West half of Nort East quarter of Section 18, Township 5, North Range 23, West, in Okaloosa County, Florida, being 160 acres more or less,

and from cutting any of the timber and pulp wood and from removing any of the same on or from said lands or any part thereof, until the further order of this Court.

(2) That this injunction shall take effect immediately, and the plaintiffs shall make, and file good and sufficient bond in the sum of $500.00, to be approved by the Clerk of this Court within five days from the date of this order, to assure the defendants against all damages they may sustain by reason of the improper granting of this injunction, or if said suit be dismissed or said suit be dismissed or said injunction be dissolved.

ORDERED ADJUDGED AND DECREED, in Pensacola, Florida, this the 10th day of April, A. D. 1947.

D. Stuart Gillis

8 - Daniel, Richard P.

October 31, 1949

Mr. Richard P. Daniel
1100 Florida National Bank Building
Jacksonville 2, Florida

Filed
35 - State Museums - Fla.
letter to Mr. Adolph Luchtan.

Dear Mr. Daniel:

We are sending you the enclosed self-explanatory letter, and our reply, for your information and whatever action you may wish to take.

We hope very much to see you at the Annual Meeting next week. Until then, best wishes from all of us here in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Survey Assistant

Daniel

June 5, 1950

Mr. R. P. Daniel
1100 Florida National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Daniel:

Sorry to see about the revival of Ku Klux Klan activity in Jacksonville.

I do hope you will put your strength into an effort to get some kind of municipal anti-mask ordinance.

I have great respect for Morris Abram, who has watched carefully the drafting of this one.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

May 23, 1944

Mr. O. D. Duncan
Oklahoma A. and M. College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Duncan:

Thank you for your letter of May 15. I am very glad that you have accepted membership in the Council and on the Board of Directors. Under separate cover, I am sending you some minutes of previous meetings of the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors. Of course, they are dull reading, but they will serve to give you an idea of the sort of problems which come before the Board.

sent - Ex Comm Apr. 28-44 Bd. Dir. Apr. 28-44 GBJ

I doubt whether we shall need a meeting of the Board before the regular annual meeting which is scheduled for the second Wednesday in October. You might want to mark that date on your calendar now. We will get out formal announcements of the meeting at least two weeks in advance.

I went up to Chapel Hill over the weekend and got a copy of your masterpiece entitled "'Possum Hunting in East Texas." This certainly takes me back to my own boyhood in Hunt County, Texas. I did not have as many interesting experiences as you, but I did have a lot of fun. I remember that one time we put our 'Possum under a big washpot, but found that next morning he had dug his way out.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ/j

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
SCHOOLS OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
STILLWATER

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE

May 15, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I have indicated my acceptance to membership in the Council and as a member of its Board of Directors, to Miss Clay.

As yet, I know very little about the work of this group; but I suppose I can learn as time goes on. Rather recently, I have been active in trying to promote research in the Negro Land Grant Colleges and just returned from a meeting of this kind which was held at Atlanta University.

I feel honored that your group saw fit to place me on the Board of Directors, especially on such short notice. With the disturbed conditions imposed upon us by the war, I do not know yet whether it will be possible for me to attend the next meeting; but I shall try to make it. Please see to it that I get due notice well in advance of the date so I can get reservations and make other necessary arrangements.

Sincerely yours,

O. D. Duncan

O. D. Duncan

ODD:nms

Mr. O. D. Duncan

Letter of May 9, 1944 on membership in SRC Board

Copy filed under Dean D. S. Staples

September 23, 1944

Dr. O. D. Duncan
Department of Sociology and Rural Life
Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Duncan:

I suppose that by this time you have received our notice concerning the postponement of the annual meeting of the Council, so that your dilemma of wanting to be in two places at the same time is at least postponed for the present. I hope that when the date for the new meeting is settled, you will be in a better position to see your way clear to attend the meeting. I would not say that attendance is essential, but I hope very much indeed that you can make it.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
SCHOOLS OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
STILLWATER

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE

September 20, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am in a sort of a tight spot in reference to your meeting on October 11-12, owing to the fact that the navy and partial retirement by reason of age have cut our departmental staff practically in halves. This fall, I am teaching more than ever before, and have things coming at me from every direction. I cannot afford to leave my classes untaught, and with the loads our existing staff members have, it is pretty hard to ask my colleagues to take over that near the beginning of the term.

Just how essential would you consider my presence at this fall meeting in view of the travel situation, my own institutional predicament, and of your own program? I think I should consider your possible inconvenience as well as my own. I would like, however, for you to give me your frank judgment on the matter. I have two other fall meetings scheduled later which will crowd me somewhat also.

If you feel that I really should attend the meeting there, I shall need to hurry my request for railroad and hotel reservations. I presume you will be able to get hotel accommodations, will you not? The last time I went to Atlanta rooms were hard to find.

Please let me hear from you as soom as you can. I know I should be at both places at the same time, and since I cannot do that, I feel that I should try to ascertain which is the more urgent and act accordingly.

Sincerely yours,

O. D. Duncan

O. D. Duncan

ODD:if

April 30, 1946

Dr. O. D. Duncan
Oklahoma A. and M.
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Duncan:

I am deeply grateful to you for the very fine paper with which you started the panel at Fort Worth on April 19. The discussion was stimulating and could have absorbed much more time than was allotted it. I want to thank you especially for making the motion to invite the Negro sociologists of the Southwest to become members of the Southwestern Sociological Society. This was a distinct step forward, and will encourage these new members to exert even more effort to make a contribution to the well-being of the region.

I wish you many years of happiness and successful work. With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

May 8, 1946

Dr. O. D. Duncan
Department of Sociology and Rural Life
Oklahoma A. and M. College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Duncan:

Your letter of May 3 gives me much food for thought. Its frankness was stimulating and of great value in providing me with the necessary dose of encouragement which I need at frequent intervals in this field of labor.

Would I be safe in concluding that there are many other persons throughout these thirteen states which we call the Southern Region who have experienced changes in attitudes and response patterns similar to those through which you have gone?

With an increasing number of courageous leaders like you, the future of the South is full of hope and inspiration.

I trust that it will be possible for me to visit Texas again and that the opportunity will present itself for continuation of the discussion of these momentous issues which have exposed themselves to us.

Is there a State Interracial Commission in Oklahoma at present?

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

July 23, 1946

Dr. O. D. Duncan
Oklahoma A. and M. College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Duncan:

I am really ashamed of the delay that has taken place between the receipt of your letter of June 1 and my reply. I have traveled much and have had a great many things to do. At the same time I have read your paper presented to the Southwestern Sociological Society at least a half dozen times, and have given some of my friends the pleasure of reading it too.

As to the paper itself, all of us agree that you did a very fine job. I certainly would not suggest that any of it be cut out. To the contrary, I feel that the entire paper could be enlarged, and that each of the eight points is worthy of more extensive treatment.

Your letter was worth reading 100 times. Its sympathy and frankness are encouraging in this day of hypocrisy and deceit. You must have read some news items concerning the recent Georgia political campaign. You are probably getting some of the same thing in Texas. This seems to be democratic freedom, and I am aware of the fact that the same force which could eliminate these unpleasant incidents could also suppress freedom. I am encouraged, however, when I think of you and the many other liberal Southerners who take a very realistic point of view toward our whole pattern of life and who are directing their strength toward the necessary adjustments in the situation.

I, too, feel that the honor conferred upon Dr. Clement's mother was a tribute to l beral America, and to the new courage which is being shown by an increasingly large number of people.

I am also happy to know that Stillwater is sufficiently conscious of the recreational and cultural needs of its Negro citizens to vote bonds for the erection of a building to take care of these needs, and this by an overwhelming majority.

Your quotation from the address of Mr. John Rogers is still another evidence of the most important trend that I see in the present South. We have always

had moral men. Frequently, however, they have not had courage to take a stand for the right. We are seeing more and more of these coming to the front. They usually find that they have a great many followers who have been waiting for the combination of the moral man and the courageous man.

I do hope that the Southern Regional Council will have a unit in Oklahoma at some time in the near future. Our state organizations are doing a great job. I feel that we have the program which offers the greatest amount of progress to the South.

I trust that I may have the honor and privilege of seeing you more frequently in the future. If I should ever come to that region, I shall certainly try to establish contact with you.

If Dr. Johnson were in the office today, I am sure he would join me in best wishes and highest personal regards.

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

August 21, 1946
(Dictated August 19, 1946)

Dr. O. D. Duncan
Department of Sociology and Rural Life
Oklahoma A & M College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Duncan:

As usual, it was a stimulating pleasure to receive your letter of July 25th.

So many things have happened in the past few weeks that call our attention to the necessity for constant vigil on the forefront of democracy that I would find it possible to write you a very long letter if I thought you would have the time to read it.

Your evaluation of the situation here and in Texas, Mississippi and South Carolina shows a thorough understanding of the problem. You will understand, I am sure, that those of us in this office who work so close to the problems of tension all the time can hardly afford to become pessimistic. At the same time, it is very difficult to keep one's equilibrium when there is the very evident tendency to retrograde in human relations. I would assume that it can be attributed to the fear and confusions which are the result of the recent world war. It would seem, however, that a consistent program of real education organized to reach people in the remotest parts of our region would certainly eliminate the possibility of such occurrences in the future.

Personally, I feel that our efforts are futile until we reach those people in the hinterlands who actually commit the deeds of violence which take us back to our former state of savagery. I do not see how we can ever develop a constructive program in race relations unless the bill providing for federal aid to education is passed at some time in the near future. This would certainly make it possible to carry the advantages of an effective education to all of the people of our country.

Our friends in the North seem very anxious to help us solve our problems. I think that the finest thing they could do in the next Congress would be to have this federal aid bill become a law. Since the majority of the members of Congress come from the Northern States, they could certainly lend their efforts to making it an effective law.

I have read with keen interest your bulletin on rural community organization and think that it is very good. Paragraph 11 is very much to the point. I should like to have your permission to quote you whenever the opportunity arises.

I trust that all goes well with you, and that you will find some justification for coming to Atlanta at some time in the near future.

Wishing you a pleasant vacation, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG,
Associate Executive Director

HLT:MJ

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
SCHOOLS OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE

STILLWATER

July 25, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr Trigg:

Thank you for your letter of July 23. It was a pleasure to hear from you on a hot day like this.

I think the forces of democracy have sustained a critical loss in both Georgia and Mississippi. In Georgia, the situation is doubly serious because of the notorious "unit vote" system that prevails there by which the yokel counties are able to disfranchise the half million people in Fulton County. In my opinion, the electoral college by which we elect the president of the United States is equally atrocious. If I were in your place, and before Talmadge succeeds in taking the vote away from the Negro, I would write a series of articles to every Negro paper in the state urging every Negro to register to vote as a Democrat, not that I am particularly partisan, but that only by so doing can the Negro vote be made to count, and I would urge them to vote for certain reforms while they have the chance to do so. If they lose this opportunity to vote, they will have lost it for a long time, and certainly for long enough to permit Talmadge to do them irreparable damage. Even without the poll tax there, My information is that only a few Negroes in Georgia actually registered to vote this year, and I should think they had time to get their names filed with the registrar of voters.

Georgia, Texas, Mississippi, and South Carolina are going to be the hot spots that will have to be cooled off before we can get any semblance of democracy. The N. A. A. C. P. will need to keep on the alert, and use every bit of influence it can to get the federal government to enforce the law. As I see it, the Congress ought to pass a law to the effect that no state or political party can enact either rules or legislation that will bar any citizen from the full exercise of his rights and privileges as a citizen. I do not know what it would take to do that, but the time has come when the rest of the country must take the bull by the horns and compel the South to walk up to the trough and drink like a work horse. Another way it could be done is that the South should be deprived of all subsidies from the federal government until it is ready to permit Negroes to have their rightful share in the proceeds. I am informed, for example, that in the Red Cross it is necessary when writing a Mississippi office about a client to specify if he is a Negro, and that if this is not done they will not conduct an investigation. It is a shame that we are asked to support an organization of that kind. I think I shall refuse to make any further contributions to it, and if I were a Negro, I know damned well that I would not give the Red Cross a cent.

I get so sick of all this that I am hardly able to think about it in a rational state of mind. It would seem to me that the goal of all interracial organizations should be to get Congress and the Supreme Court to

declare any legal form of discrimination unconstitutional. That is the only way we shall ever be able to get it done, and if it were done the quickest possible way it would be too slow.

Here in Oklahoma, we have neither a poll tax, a white primary, nor a party pledge. A Negro can vote as well as any one, and does. I have never know anyone to be hurt by it. However, there is the usual Jim Crow discrimination in transportation, schools, jobs, and otherwise. I doubt that outside our two or three all Negro communities it would be possible to elect one to a public office, but a few have run on the Republican ticket, and they got no further there than they would have if they had run as Democrats.

If Georgia does try to prevent the Negro from voting in the future, they ought organize a party of their own, put out a slate in some of the counties where they can win, and elect a whole slate of county offices. They would then have a battle to get them seated, and if they would take it to the Supreme Court, I believe they would win. Of course, I know there would be threats against their lives, and all that. This would give the army an excuse for taking over to suppress insurrections. I believe if the whole thing were conducted legally it would have to stick. I do not advocate any form of violence on the part of the Negro because that would not be right, and it would lose the sympathies of white people besides. As long as the elections are conducted in the same way that the white Democrats conduct theirs there can be no charge of violence. If this were timed so that there would be a presidential year and a complete slate of national candidates, there could be no question that the election would count if the party would get out its vote and win.

Well, this may be only wild speculation, but the man who never dreams of anything never has anything to shoot at. "Where there is no vision, the people will perish."

My typing is so bad, you might as well have tried to read my longhand. Sometimes the machine seems to have indigestion. However, I was glad to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

O D Duncan

O. D. Duncan.

September 13, 1946

Dr. O. D. Duncan
Oklahoma A.& M. College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Duncan:

A letter from you is always a source of inspiration and encouragement. Your frankness, sincerity and keen thinking give my spirits a tremendous boost.

I am glad to know from your letter of August 30, that some excellent beginnings in constructive race relations are being made in Oklahoma. I, myself, am a life member of the American Legion and am, therefore, particularly interested in the citizenship program which you are sponsoring. I would be very grateful for any further information on the progress of this program in the selected colored schools. I am sure a very fine step has been taken in inviting the four Negro leaders to work with the planning committee of the Oklahoma Welfare Association. I am sure they will do a constructive service.

Your ideas about the political situation in some of our Southern states get at the real core of the problem. I agree with you that much which goes into the Negro press is of no service because it does not reach the people who cause many of our difficulties.

I am grateful to you for these letters that you write, and trust that you will honor me with one as frequently as possible.

I trust that I may have the opportunity to come to Oklahoma in the not too distant future.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG,
Associate Executive Director

HLT:MJ

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
SCHOOLS OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE

STILLWATER

August 30, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

You may be interested to know several little things that are going on in Oklahoma just now. First, as chairman of the Americanism Committee for the American Legion in this county, I have added two Negro schools to the list who will be invited to participate in the citizenship program by which the students to receive our annual awards are chosen in monthly elections by their fellow students on the basis of a number of characteristics of good citizens. I have presented some of these awards personally, and have found that in the Negro schools, both the teachers and the pupils are delighted with the program. I think they take more interest in it than the white schools, and I am of the impression that they appreciate the recognition they get from the white people in knowing that they too have a sense of citizenship. Second, a planning committee for the Oklahoma Welfare Association which I attended in Tulsa this week invited four Negro women from different communities of the State to participate. One was the dean of women at Langston, another was the wife of the editor of the Negro paper in Tulsa, and another was a club woman from Okmulgee. I do not remember who the fourth woman was. What I hope is that when they have this meeting they will allow one or more prominent Negroes to have places on the program to address the predominantly white group.

Of course, these are only small beginnings, and it cannot be hoped that they will result in revolutionary changes immediately, but it is at least a good omen to see the educated people of both races in a sort of hinterland state seated at the same table, eating together, and discussing common problems without reference to color. I do not recall that a single word said at that meeting even implied a color difference either as to interest or as to major problems.

In many respects, I am a Yankeephobe, and still want to spell the word with a capital DAMNED. I fear that with all their good intentions, northern people will make things worse if they try to take an active part within the geographic limits of the South. They can send money to organizations, which, incidentally they have stolen or filched from the South, and they can work in Washington on legislation. If one of them ever goes to Georgia after Talmadge gets back in the governor's chair, there will be hell to pay, and some poor, ragged, illiterate, stinky Georgia Negro will have to do the paying. He will take out his spite on the most helpless Negro he can find, and then crow about it. He will even prate about the alleged democracy of Georgia, and the grea-ate opportunities it offers the po-ah boy and guhl. There is no lie or subterfuge to which the old man will not stoop in order to keep white supremacy the foremost political issue of the state. I do not think there is any intentional good in the man toward disadvantaged people, white or black.

He wants only to grease his own skillet with the fat of the helpless and the ignorant. He will promote conflict and ill feeling between the poor white trash, of which Georgia has a superabundance, and the Negro who is actually little worse off than the white scum. Those two groups, of all people, have most in common, and do not know it. Their heads are ground into the dirt by the heels of the lecherous aristocrats, and both are made to feel that the other is the cause of his own misery. I have tied the tails of two cats together and hung them across a clothesline. They fought each other unmercifully, each thinking the other was the cause of his own discomfort, when that was not true at all. Yet, one could never have made them believe differently. I think Talmadge is exactly the kind of fellow I was when I did that, but he operates on a much larger scale, and does infinitely more harm.

If he tries to keep the Negro from voting, I hope that someone will go into a few predominantly Negro counties and organize everyone of them who is above 18 years old, and get him to vote for Negro Republican officers for the whole county at the general elections. That would cook his goose good and done, particularly if the elected Negroes would carry their fight to hold office to the Supreme Court. That may be asking too much, but I would like to see it done just once. It could even be made a threat in certain parts of Atlanta.

I do not know whether one can make decent people out of folks who have had rottenness bred into them for over two-hundred years by anything short of rather shocking methods. Twice in my life time, we have fought the Germans, and we have not taught them to be decent yet. I doubt if we ever can until we occupy their country for a whole generation, and force them to learn some sense. Georgia, South Carolina, and Texas will need to be done the same way.

You have a problem that is serious. The Negro is not voting in the South. If he were, the Bilbo, Rankin, and Talmadge gangs would lose out. How can they vote for men who have the same as sworn publicly to have them lynched if they try to vote after they are restored to power? When they can vote, how can they sit still, and let the white yokels put such men into high office? Somebody must wake them up. They might as well not have the right to vote if they never use it, and actually they do not have it. They have not voted for so long that they have lost the desire, which is worse than losing the right, to vote. The Negro press and their leaders have got to quit pacifying their passions by making inflammatory soap box speeches and writing cheap editorials, and turn to something that has meat in it. Very little that comes from Negro spokesmen can be calculated to have a salutary effect upon either race. The whites never see it, and the Negroes are so used to it that it does not shake them. For twenty years, I have thought that this constituted more of a menace than a help in solving anything. I still believe it does. Richard Wright can do more good by telling in clear understandable and impassionate language what an ambitious boy must endure than all the fiery journalists of the entire race. When a man makes a fool of himself, he fools none but himself. Yet, reason talks no matter from whom it comes. Booker T. Washington, G. W. Carver, and men of their types had hearers in high places. That they may have made mistakes does not matter. If they did, they were mistakes of the head, and not of the gall bladder. Anyone who does something constructive is bound to make an occasional mistake.

Well, I am at the bottom of my page. It was good to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

O. D. Duncan

----------Executive Director

May 21, 1947

Mr. O. D. Duncan
Oklahoma A. & M. College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Duncan:

The Southern Regional Council is arranging a small meeting in Atlanta on June 17 and 18, of representatives of the various Southern State Interracial Committees or State Divisions of the Council, as the case may be.

We want to give the first day to discussion of the general program in the South and some of it to relationships with the Council, and the second day would go mainly to ways to expand veterans trade education in the South and ways to get better police administration.

I quite realize that we have no affiliated interracial committee in Oklahoma. Still, we are anxious to have Oklahoma properly represented at the meeting. As our Board member from that State - and a valued member, anyway - we very much hope that you can, yourself, come over. In addition to you, we think somebody from the Negro group ought to come. Our Negro members in the State are:

Mr. E. W. Woods
Booker T. Washington High School
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Mrs. R. Thompson Hollis
210 N. Stiles Street
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Dr. William H. Martin
Langston, Okla.

We are leaving to you the job of selecting someone from that group and asking them to come. We will pay expenses for two persons. Please let us know as soon as you can who is coming so we may make arrangements about hotels.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

December 24, 1948

Mr. O.D. Duncan
Oklahoma A & M College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Duncan:

The Southern Regional Council has been honored by your service as a member of its Board of Directors for the four-year term 1944 - 1948.

It is a pleasure to inform you that at the annual membership meeting on November 10, 1948 in Atlanta you were reelected as a member of the Board for the four-year term 1948 - 1952.

Unless I hear to the contrary from you, I shall take for granted your acceptance.

We are grateful for the assistance which your continued interest in the Council gives to its work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t:nh
cc: Mrs. Agnes McKoy

SRC - Bd. of Dirs. — Membership

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE
STILLWATER

January 3, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 5 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of December 24, 1948, informing me of my re-election as a member of the Board of Directors of the Council for the term 1948-1952.

I shall try to serve you in every way I can, if only as a contact man in this area. As you know, the problem of distance makes it difficult for me to attend the meetings, even with expenses paid, since so much time is involved. It is my intention to try to attend in the future, at least now and then. Please give me notice as far in advance as possible.

Sincerely yours,

O. D. Duncan

O. D. Duncan, Head
Sociology and Rural Life

ODD/abb

June 3, 1953

Mr. C. D. Duncan
Oklahoma A&M College
Stillwater, Okla.

Dear Mr. Duncan:

You were present, I believe, when the membership meeting did itself the honor of electing you to the new Board, and I therefore needn't explain the intricacies of the organization.

Do write me that you can accept.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Duncan

September 21, '53

Dear O. D.,

You are kindness itself to offer to turn all wheels for my Oklahoma visit. I've written to Chattanooga for the schedule of the Labor School's classes, and it is pretty tough. Straight through, from 8.30 till 11.25, and then each afternoon from 1.15 to 4.10. I can't know until I get there whether they will schedule me for each of the two afternoon teaching hours, but expect they will, and if they do I'm sunk on getting to Stillwater for any afternoon teaching.

It is still true that nothing is scheduled for Monday evening and Wednesday evning, October 5 and 7.

Suppose we say that if when I get there and my schedule is complete it appears that I can clearly make it in time for a 2.00 P.M. Class on Wednesday (Vandiver's) or even for certain for Sutker's 3.00 P.M. on Wednesday I'll telephone you and ask you to get someone to come down and fetch me up for the afternoon's teaching at Stillwater. But if no such arrangement possible, we would just have to skip the afternoon teaching.

I could undertake to go to Stillwater anyway for the Wednesday evening, arriving by some conveyance by say 7.30 P.M., at your door. If there were eight or nine students thereabouts I could gladly talk with them. Or if you would prefer to arrange even a small gathering in Oklohoma city for the Wednesday night (or the Monday night if that should be more suitable) O.K. I haven't much hopes of getting a live SRC Chapter in Oklahoma City, but if you would make the effort I'd be might grateful for the chance to talk with some of the useful people.

Anyway, I'll call you on Monday the 5th, and get word of what you prefer to have me do.

Daily File

September 22, 1953

Mr. T. Otto Nall
The Christian Advocate
740 Rush Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Nall:

This we hope can be quite a useful publication. We got it out only four or five days ago.

You will see that it is a balanced discussion of the issue arising from the pending forthcoming Court decision.

We want it to be used by local discussion groups, many of which can be bi-racial.

So used, it could do a great deal towards getting in advance of the decision an informed public opinion, inclined to accept and support whatever may be the final decision.

I have sent it about quite widely to Bishops in the South and to officers of the Womens' Societies.

I do hope its availability will be worthy of some notice in the Christian Advocate.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
E

September 22, 1953

Mr. Bert Struby, Editor
Macon Telegraph
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Struby:

We greatly appreciate and much admire the run of the pamphlet in the Telegraph.

I should set you straight on one matter. We often get confused with the Southern Regional Education Board of which Dr. John Ivey is director. Our own SRC was set up in 1944, partly on the basis of the old Commission of Inter-racial Cooperation.

Here is a leaflet which propounds somewhat on it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

September 23, 1953

U. S. Senator William Jenner
Senate Internal Security Subcommittee
U. S. Capitol
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Jenner:

The Southern Regional Council has published since January, 1946 a small monthly magazine with the title New South. Associated Press despatches on September 20th and thereabouts quote your Subcommittee as releasing testimony by one Paul Crouch, touching upon publication on behalf of the Communist Party of a sheet with the same title. The release is unclear as to the period in which this Communist publication was issued.

Naturally, as our magazine has this title, we are open to some public confusion on the matter. I would be grateful for your assistance in sending me so much of the transcript or summary of the Crouch testimony as may be publicly available, in order that we may pin down the complete absence of any connection between the two publications.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo

December 15, 1944

Mr. Mark Ethridge
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ethridge:

It was good to have an opportunity to see you last Tuesday when I was in Louisville. I feel that my visit to Louisville was very interesting and profitable to me and I hope that I was able to do some little good for the Governor's Commission on Negro Affairs and the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations.

Ralph McGill has come out pretty strongly now for abolition of the poll tax in Georgia. Perhaps you have seen his column of yesterday but I am enclosing a clipping of it for your convenience. The Constitution also carried a very good editorial on December 13 about the recommendations adopted at our annual meeting on December 6.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j
Enclosure
McGill column in Dec. 14 Constitution in re poll tax.

January 5, 1945

Mr. Mark Ethridge
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ethridge:

Sometime soon we want to devote an issue of the Southern Frontier to the subject of suffrage in the South. Could you favor us with a brief article of 250-500 words on this problem, or on some particular phase of it such as the poll tax or the white primary?

We shall be deeply grateful for anything you might send us, and we hope that you will find it possible to let us have a brief article by February 1.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

January 24, 1945

Mr. Mark Ethridge
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ethridge:

Thank you for your letter of January 15 which came just after I left on a week's trip. I guess we should excuse you from doing the piece on suffrage. We put together a bit of poll tax material in the January issue of the Southern Frontier, which will be out shortly.

Your offer during our telephone conversation last week to underwrite a pamphlet on suffrage in the South was about the best news we have had lately. We appreciate it more than we can say, and we'll get right to work on this pamphlet.

We are looking forward to seeing the pamphlet growing out of the meeting of the Committee of Writers and Editors, and we shall be glad indeed to distribute several thousand of them. I wonder if it would be possible for us to have about 4,000 copies with an imprint something like this: "Distributed for the Committee... by the Southern Regional Council."

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

January 17, 1945

Mr. Mark Ethridge
The Courier-Journal
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ethridge:

Your letter of January 15 has reached our office just after Dr. Johnson left to fulfill several out-of-town engagements. He will return early next week, and I am sure he will write you with regard to the report of the meeting of the Committee of Editors and Writers as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

BARRY BINGHAM, *President*

MARK F. ETHRIDGE, *Publisher*

LISLE BAKER, JR. *Vice Pres. & Treas.*

The Courier-Journal
THE LOUISVILLE TIMES

LOUISVILLE 2, KY.

January 15, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

If you really want a short piece on suffrage in the South I'll do it, but I think you could do much better with material that you have already got. For instance: I know you've seen the leaflet which the Committee of Writers and Editors got out on voting in the South as compared with the rest of the country.

We are shortly to publish a pamphlet and report of the meeting which will be, I think, extremely illuminating. I wonder if the Southern Regional Council would be interested in making some distribution of that material. I think I could get you the money to do the job.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Mark Ethridge

Mark Ethridge

COPY

Chapel Hill, N. C.
February 3, 1945

Mr. Mark Ethridge, Editor
LOUISVILLE COURIER
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Ethridge:

No doubt you have heard from Mrs. Henry Havens before this time. I should have written you earlier except for a critical illness in the family.

What you know already is that the Southern Regional Council was unanimous in saying that they would like to elect you president if you would accept. I am confident that you can do more good by accepting this place than any other way that I can think of. You would give great confidence to the Negroes. We had almost everyone of the distinguished and substantial Negro educators in the South there and they were high in praise of you, and it would give them a new hope if you would accept. In the next place, frankly, I believe that you would do the South a real service.

Next, I sincerely believe it would put you in a point of leadership which any man would covet.

The only reason I feel that my letter might persuade you is that the job does not take much time, contrary to the general impression. It is my own feeling that the administrative part of the work ought to be done by the executive directors. I am sure you agree to this.

The other difficulty that might have been involved is not there any longer. Saturday we had a rare meeting of harmony. Whether it will last or not, I don't know but it was about the most perfect meeting I have ever attended and you will be assured of a good solid program which will embarrass no one. Frankly, the group is not quite willing to follow me as an academician and perhaps I want to go too fast and too far. We are all unanimous in saying that we must have a man who can catch the imagination of the South in a program. You and Virginius Dabney, so far as I know, are literally the only two men in the South that could do it. I am writing Virginius Dabney to help me urge you to take it.

A few years from now the South will be either thankful and expressing its appreciation to some real leadership

February 3, 1945

or it will be down in the dumps and will remember that it does not have leadership. I wish I were competent to do this job, but I am not and I believe very honestly and frankly that you will lose one of the greatest opportunities any man in America has ever had if you don't take this leadership.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C

Dear Guy:

Ethridge's wire evidently came before he had heard from Mrs. Havens. We will just keep on after him and see what we can do.

HWO

February 9, 1945

Mr. Mark Ethridge, Editor
Louisville Courier
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ethridge:

I am terribly sorry that on account of the pressure of duties in the absence of Mr. Bingham you feel that you can not accept the presidency of the Southern Regional Council. I am not much good at urging people against their better judgment, but I do wish very, very much that you might be persuaded to change your mind.

I understand that you will be in Atlanta soon. I hope I will have a chance to see you.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Ethridge

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
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LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

1945 FEB 19 AM 9 1

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QA43

ATLANTA

Q LJ19 35=TW WASHINGTON DC 1 1022A

DR HOWARD W ODUN=

:SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL TU ATLA=

:IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO TAKE ON ANY MORE THAN I AM TRYING TO DO ESPECIALLY WITH BARRY BINHAM AWAY. APPRECIATE ESTIMATE YOU HAVE. OF MY CAPACITY AND WISH I COULD TRY TO JUSTIFY IT REGARDS=

MARK ETHRIDGE.(

Swered Odum about this JB

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

December 12, 1945

Mr. Mark Ethridge
The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ethridge:

Welcome back to the U.S.A.! I am sure that you have had some interesting adventures and that you still have plenty to do to clean up after your trip.

I am anxious to know whether we could get a hundred copies of page 3, section 3 of the Courier-Journal of Sunday, December 2, containing Paul Hughes' story about the Report of the Governor's Commission on Negro Affairs. If they are available, we shall be glad to pay whatever charges there are. If they are not available, may we have permission to reprint the page?

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

BARRY BINGHAM, *President*

MARK F. ETHRIDGE, *Publisher* LISLE BAKER, JR., *Vice Pres. & Treas.*

The Courier-Journal
THE LOUISVILLE TIMES
LOUISVILLE 2, KY.

RECEIVED
DEC 17 1945
Southern Regional Council

December 15, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We didn't have 100 copies of Paul Hughes' story, but the Circulation Manager tells me he did find 50 and has sent them to you.

Thank you for your gracious welcome back home. I assure you I am delighted to be here.

Sincerely yours,

Mark Ethridge

Mark Ethridge

October 18, 1946

Mr. Mark Ethridge
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Friend:

Thanks a lot for sending us a copy of the speech which you delivered before the Executives Club at Meridian on September 28. We read about it in the papers, and we certainly wanted to see the whole speech. It is a swell piece of work that carries a lot of punch.

I hope you have seen our September New South, entitled "Machines In the Cotton Fields". We have sent copies to the Southern Governors and have suggested that they consider the advisability of calling a special conference on the problems accompanying the mechanization of cotton. We are getting some encouraging responses, and I think there is a fair chance that when the Conference of Southern Governors meets in December they will give some attention to this problem.

I hope you will find it possible to attend the annual meeting of SRC which will be held here on November 13. It would be good to have you with us.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

March 28, 1947

Mr. Mark Ethridge, Publisher
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ethridge:

Through an oversight extra copies of the February New South containing your article, "The Second Reconstruction", were never mailed to you. We are mailing you twenty-five copies today. If you can use additional copies, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Price
Publications Division

25 ✓ New South

V.g.
3/28/47

BARRY BINGHAM, *President*

MARK F. ETHRIDGE, *Publisher*

LISLE BAKER, JR., *Vice Pres. & Treas.*

The Courier-Journal
THE LOUISVILLE TIMES
LOUISVILLE 2, KY.

RECEIVED
APR 3 1947
Southern Regional Council

April 2
1947

Dear Miss Price:

Mr. Ethridge is still in Europe but I know he will greatly appreciate your sending him the extra copies of NEW SOUTH for February. I will hold them with his other correspondence, pending his return.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Shaw

Secretary to Mr. Ethridge

Miss Margaret Price,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

MARK F. ETHRIDGE, *Publisher*

BARRY BINGHAM, *President*

LISLE BAKER, JR., *Vice Pres. & Treas.*

The Courier-Journal
THE LOUISVILLE TIMES

LOUISVILLE 2, KY.

RECEIVED
DEC 20 1947
Regional Council

December 16
1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am terribly sorry and embarrassed over the fact that your telegram to me about becoming a member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council followed me around to where it was too late for me to answer. I have just returned this week from a trip East.

I am particularly embarrassed for not having written you sooner because I can't serve. I am on a State Department Advisory Commission on Information that takes all the time I can spare out of Louisville. In fact, like almost everything the State Department asks you to do, it takes a whole lot more time that is ever represented to you. I couldn't take on any more meetings or any more activities. In fact I would be very glad to be relieved of some I have got right now.

I am interested in the work of the Southern Regional Council and I will do all I can outside of membership on the Board to help.

Sincerely yours,

Mark Ethridge

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

SRC - Bd of Dirs. - Membership

December 9, 1948

Mr. Mark Ethridge
Courier Journal & Times
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Ethridge:

I take pleasure in writing you that at the annual membership meeting of the Southern Regional Council on November 10, 1948 in Atlanta, you were unanimously elected to membership on the Board of Directors of the Council for a four-year term, 1948 - 1952.

The Board membership is generally that given in the enclosed leaflet, although some ten of the Board members there shown were not reelected, and other persons were chosen to fill their places.

The Council expects Board members to attend a single annual meeting, which has hitherto been held in connection with the annual membership meeting. Most Board members come, therefore, for the membership meeting on one day and the Board meeting on the next. The Council pays the travel expenses of its Board members to the meeting and back.

We are all sincerely hopeful that you will give us the support of your interest and advice by accepting your election to membership on the Board.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
cc: Mrs. Agnes McKoy

C
O
P
Y

The Courier-Journal
The Louisville Times
Louisville 2, Kentucky
December 16, 1948

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am terribly sorry and embarrassed over the fact that your telegram to me about becoming a member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council followed me around to where it was too late for me to answer. I have just returned this week from a trip East.

I am particularly embarrassed for not having written you sooner because I can't serve. I am on a State Department Advisory Commission on Information that takes all the time I can spare out of Louisville. In fact, like almost everything the State Department asks you to do, it takes a whole lot more time that is ever represented to you. I couldn't take on any more meetings or any more activities. In fact I would be very glad to be relieved of some I have got right now.

I am interested in the work of the Southern Regional Council and I will do all I can outside of membership on the Board to help.

Sincerely yours,

Mark Ethridge

March 18, 1944

Mr. Clark Foreman
Black Mountain College
Black Mountain, N.C.

Dear Clark:

Thanks for your note of March 8. We are glad to have you on the Board of Directors.

Young Cockrell's case came up yesterday. He had been out on bond. It was handled without a jury and was a fine example of how justice ought to work. At first the judge wanted to continue the case, since the prosecuting witnesses were not present, but Mr. Doughman begged him to go on and hear the case, saying that Bill was ready to enter a plea of guilty. The judge consented, and the case was heard briefly. Miss Clay stood by Bill to help his morale while he was on the stand. The judge was very considerate, talked calmly to Bill, and gave him a suspended sentence under the supervision of his parents. Since Bill had made full restitution of the amount he took from the soldiers, the judge imposed no fine. The way the judge— I believe his name is Etheridge— talked to Bill and to a couple of other boys, including a Negro boy, would have made you want to shout for joy.

I hope that someone can help to save Bill from becoming an abnormal personality. There's some sort of conflict or frustration bothering him. I wish I knew more about him.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Guy B. Johnson

Guy B. Johnson

BLACK MOUNTAIN COLLEGE BLACK MOUNTAIN, N. C.

March 8, 1944

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy,

I shall be very glad to accept membership on the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council.

Sorry to have caused you to get involved with the difficulties of young Cockrell. I never heard the outcome of the case but I gather he is now back in Mississippi with his family.

Best regards,

Clark Foreman

Clark Foreman

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(35)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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Ship Radiogram

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1944 MAY 10 PM 1 41

QA33

GE A337 15=BLACKMOUNTAIN NCAR 10 227P

GUY JOHNSON=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL STANDARD BLDG ATLA=

IMPORTANT FOR MANY SOUTHERNERS TO WIRE SENATOR MEAD THEIR SUPPORT HIS FIGHT AGAINST POLL TAX=

CLARK FOREMAN.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(52)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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NL = Night Letter
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NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

DEC 19 PM 5 09

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QA09

Q.ND618 DL PD=EU NEWYORK NY 19 506P

GUY B JOHNSON, EXECUTIVE DIR=SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

:DONT UNDERSTAND WHY YOU FAILED TO RECEIVE TELEGRAM OF TWO WEEKS AGO ASKING YOU TO BE SPONSOR OF EDITORS AND WRITERS MEETING ATLANTA BILTMORE DECEMBER 21. HOPE VERY MUCH YOU WILL ATTEND. MEETING ON LIMITATION TO SUFFRAGE 10 AM TO 5PM=CLARK FOREMAN

12.21 10 AM 5PM.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

December 11, 1944

Mr. Clark Foreman

Shelton Hotel

New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Foreman:

I am sorry that you were not able to get to the SRC meeting on December 6. It was an excellent meeting.

In your P. S. you referred to the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South. I am completely in the dark about it since this is the first reference to it that I have had.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON

Executive Director

GBJ:j

NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

A Non-Partisan Organization for the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt and a Progressive Congress

HON. GEORGE W. NORRIS, *Honorary Chairman*
SIDNEY HILLMAN, *Chairman*
JAMES G. PATTON, *Vice Chairman*
FREDA KIRCHWEY, *Vice Chairman*
R. J. THOMAS, *Treasurer*
JAMES H. McGILL, *Comptroller*
CLARK FOREMAN, *Secretary*

Office of the Secretary
SHELTON HOTEL, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ELdorado 5-6626-7

December 2, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am sorry that I will not be able to attend the meeting of the Southern Regional Council on December 5, 1944, but I will attend the December 6th meeting.

Sincerely,

Clark Foreman

Clark Foreman

P.S. I hope to hear from you on Committee of Editors and Writers of the South

C.F.

uopwa #1

205 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ★ TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 3-5580

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LOUIS ADAMIC
DR. JAMES LUTHER ADAMS
MILTON AGER
DR. WILL W. ALEXANDER
MISS MARY ANDERSON
MRS. SHERWOOD ANDERSON
STAN AVERY
FRANK E. BAKER
C. B. BALDWIN
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COURTENAY BARBER JR.
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OSCAR LANGE
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JAMES Le CRON
CANADA LEE
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DR. METZ T. LOCHARD
JAMES LOEB
BELA LUGOSI
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ROBERT S. LYND
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DR. W. T. OSOWSKI
LESTER PALESTINE
RT. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS
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JENNINGS PERRY
TERRY PETTUS
CORNELIA BRYCE PINCHOT
GIFFORD PINCHOT
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V. X. PLATEK
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MARTIN POPPER
KATHERINE ANNE PORTER
NELSON POYNTER
DR. SAMUEL PRIGAL
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ELMER RICE
A. W. RICKER
MAYOR C. A. RICKS
EMIL RIEVE
PAUL ROBESON
EDWARD G. ROBINSON
MRS. EDWARD G. ROBINSON
REID ROBINSON
MILES ROMNEY
FRANK ROSENBLUM
MORRIS S. ROSENTHAL
MRS. J. D. ROSS
JUDGE LESTER ROTH
MURIEL RUKEYSER
H. FRANK RYAN
SHELDON F. SACKETT
ROBERT ST. JOHN
MRS. ROBERT ST. JOHN
DR. MARGARET SCHLAUCH
DR. ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER
LILLIE SCHULTZ
DR. FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
C. K. SCHWARTZ
MISS GENNIE R. SEIDEMAN
DAVID F. SEIFERHELD
FRANK SERRI
ROGER SESSIONS
DR. GUY EMERY SHIPLER
HERMAN SHUMLIN
HON. WILLIAM H. SMATHERS
LILLIAN SMITH
S. STEPHENSON SMITH
BEN SOLNIT
GEORGE SOULE
MERCEDES POWELL SPIER
SAMUEL SPRAGER
JOHANNES STEELE
JULIAN D. STEELE
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MAURICE L. STONE
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MRS. STEPHEN S. WISE
BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT, JR.
P. B. YOUNG
STEPHEN ZEMAN, JR.
DR. GREGORY ZILBOORG
JAROSLAV J. ZMRHAL

January 9, 1945

Mr. Clark Foreman
Shelton Hotel
New York 17, New York

Dear Foreman:

Western Union here seems to have fallen down again on an important telegram so I am trying to get them to make a thorough check to find out the trouble. They have such a tremendous volume of messages that they cannot make a satisfactory check unless they have the time and place that the original message was filed and preferably a copy of the message. If you can send me this dope on the telegram which I should have received early in December it will help me to get them to check up on the cause for non-delivery.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

A Non-Partisan Organization for the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt and a Progressive Congress

HON. GEORGE W. NORRIS, *Honorary Chairman*
SIDNEY HILLMAN, *Chairman*
JAMES G. PATTON, *Vice Chairman*
FREDA KIRCHWEY, *Vice Chairman*
R. J. THOMAS, *Treasurer*
JAMES H. McGILL, *Comptroller*
CLARK FOREMAN, *Secretary*

NEW ADDRESS:
205 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
TELEPHONE: MU-3-5580

Office of the Secretary
SHELTON HOTEL, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ELdorado 5-6626-7

January 18, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Guy:

In answer to your letter of January 9, the bill for the telegrams sent in Chicago at the Stevens Hotel Western Union Office, Chicago lists 4 days on which telegrams were sent. I can't be sure which was the one on which yours went out. November 17, 18, 19 and 22. In addition, we tried to call you up long distance, but unsuccessfully.

I hope you will be able to solve the mystery.

Sincerely yours,

Clark Foreman

Clark Foreman
Secretary

uopwa #1

December 19, 1947

Dr. Clark B. Foreman
127 B Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Foreman:

We are indeed glad to advise you of your unanimous re-election as member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council at the annual membership meeting on November 12.

The year, 1948, holds much promise and we are looking forward to it with confidence strengthened, as we feel reason to be, by the ability and excellence of individuals as well as collective membership of our Board.

With every good wish for the holidays and for the coming year, I am

Most sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy

AM:ee

11 - Foreman, Clark

December 21, 1948

Mr. Clark Foreman
1620 - 22nd Street, N. W.
Washington 8, D. C.

Dear Clark:

We have scratched around trying to gather dope on the two things you asked about.

On the Pullman Shops here in Atlanta. They had mainly company unions until the spring of 1948, when elections were held. My information is that the common laborers were excluded from the elections and, therefore, those who voted were craftsmen and helpers. The elections resulted in the establishment of the standard shop craft unions--Carmen, Blacksmiths, Machinists, Boilermakers, Electricians, and so on. With few exceptions, the craft unions in the Atlanta Pullman Shops put their Negro members (who, I assume, are all helpers) in separate locals. It is claimed on behalf of the Electricians that they operate without segregation in this local.

There is some talk of AF of L action to organize the common labor, but my information is that the common laborers in the shop, as well as the Negro helpers, are quite dissatisfied with existing arrangements.

The Fulton County Medical Society does not admit Negroes to membership, and Negroes are not invited to its meetings. The last time Negro membership was up for discussion was about two years ago, while Dr. Wood of Emory was president of the Fulton County Medical Society. At that time there was considerable agreement that Negroes should be admitted to membership, but the society felt that the decision should be unanimous, and as a small

minority was unwilling, it did not pass.

There is one break. Last June the medical faculty at Emory and the staff doctors at Grady Hospital began to hold clinics, open to Negro doctors. Negro doctors come from distant parts of the state sometimes with their patients for discussion of and advice on difficult cases. The scheme has gone well and is highly valued on both sides. The Atlanta Journal for June 27, 1948 carried a news column on the clinic. It is held once a week, ~~of course~~ in conjunction with the Atlanta Medical Association, which is the Negro doctors. After eight weeks about half of the Atlanta Negro physicians had used it. Seminars are conducted by Emory faculty doctors and staff doctors from Emory, Grady, Lawson and other Atlanta hospitals. These persons lecture on their specialties.

Emory Medical School then stated that it has also assumed responsibility for training the staff of a proposed private Negro hospital. This is something that the Urban League is pushing. They want a 248-bed Negro hospital which would cost about $2,300,000.

If we can shape up any of this, let us know.

We missed you at the Board meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

bc: Jane Simpson

RECEIVED
NOV 30 1948
Southern Regional Council

Nov 24
1620-2nd St
Wash 9 D.C.

Dear George,

Some twenty years ago in Atlanta the Fulton Co. Med. Society not only would not admit Negroes to membership but refused our request to let Negroes sit in at the meetings and listen to

the reports. I am writing a book and would like to know if that situation has changed. I would appreciate it if you could let me know.

Also, if it is not too much trouble, I would like to know if the workers in the Pullman Shops in Atlanta are still segregated and unorganized. Yours, Clark Foreman.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
NOV 28
10-PM
1948

Remember - Only
PREV
FOREST

UNITED STATES POSTAGE
3 CENTS

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Ave
Atlanta, Ga

C. C. A. Foreman
1620 - 22nd St N.W.
Wash. 8. D.C.

2 December 1948

Memo

To: Dr. Mitchell

Mrs. Hamilton tells me that the Fulton County Medical Society does not admit Negroes to membership and that Negroes are not invited to their meetings. Only professional contact is through Emory-Grady Hospital postgrad. clinics. She says that the last discussion of Negro membership occurred about two years ago during Dr. Wood's (Emory) term as President. It was beaause of his interest that the matter was brought up for discussion at that time. It is her understanding that, at that discussion, there was considerable agreement that Negroes should be admitted to membership, but the group felt that the decision should be unanimous. A small minority blocked the measure, so it didnt pass. As far as Mrs. Hamilton knows, the matter has not come up for discussion since.

~~She suggested that I write the new President of the Society asking him for the same information -- not only to get his answer, but as a nudge to bring the matter up again. If OK with you, I shall do so, as soon as I find out his name.~~

JPS

Clipping re Emory-Grady clinic attached. Please return clipping - it belongs to HC7!

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

ATLANTA, GA.

~~From Mr. Allister~~ ~~Wa. 1961~~
~~Wa. 1960~~

3 December 1948

Memo

~~Will Ray~~ ~~Wa. 5980~~ ~~Culpepper~~

~~584 Lindsay, Wa~~

Mr. George Palmer
Wa. 9654
583 Carter St. NW

To: Dr. Mitchell

Re: Workers in Pullman Shops, Atlanta

60% of all Negro? or Negro + White both? workers in the Atlanta pullman shops belong to unions affiliated with the AFL. Some of the locals have been organized only about 4-5 months; others for as long as 2 years. The common laborers in the shops have not yet been organized, but they hope to organize them later

helpers? unskilled?

Some of these craft unions are segregated, and some are not. The electrical workers local is not -- in fact, it has a Negro on its executive board. which are seg.? which are not? (Specify by trades)

The source of the above information was Mr. Dewey R. Watkins, member of the executive board of the electrical workers local.

Dean Brazeal at Morehouse also told me that, before they went AFL, the workers were organized by shops into independent unions.

JPS

Note: Some years ago, the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters tried to organize the shop workers but ran into trouble with the independent unions.

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

ATLANTA, GA.

11 - Foreman, Clark

January 10, 1949

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 12 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

The Christmas season has delayed my thanks to you for your letter of December 21st. I appreciate very much the information which you have furnished. It will be very helpful. When my book is a little further advanced I will be very glad to have your suggestions and criticisms.

Kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

Clark

Clark Foreman

CF/mw

SRC - Bd of Dirs - Membership

COPY

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES, AND PROFESSIONS inc.

49 West 44 Street, New York 18
MUrray Hill 7-2161

Dr. George S. Mitchell

Dear George:

Since taking over the directorship of the ASP, I have moved my residence from Washington to New York. Inasmuch as I no longer have either legal or actual residence in the south, I believe I do not qualify as a member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council. I will therefore not attend the annual meeting on November 9, and am notifying you of my resignation in advance so that you may be prepared to fill my place.

Wishing you and the Council everything good in the work which you are doing, I am

Yours sincerely,

(signed)

Clark Foreman
Director

12-16-49

SRC - Bd of Dirs. - Membership

November 1, 1949

TO MEMBERS OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE
FOR MEMBERS OF THE BOARD:

Clark Foreman resigned October 28, 1949 by letter. Said he had moved to New York and thought his place ought to be filled by somebody else.

We did not succeed in getting from Bishop Moore before he left for an extended trip a suggested name from among the Methodist laymen. He had earlier spoken, however, of Mr. Donald Comer as probably suitable. For what it is worth, he would have George Mitchell's hearty support.

cc: Mrs. McKoy

July 21, 1944

Mrs. F. H. Gray
Bruni
Texas

Dear Mrs. Gray:

I enjoyed your letters of June 25 and June 29. I was glad to have an opportunity to read the letters from Willard Johnson and Strothers Burt. I am returning both letters as you requested. I have met Mr. Burt and heard him speak at Raleigh and Chapel Hill, and have a very high regard for him.

I think that by this time you have received a reprint of my article from the summer issue of COMMON GROUND, but just to make sure that you get one, I am enclosing a copy in this letter. I believe that your analysis of the Redding-Smith criticisms and the function of the Southern Regional Council is substantially the same line of thought which I have followed in my reply article.

I hope you liked my editorial in the June issue of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER. Incidentally, one of our members has raised a howl. He is an anti-Roosevelt Democrat.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

1.

Bruni Texas
June 25, 1944
2-52.-50¢
6/30/44

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for your letter of the 22nd. I am truly glad to hear that the Negroes are going to get to vote in many counties in Texas, it assures me that the democratic trend is still "forward" something we sometimes lose faith in when there seems at times to be such powerful interests fighting to prevent this happening, and we lean only this side of it, we forget the vast majority of us, while having no voice to speak for us and do these others are surging onward, if slowly toward our goal of equal opportunity for all peoples.

I am enclosing the money (fifty cents) for two copies each month of Southern Frontier that I did neglect to put in my last two letters. I haven't gotten the May issue as yet, so please start my subscription with the June number.

I'll return the copy of Common Ground you are sending me as soon as I read it, and thanks for the favor. Also, will be very glad to get a copy of the reply made to the criticisms by Hilla[redacted] Smith and J. Saunders Redding.

I am inclosing a letter from Rev. Millard Johnson that I believe will interest you in what he says regarding the Southern Regional Council and other matters. Let him return, please.

Very Sincerely yours
Mrs. T. H. Gray

Bruni Texas
June 29, 1944

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am returning the copy of "Common Ground" you loaned with "many thanks." I just received it yesterday and will mail it back tomorrow in time for the evening mail. We just have one mail each way once a day. I'm telling you this so that you will understand any seeming delay in receiving it.

I am more eager than ever now to read your reply to Lillian Smith and J. Saunders Redding's denouncement of S.P.C. as I did not get the impression they seem to have that S.P.C. opposed racial equality and favored segregation, so I am eager to see if for they are correct.

My impression was, if you believed that this was not the immediate problem, and would have to wait, generally speaking until some more of the issues that are now of great need and concern be achieved that will of themselves aid in the settling of this one issue that is now so much

repulsed by, I'm sure the majority of white, and, probably Negroes, too, of all classes in the South; and as this cannot be forced on people who are so prejudiced against it, while willing to concede to other rights, to me those who are endeavoring to punish the means first or even to state now that it is a "must" convention, are hurting the cause with those in the majority who seem always to be guided by feeling rather than reason in long standing situation, which means to me that with these people re-education on such issue must come by gradual re-conditioning of the mind by starting with the particular things they are willing to accept, working from that to the ones they are more biased against. However, I believe that we who do believe in social equality can and should talk of this in every way we find an opening, because the more this is put before them in ways that appeal to some particular interest they have such as church and Negroes, peace etc. the sooner they will be on the road to this one of "re-conditioning" which is the only way to reach and appeal to people, anyway, for

denouncing, scolding or commanding have little effect on anyone, neither does ill-conceived ideas make us feel "all is wrong", with little or no progress having been made on an issue that is progressive. There has been an endless cry such as that of democratic rights for our members in our schools, fighting, as many speakers and writers are doing on this Negro issue. They are, in my opinion, of the same type of mind that is characteristic of many reformers, in that when they have seen "the light" they so love right of their own part, frame of mind, that they are unable to see that their "belief" they have been convinced to have been accepted by the majority around them, and they want to promote their new ideas as if everyone then holds them, too, while denouncing those who, while holding the same beliefs as the final solution, but realizing the necessity of slowness of "pushing" as "anti" believers, as I believe is the case of these two organizations in common ground regarding S.R.C. is it?

I believe the enclosed clipping from the San Francisco Express will interest you in reference

to the idea started on the "home trading" idea. This paper so hates the Roosevelt New Deal party that it grabs on anything that it wishfully hopes will destroy it. It never edits some good thing about either the President or New Deal, but emphasizes drastically every error, or what this edition believes an error of these people, and while occasionally coming out for a better democracy, but, in a general way, knocks every thing anyone of this group tries to do to achieve this. Bringing on dictatorship, socialism etc. seems probable to high heaven for us to take our "rightful place" in bringing about a democratic world, having an international police force under international control etc. It is no wonder the masses of our people are confused or unable to come out of their biased shell more rapidly, when those in the position of our educators etc. are in the same "boat". Most of them blindly, some willingly trying to sacrifice our nations welfare to satisfy their "pet hate".

This letter is just a form of "relief" spilling to you, some thing I'm needing to get out of my system so thanks for listening and every thing you have sent me,

Sincerely yours Mrs. F. H. Gray

June 30,

P.S. I just received this letter from Strickers, Burr, and feeling it will interest you, am enclosing it. Please return it to me when done with it.

Mrs. F. H. Gray

The 25 cents in stamps included is for postage for "Common Ground".

June 22, 1944

Mrs. F. H. Gray
Bruni
Texas

Dear Mrs. Gray:

Thank you for your letters of June 5 and June 10. I am sorry that I have been so terribly busy lately that I am way behind with my correspondence. I have found your letter and the enclosures exceedingly interesting, and I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending them to me.

I hope that you liked the resolutions and the editorial which we published in the May issue of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER. Some of our friends in Texas tell us that Negroes are going to be permitted to vote in many of the counties and that the white supremacy agitation is largely a sufface froth whipped up by the professional politicians. They know very well that they will have to give in, but they want to make a show of defying the Supreme Court. In Georgia Governor Arnall is showing considerable shrewdness in not joining up with the revolt in Texas and South Carolina. However, the State Democratic Committee here has announced that the July 4 primary will be a white primary, and that the question of the application of the Supreme Court's decision to Georgia will have to be determined by a test case arising from this primary.

We are sending under separate cover a copy of the Spring issue of COMMON GROUND, containing articles by Lillian Smith and J. Saunders Redding. We purchased copies to circulate among our Board of Directors and we do not have quite enough copies, so I am asking you to return this one as soon as you can. In a few days we will have reprints of my reply article which appeared a few days ago in the Summer issue of COMMON GROUND. We will send you a reprint as soon as possible.

We do not get FREEDOM DIGEST or PROPAGANDA BATTLEFRONTS at present, but we are asking the publishers to put us on their mailing list. Thank you for offering to send us your copies.

I am returning all of the materials which you marked "Please return". I hope that I have not misplaced anything.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

P. S. In your letter of June 5 you said that you were enclosing 25 cents for a year's subscription to the SOUTHERN FRONTIER. I believe you neglected to make this enclosure.

C O P Y

THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER

Dallas 1, Texas
June 6, 1944

Mrs. F. H. Gray
Bruni, Texas

Dear Mrs. Gray:

Your letter regarding the editorial on the Negro problem and Dr. Poe's discussion in the same issue has been referred to me because I wrote the editorial, which seems to be your chief concern.

Of course, we are glad to hear from our subscribers and take to heart what they have to say. However, in this instance I am afraid that you are so far over on one side of the question that little good can be accomplished by an exchange of ideas and opinions.

You say we are "unwilling to face reality." I believe that our position on the Negro question is much more realistic than yours. I gather from your letter that you are in favor of social equality. In fact, your reference to Lillian Smith's "Strange Fruit" might be taken to mean that you believe miscegenation is the solution to the Negro problem in the South. Of course, and rightly so, such a proposal is anathema to 95 percent of the people of the South, and so long as nearly two thirds of the negroes of the Nation live in the South, a satisfactory solution of the Negro problem is largely in thehands of Southern people. It doesn't matter how much external force is applied, the South can not be compelled to accept the negro as a social equal. Since that is true, are you really helping the negro when you insist on a program that people of this section will not accept and which they can not be forced to accept?

Recent surveys indicate that negroes are more interested in economic justice than in social equality. We are quite hopeful that Southern people under the leadership of Southern men and women can be persuaded to give negroes justice in our courts, much better educational opportunities, a larger measure of economic opportunity to develop an economy of their own, and increased political participation. We believe it is quite possible to advance the economic position of the negro many fold if we can keep such people as yourself with your ill timed pleas for social equality from so arousing the passions and prejudices of the South that our efforts are set at naught.

I have lived in five Southern states for nearly 50 years and am convinced that your ideas, and those of the people who think as you do, are thoroughly impracticable. By their advocacy you are doing the negro a disservice and rendering more difficult the task of those who are trying to solve the problem with due regard for Southern thought and custom. In fact by seeking social equality for the Negro you are jeopardizing his opportunities to attain a more favorable economic status. I don't believe negroes will rise up and call you blessed if by a senseless insistence on social equality you dash his hopes for a better living within his own sphere.

Sincerely yours,

EUGENE BUTLER
Editor

(Copy for [illegible])

Bruni, Texas
June 5, 1944

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Because I don't know if I enclosed the twenty-five cents in my other letter for a years subscription to the Southern Frontier or not, and as I don't want to miss a copy I'm enclosing that amount now, wanting two copies sent me each month if I did send the money before, as I can well use two copies to pass around.

Still not [illegible]

Also, to make sure you get to ~~send~~ read the writings of northern reactionaries being published down here, that doesn't seem to be causing any commotion among those who are yelling so loud over liberal agitation from the same part of the nation being spread, I am enclosing clippings taken from the San Antonio Express in the last few days I know will interest you. That these people are making what they must know is their last great struggle in a lost and despiring cause, seemes to me certain by the amount of this kind of articles they are pouring out, and while I know they cannot stop this tide of human demand for justice and a better world, I do fear they might stem the tide to the extent of forcing our under-privileged people to resort to violence to attain their rights.

?

It is beyond me how these writers and other drastic reactionaries can be so blind as to not see the "signs of the time" and work with them to save as much as is possible of the old ways, instead of doing the very things that, if, continued will destroy all they are working their heart out to save; but constituted as they are in mind, they will never give up until they do either bring about this downfall, or the change they are fighting against takes place over their heads.

Does the Southern Frontier get copies of Freedom Digest from Freedom House, and Propaganda Battlefronts from Friends of Democracy, both of New York, each month? If not, and you would like me to do so, I'll send you mine each month.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. F. H. Gray

Bruni Texas
June 5, 1944

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Because I don't know if I have closed the inventory-free ends in my sixteen letter for a year subscription to the Southern Frontier or not, and as I don't want to miss a copy I'm enclosing that amount now, meaning in my letter to send me each month if I did send the money before, as I can well use two copies to pass around.

Also, to make sure you get to read the writings of northern reactionaries being published down here, that doesn't seem to be coming any commotion among those who are yelling so loud over liberal agitation from the same part of the nation being spread. I am enclosing clippings taken from the San Antonio Express in the last few days I know will interest you. That these people are making what they must know is their last great struggle to save a lost and dying cause, seems to me certain by the amount of this kind of articles they are forcing out, and while I know they cannot stop the tide of human demand for justice and

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view the idea to the extent of forcing
our underprivileged people to
resort to violence to attain their
rights.

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out to save. But constituted as
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until they do either bring
about their downfall, or the change
they are fighting against take
place over their heads.

Does the Southern Farmer get
copies of Freedom Degest from
Freedom, Inc., and Propaganda
Battle fronts from Friends of Dem-
ocracy back of New York each
month? If not, and you would
like me to do so, I'll send you mine
each month.

Sincerely Yours
Mrs. T. H. Gray

COPY

Bruni, Texas
June 10, 1944

Dear Mr. Johnson:

As I believe the enclosed letter from Mr. Eugene Butler will be of interest to the Southern Regional Council, I am sending it to you at once, asking you to return it to me when you have finished with it, please.

This is in reply to a letter I wrote Dr. Clarence Poe regarding what I believed to be two articles written by him in the May issue of PROGRESSIVE FARMER, which you have probably seen. One of which, however, was Dr. Poe's work, according to Mr. Butler.

I have never agitated for social equality among the white and Negro people where it is not desired, but, as Dr. Poe's article "Is Christianity Really Practical?" was a religious one, I did protest the statement in what I now know was Mr. Butler's editorial where he stated social equality was not desirable, because to me it is one of the tests of whether Christianity can be proven practical that we must come to where we do away with segregation entirely, if this is to be "workable religion here and now, and my agitation was for what I believed to be two opposite ideals expressed by the same person in two articles, and not for the purpose of agitation among either white or Negro people not wanting this at the present time. I was, also, making it plain, I thought, however, that those who do believe in this policy and are trying to bring it about through education and example should be let alone, and not denounced or hindered by those who say it isn't to be desired, and seem determined to stop any one from endeavoring to achieve this peaceably.

I wouldn't think of going among white people or Negroes and agitating for mixed crowds, by name calling or anything else that would stir up hate, but I do talk every chance I get on the rights of this policy for Christianity's sake and to save and expand democracy, and I have yet to have anyone get angry, in fact many have told me they knew I was right and hoped to get where they could honestly say they could meet this situation with the right "feeling." Realizing it was purely prejudice and that time and education could and should change it.

I am a Unitarian by faith, but because I have many Catholic friends whom I have wanted to make headway in this racial issue on the brotherhood policy, I sent to the Archbishop of San Antonio (Archbishop Rob't. E. Lucey) for aid and he sent me a splendid little booklet called "What About Me" that is out solely to make Catholics see that the only way to reach the Negro and persuade him to become a Catholic is by social mixing and cooperation for economic welfare, etc., and it puts the idea strongly that this is a duty for every devout Catholic. So, to my way of thinking, if by this approach the majority of Negroes become Catholics, Protestants have no one but themselves to blame for it, and those people like Mr. Eugene Butler who now claim social equality is not desirable, could easily wish they had refrained from such expression, even if they thought it.

Because I believe such letters as Mr. Butler's should be in hands that are in position to answer them effectively through its publications, if I am correct in my ideas on this matter, I hope you can and will use it.

Sincerely yours,

Signed
Mrs. F. H. Gray

P. S. As the editor of COMMON GROUND magazine has just written me they are completely sold out of their Summer edition, do you know where I might get a copy of both the Spring and the summer editions from some one who subscribes? I'll gladly pay full price for them, or will return them in case some one would lend them who wants to keep them. I want to read the articles mentioned in the SOUTHERN FRONTIER regarding the opposition to the SRC by Lillian Smith and SRC's reply if I can get them.

Mrs. F. H. G.

June 12th.

As I just received the June 6th letter from Mr. John Foster Dulles, I thought perhaps both his letters and the material he mentions, also, the letter from the American Institute of Public Opinion, I also just got, so am putting them in for you to read. Return only those so marked, and not until you are through with them.

Mrs. F. H. G.

Bruni Texas

June 10, 1944

Dear Mr. Johnson:

As I believe the enclosed letter from Mr. Eugene Butler will be of interest to the South-ern Regional Council, I am sending it to you at once, asking you to return it to me when you have finished with it, please.

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ration was for, what I believe is be two opposite ideals expressed by the same person in two articles, and not for the purpose of agitation among either white or Negro people, not wanting this at the present time. I was, also, making it plain, I thought, however, that those who do believe in this policy and are trying to bring it about through education and example should be let alone, and not denounced or hindered by those who say it can't be denied, and seem determined to stop any one from endeavoring to develop this, peacefully.

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I am a Christian by faith, but

because I have many Catholic friends whom I have wanted to make head way in this racial work on the brotherhood policy, I wrote to the Archbishop of San Antonio (Archbishop Robt. E. Lucey) for aid and he sent me a splendid little booklet called "Man Alone Me" that is our solely to make Catholics see that the only way to reach the Negro and persuade him to become a Catholic is by social mixing and cooperation for economic welfare etc, and in fact the idea strongly that this is a duty for every decent Catholic. So, to my way of thinking if by this approach the majority of Negroes become Catholics, Protestants have no one but themselves to blame for it, and those people like Mrs. Eugene Butler who now claim social equality as a desirable could easily wish they had refrained from such expression, even if they thought it.

Because I believe such letters as Mr. Butler's should be in hands that are in position to answer them effectively through its publications, if I succeed in my plan on this matter, I hope you can and will give it.

Sincerely yours

Mrs. F. H. Gray.

(over)

P.S. As the editor of Common Ground magazine has just written me they are completely sold out of their summer edition, do you know where I might get a copy of both the spring and the summer editions from some one who subscribes? I'd gladly pay full price for them, or will return them in case some one would lend them who wants to keep them. I want to read the articles mentioned in Southern Frontier regarding the opposition to S.P.C. by Lillian Smith and S.P.C. reply if I can get them.

Mrs. F.H.G.

June 12th

As I just received the June 6th letter from Mr. John Foster Dulles, I thought perhaps both his letters and the material he mentions, also, the letter from the American Institute of Public Opinion I also just got, so am putting them in for you to read. Personally I have so marked, and will until you are through with them

Mrs. F.H.G.

July 26, 1944

Mrs. F. H. Gray
Bruni
Texas

Dear Mrs. Gray:

I enjoyed reading your letter of July 16 and the very interesting enclosures.

Mrs. Keller seems to be a very liberal and sensible person. We would welcome her to membership in our Council if she is interested. I am going to send her a pamphlet about the Council.

I am returning the Keller letters and the letter from Mr. James Loeb, Jr.

More power to you in your work. Letter writing can be a very effective means of promoting liberal ideas.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Bruni Texas

July 16, 1944

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for your kind invitation to join the S.P.C. which I am accepting hoping with all my heart that I may be of some value in the fulfillment of its aims. Also, I hope to induce other thoughtful people, acceptable to the Committee on Membership to join us, among them a very learned minded lady in San Antonio Texas, who is head of a Industrial School for Girls there, and President of the Zonta club, a few of whose letters to me, I'm enclosing for you to see for yourself the kind of person she is, if she feels she has the time to join us.

I received the May, June and July copies of the Southern Frontier and think them all fine, in fact I wouldn't mind one of them, if I couldn't get another for every daily newspaper in the nation. As the Union For Democratic Action is mentioned in one of them, I believe you will be interested in the enclosed letter by its Executive Secretary, Mr. James Loeb Jr. and Blumman, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr. I'd like them, along with those you recently returned to me when done with them, please, as I pass them around where I think

they will do the most good, as long as they do this.

Thanks again.

Sincerely yours
Mrs. F. H. Gray

August 1, 1944

Mrs. F. H. Gray
Bruni
Texas

Dear Mrs. Gray:

Thank you for your letter of June 24. I am glad that you liked my article in COMMON GROUND and the editorial in the June issue of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER.

I enjoyed Mr. Taylor's letter, too. You are quite right in saying that he still doesn't see what it's all about. I am enclosing Mr. Taylor's letter.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure sent Aug. 3, 1944.

Bruni Texas
July 24, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of the 21st and the copy of the reprint of your "Common Ground" article.

To me you are the only one of the three contributors on this issue that has shown a realistic mind regarding the problem, and, displayed by unfortunately, facts that the ultimate goal of the S.P.C. is to and when the time is ripe, the segregation and that is no gathering Miss Smith and Mr. J. Saunders Redding, that they are setting the cart in front of the horse in their arguments of what is to first on this trip of separation is better the southern people, generally, both black and white.

To me, many of our progressives are really in a sense fascists as they are determined to force their minority desires upon the majority at any price, and though their wishes are of a democratic ideal, their ways to bring this about would be an equal antithesis to that policy, and would, in itself defeat its aims. For, as you say deep seated prejudices and beliefs cannot be changed in a short time, by force, or by demagoguery or name calling, but it seems many well meaning people never learn this truth.

Because of the many same

involving the South in it, I am sending you the enclosed letter from Mr. E. H. Taylor, assoc. editor of the Country Gentleman to read, feeling certain it will interest you greatly as it has me.

All in all, I think Mr. Taylor a fine broad minded man, and "up" on issues in his own field of work, but certainly egregious in his analysis of the difference in the solidity of the Democratic and Republican parties as, to me there is just as much a rift in the Republican ranks as in the Democratic while in the Republican the liberals are a minority, and the opposite is true of the Democratic party. also, Mr. Taylor is very wrong, when he says none of our industrialists are fascists, and out of his sphere of knowledge for this has been a proven fact that our main danger in democracy in our nation is an extreme Republican take over by a few, but powerful industrialists, according to friends of Democracy who have spent years of service regarding such menace, and whom Mr. Strucker Burt is one of the main investigators, so, as he has personally given me the information, I am sure he

is correct and factual, as all of F.C.D. literature verify this is a T.

Too, I got my information about huge war profits from the United Christian Council for Democracy and the National Peace Women's Union League of America, who are backed by all the foremost women clubs and organizations in this nation, as you know, Sir. Since mine is factual, while Mr. Taylor's is erroneous, there is no doubt in my mind; but, I firmly believe he is honest in thinking he is correct; but is so thoroughly pro-capitalist in the old sense of the word that neither his mind, so conditioned as it is in favor of the dog-eat-dog policy or his "wishful thinking" on this issue allow him to digest and find out the truth of the situation, so be blandly stifles his rights because he wishes to be so on this particular matter. I know of Mr. Taylor, and I guess it really is, for, because he has been such a good friend to me in the time I was having such a struggle to adjust my self to the civilian life that we could never have kept out of this war or fought it successfully

alone, he did so much to help me clear my muddled mind, and was so patient in answering my numerous questions for months, that only a Republican at that time could have done successfully, that I will always have a warm spot in my heart for him, no matter how we may differ in the years to come. This letter of his is in reply to one I wrote him for the first time in nearly two years to tell him something of the work I'm now doing, and my ideas on things in general.

To make sure you are acquainted with the "Pacific and Series of Fighting Americans" whose membership blank and literature can be had upon request, and whom Freedom House is endorsing. I believe it will become a nation wide powerful organization that all eligible should join.

I enjoyed your editorial in the June issue of Southern Frontier greatly and I can well understand that a pronounced anti-Roosevelt democrat would have men in, for it was undoubtedly too factual to suit anyone who lets hate for narrow purposes guide them instead of facing facts.

Thanks again, and with every good wish to you, I am,

Sincerely Yours
Gene Gray
(Mrs. F. H.)

P.S. Please return Mr. Taylor's letter to me

"Arithmetic or Revolution"

Senator Guffey hails Arthur Dunn's concrete solutions for our problems

Arithmetic or Revolution, by Arthur Dunn '95. Guild of American Economists Inc., 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City. $1.

By Joseph F. Guffey '94

ARTHUR DUNN '95 had two sons ('21 and '22) in World War I; his third son, Lieutenant Walter Dunn '32, USNR, is in this war. It was, therefore, natural that the chief purpose of "Arithmetic or Revolution" was to abolish war.

The book is written in popular style—has a swing and a punch from cover to cover. It encompasses a lot of ground. The space allotted permits comment on only a few of its most important highlights.

These are:

1. The bloody cycle which starts with war when there are more jobs than workers, followed by peace when there are more workers than jobs. The unemployed "March on Rome" or "Burn a Reichstag" to put in power a dictator who has promised them jobs. He makes good by building a giant military machine. Other nations do likewise in self-defense—then comes war again. We are in the first phase of the second bloody cycle. Full employment and general prosperity exist only when we murder each other. No nation has yet solved unemployment by peace-time production.

We can all agree with Arthur that there is something basically wrong with that kind of a world.

2. Paul G. Hoffman has said: "Unless a higher level of employment is achieved in the post-war world there will be no capitalistic system in five years after the end of the war."

How does our leadership propose to provide post-war jobs?

Walter Lippmann agrees with "Arithmetic or Revolution" that there is no difference between the programs of the New Deal and Republican leadership. The technique of both is social security and a big backlog of public works. Indeed the Republicans would expand social security to cover every one. Public works will require deficit financing—a palliative. Towering upon a 300 billion dollar base of the Federal debt it will eventually lead to revolution.

"Arithmetic or Revolution" presents a *cure* for unemployment and *definite mechanisms for application of the cure.* There are no generalities in this book.

3. The complete set-up for a global organization to make the United Nations "powerful enough to enforce peace and intelligent enough to eliminate the causes of war." The voting power of the member nations will be the stumbling block. This is overcome by an original and unique device which will promote the practice of democray throughout the world.

4. Arthur Dunn's program anticipated much that has been done by the United Nations and much that will undoubtedly yet be done. As Sterling North, the brilliant reviewer, has written, "for instance, Dunn's brilliant suggestions, 'what to do about Germany,' have six more points than Wilson's, all of them trenchant."

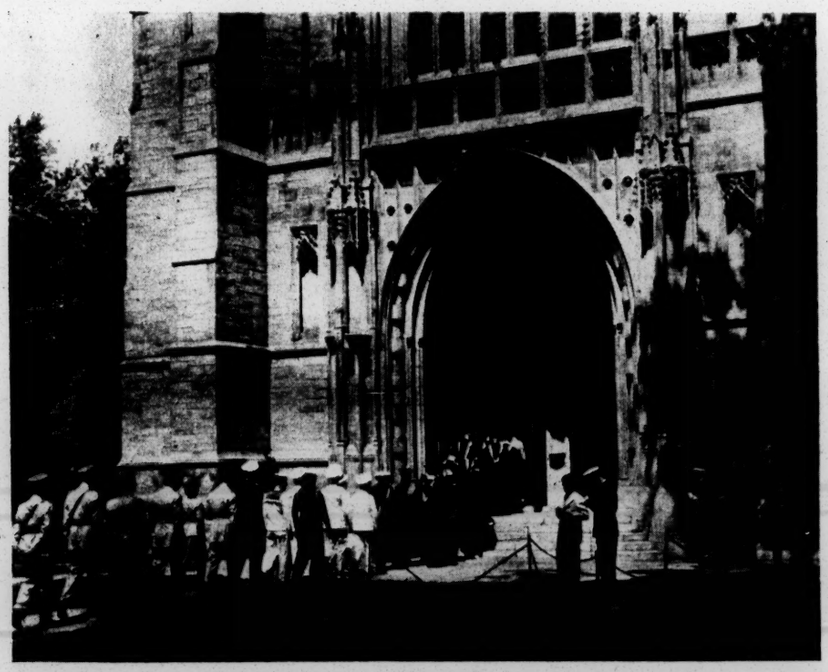
5. "Arithmetic or Revolution" presents an opinion that the poll tax is unconstitutional. Already the book has inspired the formation of Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans Inc., which proposes to see that all the armed forces get a square deal during their absence and upon their return. This organization is behind the fight in Virginia to test the constitutionality of the poll tax. Moss A. Plunkett, a leading Virginia lawyer (whose son was killed at New Guinea) and Arthur Dunn are volunteers to argue the case before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Don't read "Arithmetic or Revolution" if you wish your convictions to remain frozen—and remember "you can't change the truth by calling it names."

Eric A. Johnston writes: "The mere fact that Mr. Dunn is author of the book assures its timeliness and value."

Judge Jackson, editor of the Roanoke Leader, says: "Every American should read 'Arithmetic or Revolution.' Every professor of economics should use it in his teachings."

To this I agree and I shall urge the same in my speech about "Arithmetic or Revolution" on the floor of the Senate.



When Sir John Dill Was Honored

British servicemen march in academic procession. (*Photo by Menzies*)

Three generations

The *Weekly* has learned of an interesting—and possibly unique—three-generation pattern of Princetonians: In the Class of 1894, the grandfathers, John L. Bushnell and L. Irving Reichner; in the Class of 1921, the sons, Asa S. Bushnell and Aiken Reichner; in the Class of 1947, the grandsons, Asa S. Bushnell III, Marine V-12, and Aiken Reichner Jr., Navy V-12.

THE BALLOT AND THE POLL TAX

By Arthur Dunn

There is a great misconception as to the function of the ballot.

It is not a privilege but a right. It is not a test of intellectual attainment nor a measure of financial strength; nor is it an advertisement of the ownership of property. The ballot is a substitute for the bullet—a peaceful defense against the exploitation of the many by the few.

And that, by the way, is a good definition for fascism. Sometimes the Church has been used as the mechanism of exploitation, sometimes the Government, sometimes business.

Whenever the masses are denied suffrage, they are denied adequate education, and are victims of economic exploitation. For legislators favor those upon whose votes they depend for election. That explains why in Virginia there are splendid schools, colleges and universities for those at the top; explains why the standard of education is so low for the great numbers deprived of the ballot that Virginia ranks almost at the bottom of the 48 States.

Symbol of Freedom

The ballot is the symbol of a free man. Slaves do not vote. The basic principle of democracy means that everyone who is old enough to be conscious that he comes under the law shall have an equal voice in making the law.

The Constitution of the United States recognizes only two reasons for the denial of suffrage—crime and rebellion. Amendments to the Constitution are for the purpose of changing its provisions. Amendments supersede the provisions intended to be changed. Under the second paragraph of the Fourteenth Amendment it is provided that if the ballot is denied to any voters, the number of representatives in Congress from such State shall be reduced proportionately. If the poll tax is held to be unconstitutional, Virginia will have four members instead of nine.

In my book, *Arithmetic or Revolution*, the opinion presented by me is that the poll tax as a requirement for voting is unconstitutional. The book also presents a cure for unemployment.

Safeguard Fightin' Rights

As a result of pressure from readers, I have organized recently Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans, Inc., the general purpose of which is to safeguard the rights of our loved ones while they are away and to see that they get a square deal on their return. We are asking parents and wives to write their sons and husbands, urging them to vote—as well as presenting the requirements of all the 48 States for casting the ballot. We are calling on the Press and Radio to do likewise.

With 45 million people due to change or lose their jobs with the coming of peace, the only substitute for revolution is the ballot. The unemployed who cannot vote may denounce and cry aloud, but without recourse to the ballot they will find themselves despised and helpless. This will explain why our organization is sponsoring the two poll tax actions in Virginia. Moss A. Plunkett, Esq., of Virginia, the vice-chairman of this organization and chairman of the Virginia Electoral Reform League, has joined with me in acting as volunteer attorneys to carry the issue to the United States Supreme Court.

Facing the Issue

In one action Mrs. Dorothy Bentley Jones of Roanoke, Virginia, a member of the Virginia Electoral Reform League and the Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans, demands $3,500 damages from Miss Hazeltine Settle, City General Registrar, because of Miss Settle's refusal to permit Mrs. Jones to register to vote for Federal Candidates. The ground of the refusal is that Mrs. Jones has not paid the poll tax for 1945. The husband of Mrs. Jones is Corporal Earnest E. Jones, Army Q.M. corps, Mediterranean Area. Mrs. Jones is a negress. However, it is time that the propaganda of the poll tax States is debunked. The issue is not white supremacy. The population of Virginia is about 2,700,000, of which only about 600,000 are negroes. In the other Southern States the whites predominate from about 2 to 1 to 6 to 1, except Mississippi where the whites and negroes are about fifty-fifty.

In the second case, Henry Saunders of Ashland, Virginia, is seeking to have himself certified by the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Virginia as a candidate-at-large for Congress. If the certification is denied, the Secretary of the Commonwealth will be sued for $20,000 (a Congressman's salary for two years).

Is Virginia Representation Legal?

The contention of the attorneys for Saunders is that the Reapportionment Act of 1941 of Congress giving Virginia nine Congressmen is unconstitutional, because Virginia has abridged the right to vote of the majority of its citizens and is, therefore, entitled to only four Congressmen. Inasmuch as Virginia has been divided into nine Districts, if the 1941 Act is held to be unconstitutional, there are no proper districts in Virginia and not more than four candidates can be elected and they must run at large—that is to represent the States as a whole.

The Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans is battling for freedom on the Home Front, while our sons and husbands are fighting for the freedom of the world. The matter far transcends the issue in eight States or 48 States. For how can we Americans sit in a World Organization with our doctrine of the Four Freedoms when we don't have these freedoms fully in our own country?

The first thing we must do is to get our own house in order so as to be able to go into an International Conference with clean hands.

Readers' Forum

15 NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, JUNE 26, 1944

Army Wife Can't Rent Apartment Because of Baby

Dear Editor: I'm an Army wife. I've always been proud that my husband is fighting for the things that mean America to us. But tonight a doubt creeps into my mind.

My husband is overseas. I have an 18-month-old baby who was born at an Army post. I returned to Jersey City a few months ago and couldn't find an apartment anywhere. Finally I took a furnished sublet, to which the original tenants are expected to return soon.

Now there is a vacancy in the house, but the good American superintendent refused to rent to me because I have a baby. Evidently it is un-American to have a baby! When I called the agent I was told that the owner did not care to rent to service people.

MRS. HAROLD FORER.

*
*
*

PARENTS AND WIVES OF FIGHTING AMERICANS will stop such outrageous treatment.

Room 601 130 W. 42nd St New York 18

Keep On Buying Bonds

August 15, 1944

Mrs. F. H. Gray
Brumi
Texas

Dear Mrs. Gray:

Thank you for your good letters of August 5 and August 9. It is always good to hear from you, and I am quite flattered to be able to play the role of "confessor." My only regret is that I have so many things to do, including a rather formidable amount of correspondence, that I can not write nice long letters like yours.

I am glad that you liked the July issue of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER. It is good for the morale to have someone tell us once in a while that we have rung the bell. We shall try to keep up the good work.

I see IN FACT occasionally, and I agree that it is a very useful and courageous little publication. It was good of you to ask them to send us a copy. I think that we shall ask them to put us on their mailing list.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

P. S. I was relieved to find at the end of your letter of August 5 that the Taylor letter finally arrived.

GBJ:m

copy ⅌ over

Bruni Texas

Aug. 9, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson:

It seems I'm so constituted, that when anything occurs that relates some anxiety or affects me deeply, my only relief is in "talking" it over, consequently, this accounts for my very frequent letters to you, regarding something in the Southern Frontier or about other things regarding the aims of S.P.C. that became, of the shock I received when I got out of my "peace" frame, to be made fully aware of what this war is all about; so suddenly it was brought home, not only caused me to be perhaps abnormally concerned and apprehensive, but, a bit too, desirous of having desirouction by public repudiation of people and nations responsible for our condition, that I have to tell myself over and over, cannot be done in a hurry, as it has taken all of this time since man started to be a human being on this earth after evolving from the beast, to get where we and our aims are in our progress so, my relief, as I started in writing or talking my problems and worries over, and, I am making you my "confessor", because, I know we are together on our ideas, as well as being sure I have told you

understanding and approval of which I am groping for, and trying to do in my own mind as well as is and others who, too, had this shock that has started them on the road to be an active force in this battle for progress against those opposing it, but are, also, bewildered on account of it being a new venture for them as it is to me.

I know I am not called upon from you to give this account of myself, but I feel better, having done it so, it makes my frequent writing to you more justifiable to my own conscience at least, especially as it seems I am never able to say what I want to in anything but a very long letter.

[The July issue of Southern Frontier came today, and not withstanding the many set backs it recorded that are hard breaking, you editorial as well as the article "Science And The American Race Problem" along with really more air of progress recorded than in your paper than of late before hand, did so much to lift up my heart in thanks and elation, that I just need to tell you about it, for I have been very low spirited lately, for some reason, and needed this uplift that came today very greatly.]

Then, too, I got the Aug. 7th copy of "In Fact" that gives assurance that

despite what they write in the newspapers, the overwhelming majority of news correspondents who attended the Democratic and National Conventions in Chicago, and have public sentiment in every state, say Mr. Powell will win in this election, which, to me considering as they are in the same paper, is encouraging indeed, for, I'd admit, I fear a Dewey victory terribly, and despite the Republican platform on the Negro issue, that is stated more dynamically than the Democratic one, those backing Mr. Dewey most powerfully are reactionaries and fascists of the worst type, and that the vast majority of Republicans in Congress have fought every progressive move made for better racial conditions between black and white, is on record for all to see, while the majority of those among the Democrats have favored these policies, so despite the differences in what each pledged, the fact remains that it is very dubious that the Republicans have any thought of carrying out their platform, as far as those who control this party is concerned, while there can be no doubt of the Democratic plank being enacted, if the Republicans in Congress will permit

it, so is me, coming as it did, from this little, but powerful paper, as far as its backing is concerned and its "in the know" is concerned, this is encouraging beyond words, for it gives me faith, that was somehow lagging when reading the Gallup poll report on this issue, that despite all the pressure used by their powerful enemies to deceive and confuse them, in the press, over the radio, etc, our people are demonstrating that if free to choose, the majority makes when given time to think things out and having all sides of the problem "find its own way" that will be the most good for the greatest number of people, and as long as I can hold this faith in democracy and the common people's wisdom no matter what set backs we have the fight will not only be worth what it takes a thousand times over but, I'll be glad I'm living in this period of our history that is certainly the time of the "crossroads" because, I know there can be no doubt we will win out in time, and, when this is accomplished, no one enjoys such a fight against those using every means, no matter how foul to empower themselves at the expense of slavery for the balance.

"Thanks again for listening" and with best wishes to you always, I am

Sincerely yours

(Mrs. F. H.) Alice Gray

Bruni Texas
Aug. 5, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Do you forget to enclose Mr. Taylor's letter in your Aug. 1st letter, which I don't want to have become, I want several other parties to read it, I'm writing to you for it, please.

Also, I'm enclosing a few clippings from the San Antonio Express that I am certain will interest you, especially the one on the F. L. G. that so plainly shows to what efficient organization will go to prove their point against progressive measures. That this editor makes no mention of the probable dozen, one wish we have had during this war that certainly this act had nothing to do with, or the manner in it has brought harmony into the working together of all races and creeds, that must be the result of this decision as we certainly have had very little trouble along this line during this war, due, I feel sure to people real desire, generally if let alone, not only to obey but to get along together, and which a stated law makes it easier to do, because an offender then becomes a law breaker, which instinctively decent people despise if the majority are the favor of this law, and I am sure this is so regarding this act, consequently, that

opposing it who are so often ill-
ones in position to make themselves
heard, but every means, no matter
how rotten to confuse the issue
and the people, yet, somehow, slowly
but surely, the people's decisions are
running out, which certainly is
all the proof we need that democracy
is the best kind of government for
all the nations of the world and
when the time comes, as it surely
will that the people are given
news unbiased by demonstration
progress will then take place
rapidly, as Lincoln well knew
when he said "Give the people
a light, and they will find their
own way." but, as long as we
have to contend with this light
being in the hands of such
people as most of our editors
are, who are in my estimation
morally more dangerous for those
who are determined to defer and
in many cases destroy full dem-
ocratic government because they
know it will mean giving up their
special privileges, our progress
is bound to be slow, because the
getting of the real facts is be-
yond so many of us, and, therefore
we are confused to such that
such editorials as this does
not correspond to our own feelings,
making us wonder and worry
as to whether we are wrong or the
editor consistently represents
the majority of our people.

I do not know if you have ever
read any issues of "As Ye Sow" or not

so, to be sure you know some thing of what this little paper publishes, I have asked the editor to send you a copy, for, some one had been send me one on the Samuel Pettengill real aim that I have been trying without success for over two years to discover as I knew from the newspaper columns and some letters that gotten from him that he was not only up to some plan to put industrial fascism in our nation but was backed by powerful interests, but, though I knew he was one of the foremost men in the Committee for Constitutional Government that "Under Cover" opposed, I had never been able to get to rock bottom on the case until I got a hold of "In Fact" with Rep. Wright Patman's exposure of this group in it, showing the plan back of the Republican party's main "bosses" in regard to our nation if they get in, and feel they dare put them across, and that the majority of our newspaper editors are either dupes or anti reds agents for these powerful industrialists is clear on "In Fact" with its many thousands of mailed copies would never dare send, especially when ten thousand of them go to the armed forces. That our so called "demo-

certain papers, such as the San Francisco Express is now out and out on the Dewey band wagon, is another proof that it is observed by the vicious false, anti-Roosevelt editorials they print, as this one enclosed so behooving "In Fact" should be in millions of hands. I send the edition your name, as well as a number of others, I was certain would be interested, and I hope if you do find this paper satisfactory, you, too, will send Mr. Selden names of prospective subscribers. I believe in calling a spade what it is, consequently, when I come out and contact with a fearless man, I just have to pitch in and help him out. That Mr. Selden is reliable seems to me to be proven when Rey Stone got him to and in the review of "Yoder Boy" before it was given to the publisher to publish, and, though Mr. Selden has been called a communist by enemies of "Yoder Boy" Rey Stone is too much of an enemy and hated by communists to thoroughly to take this charge seriously. I know this sounds like an agent's plea for "In Fact" but I assume you are making nothing from this effort to get this paper into more hands than the satisfaction of reading those who receive it, and hoping it to fearless fact will aid in saving your nation from fascism and a revolutionary penalty later.

Sincerely yours

Mrs. T. H. Gray

P.S. ~~Mr.~~ Mr. Tay ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible]

September 11, 1944

Mrs. F. H. Gray
Bruni
Texas

Dear Mrs. Gray:

Dr. Guy B. Johnson has asked me to write you and acknowledge your good letter of August 21. His schedule has been so full since your letter came that he has not had time to write you personally. One task which has taken a great deal of his time is that of moving his family and household goods from Chapel Hill to Atlanta and getting settled in their new home here. He has also been busy with plans for the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council which will take place this fall.

Just now he is attending a conference in Tennessee, but before he left he instructed me to write you and tell you how much he appreciated your letter and the interesting enclosures about Mr. Dunn's Arithmetic or Revolution. The organization of Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans seems to be doing a very necessary work, and should merit our support.

Dr. Johnson received copies of Representative Patman's speeches, and wants me to thank you for having them sent to him.

I am returning Governor Kerr's letter and Mr. Dunn's letter and enclosures, since you will probably want to keep them or send them to others who might be interested.

Dr. Johnson always appreciates your active interest and moral support. He plans to write you as soon as he has a "breathing spell".

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

Bruni Texas

Aug. 21, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I realize that few I write to have the time to reply often or as lengthily as I do; but, no matter how short they are, letters from those like yourself, alive in ideas to those I hold are always a great uplift to me for situated as I am among a class of people, decent as can be, but who are generally speaking, either very much asleep to the ~~upheaval~~ unrest that is erupting right at their very doors, or else feeling it present, as they want to be let alone in a world they feel they cannot prevent any change in become, they either fear anything that is different or else are unnerving scapes for demagogues their own special gain any "talk" with such as you is all that keeps me able to battle on, for I am totally alone in this feeling here in Bruni - not that many people don't want a change for the better among all races, but none are aware that it is taking place, or outside of physical survival where it concerns their own individual interests. and they seem to think with the Axis whipped and they so, they have nothing more to fear for themselves, so don't worry about anyone else, consequently my position is allowed to be deprived of my rights, political, social or economic by force greater than he can over come without the aid of all of us who believe in these rights, just that long are everyone of us in danger

of losing them, meets with little response generally, while, then there is an unknight attitude of boredom, but when this thing occurs that is bound to come soon after the war, I can assure you I did my best to awaken them; but my real inspiration comes from you little and others like you, so, no matter how short or infrequent please keep them coming.

I hope you have received the sample copy of "In Fact" and get them to put you on their mailing list, for, I too think it a very courageous fine little paper, and while even many liberals call it communist, I can see it that way at all from the copies I have read, and I believe this is due to its hitting any one or group on any issue it believes harmful to the welfare of our people, that, in that way may be along the communist line of attack except, "In Fact" is not, as I see it, fighting any enemy thing concerning this party or group, but just the thing it believes wrong, where commissions want to destroy completely all that have, such as organized religion, capital, etc. but "In Fact" is far from having this in mind as I see it, so, I imagine these liberals who say it is a communist publication have simply had their toes stepped on purposely by Mr. Selder, and instead of coming out and admitting them wrong, are using the name calling way to screen this from the public. That "In Fact" stands up against all anti religious or radical propaganda, using cases of such against Catholics, proves broad minded enthusiasts, advocates free enterprise in the real sense of the word, and endorses such newspapers as the Chicago Sun, Des Moines Ia. Herald and Tribune, St. Louis Star

times and Washington D.C. Post seems proof to me it is anything but communistic, so is have well known liberals so Babel it is to me, is astonishing, making me realize many whose liberal along many lines can be very narrow on others.

My main reason for writing you again so soon is to put the enclosed letter and leaflet in your hand as soon as possible, thinking perhaps if you haven't seen them you will be interested in the organization and in Mr. Dunn's book. It seems to me that right here is an organization we all should back that is out for the things we want to achieve, and headed by a man who can aid us in getting them if we get back of him and push. Believing his prediction of what will take place unless the things he advocates come to pass, I have done more thinking, yes, and worrying, too, since getting back home than I've done in a long time, for, I am afraid various factions among power mad groups will so delay these demands that our common people are bound to make, when they come face to face with the issues Mr. Dunn has warned about, that it will mean revolution instead of the third party because of the blindness of too many leaders in both the Democratic and especially the Republican party ranks. This morning radio broadcast stated that fifteen of the twenty three delegations from Texas will vote for Sen. Byrd instead Roosevelt, when everypoll

shows 75% of people here wanting
Roosevelt. This may just be a bit
of bluffing for display, but, that the
average voter is disgusted is certain
and all this rumpus, also, my son, who
does general office, post office, comes
for his decision in France was
me Aug 8th in a letter received yes-
terday, that the soldiers over
there are mighty sore over the
voting men, and speaking out
plainly about it, especially those
from Texas and other pollitax states
that wouldn't waive the "poll
tax" act least for fighting men.
He said he was astonished at the
number of those in his division
wanting to vote, and thoroughly
angry over the situation, so can be
on a fine glass to get the idea of
our men over there, and is very
focused on any thing he reports
also, since going over there and getting
monkey mail. Roosevelt's papers to
read that tells exaggerated accounts of
the waste, inefficiency, slacker ex-
ocuments, such as Randolph Bryan's hands
out so fluently, he has become a
Dewey follower, this report certainly
will for the banning of the Democratic
re election; but a fine data on how
our men in service are feeling over
matters, that when they find out
who has caused this, as well as their big
moneyed interests have fed them
pure false hopes after they get home,
I'm afraid things will start popping
and my hope is we can get things going
decently before it does start. May I hear
from you about this, and when you
think of the Parents and Wives of Fighting
Men's organization, please.
Best of wishes to you

Sincerely Yours
(Mrs. F. H.) Geo. Gray

P.S.

Did you get copies of Rep. Wright Patman's speeches before Congress, denouncing the Committee for Constitutional Government? I asked Rep. Patman to send copies of them to you to make sure you had a chance to read them for, they show plainly, beyond any doubt what some of the powerful big moneied groups are working day and night to do to destroy our form of Government in the sneakiest ways imaginable. Samuel Pettengill is one of the famous leaders in this group you know, and uses his newspaper column

in carrying out this work.

If you have not gotten these addresses from my request, I am sure one from you would bring them, if you wish them.

From a source that is utterly reliable, but who wishes his name not given out because of the kind of work he is doing, I have found out that F. B. I are on this group trail now but, even so, every Legion organization and any of its phases should read Mr. Pazmark's exposures of this organization.

G. M.

Bruni Texas

Dear Miss Martin: Sept. 14. 1944

Thank you very much for your nice letter of the 11th. I'll be very glad to hear from Dr. Johnson, whenever he can find time to write to me.

I am glad he likes the material that I send him, also that seems from groups, that I have given him ~~volume~~ ~~name~~ to. I, too think this organization called the Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans is one group all of us who want to see action started, of simply a "hunk hunk" policy started to accomplish things by law and order that are going to have to be done by this or violence in the near future, and

as because of being a member, of this organization I am allowed to purchase two books for the price of one of Mr. Dunn "Gnilemetic or Revolution" which I have sent for, I'll be very glad to send Dr. Johnson one of these to read when I receive them if he desires it, so, please let me know, if he does, or not soon. I also have received and just finished reading "Facts and Fascism" by Geo. Seldes, editor of "In Fact" I'll send, too, if he wants me to, as I know how difficult it is for us general run of people to be able to purchase the good books we would like to read, so I try to keep what very few I do get in circulation

As I didn't receive my two copies of the Mag. name of The Southern Frontier will you please see these are mailed to me?

Best wishes to you

Sincerely yours

Mrs. F. H. Gray

Bruni Texas

Oct. 29, 1944.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

So I have on ~~hand~~ hand some material I want you to have at once, as well as to again bring up the question of your reading Pitchmedicine ~~as~~ or Peddling by Arthur Dunn, organizer and chairman of the Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans Inc, a member of which I am an, and pledged with all other members to get at one hundred people to read this book as soon as possible, for the information and warning it contains, as well to sell the book the proceeds to go for the work of organization such as the recent winning of the court case by Mrs. Dunn and Mrs. Plunkett that repealed the poll tax law in Va. I'm again writing to you, thought it your turn to write me.

If you feel you don't care to or aren't able to purchase this book from The Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans 130 West 42nd St. New York 18, N.Y. price $1.00, but want to read it, I will send you my copy, so please write me as soon as possible about this matter.

I liked your editorial in the last Southern Frontier, fine, as it was right on the line I had been

mulling over in my mind for some time, which is that very few people ever try to sift the rumors they hear to get the true separated from the false, and as you say what we need is more people who will take time to not only do this, but, carefully get it to those who don't and this is not only needed in the South but all over our nation, and, to be effective, those doing this should organize into groups for, only in this way can any work today be effective.

My other concern is with the liberals who, believing their way alone is the only one to achieve progress, become so wrapped up in their concept that they ostracize anyone with ideas radically different from their own as to how to do the job, forgetting the real issue in their quarrel of petty difference. I have in mind the matter of our communists or radicals and their treatment by our liberals, when I ask the latter why they are so opposed to being at all congenial to a communist, when they profess to be fighting for the rights of all to believe as they please especially, when that belief is not opposed to attaining the greatest good for the greatest number of people, and am always told they don't like the

way the communists try to achieve their aims etc. yet, in some of these liberal groups, such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews some of their main leaders have openly praised fascism, and, had fascistic tendencies opposed against them, and, Friends of Democracy has one of its main members now writing articles for the Hearst press — Lou Bromfield, and running against the New Deal as hard as any one, F. O. D. has called down, also, Dr. Neil Dumont another member of their National Board of directors, is also a member of Spiritual Mobilization, a stooge group of agents for the Committee for Constitutional Government both, of which F. O. D. has shown to be carrying on fascist line of propaganda, yet when I asked leaders of F. O. D and N. C. J why they didn't and George Selders in putting out his pamphlet, that they admitted were factual, and needed to be known, they said it was because he followed the communist line yet, he says, he is not a communist, and I've heard from others he has had trouble several times

with our right communion, etc.
I have come to the conclusion that many of our liberals are hurting the cause by their unwillingness to ~~be~~ live and help live in the fullest sense of the word. I am sure that in many cases, too, they are guilty of believing false rumors on this matter, and never searching for the truth, while others, doubtless from Rev. Business has influenced them. They want full democracy and freedom, but aren't willing to do their full share to achieve it, but content to salve their consciences with the belief that the time hasn't yet come to achieve this, or, as Rev. Millard Johnson recently wrote me, that anyone believing we would in the near future attain a world of an economic abundance, was foolish, as this would take generations, yet is brought about. So, I feel our problem is bringing about a full scale democracy is not only our revolutionaries, but also a great many of our liberals, which has surprised me a lot in the past few weeks, and I'm trying to get cleared up a bit on it, by again forcing you to hear of my woes.

Thanking you, I am with kindest wishes, Sincerely yours

Glen Gray

PS. The material being sent separately. Don't

[illegible]

February 20, 1945

Mrs. F. H. Gray
Bruni
Texas

Dear Mrs. Gray:

I owe you several letters, so I'll just roll them all into one. We are all up to our ears in work, and it is about all we can do to keep our heads above water.

I am enclosing a dollar for Mr. Dunn's book. It is very kind of you to offer to sent it to me. I am not making any promises as to how promptly I will read it, because I scarcely have time to read anything these days. However, I do promise to send you my reactions eventually.

I appreciate the interesting material which you sent on February 2. I am asking Miss Martin to include with this letter all material which was marked to return to you.

I am glad that you liked Mr. Francis' article about segregation. I am taking the liberty of sending him a copy of your letter.

Always our best wishes and our sincerest thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending us so much interesting material.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosures

Check for $1.00
Things marked return

Vm

Bruni Texas
Feb. 2, 1945

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I know I am presumptuous in calling your attention to Arthur Dunn's book "Arithmetic or Revolution" but, we members are pledged to get as many people as we can to read this book, especially leaders of progressive organizations, as Mr. Dunn is very eager to get the comments of people like yourself on it. Knowing in this way others will so likely to ordinarily read this sort of a book will be influenced to do so, so I am writing to ask you if I may send you a copy with the understanding you are to read and give your opinion to either Mr. Dunn or myself, then if you decide to keep the book at the price of 75¢ you may simply return it to me. Will you do this please, for this cause as portrayed in the enclosed leaflets? Rev. Bro. Gerald F. Scheff of St. Mary's University is reading a copy under these conditions and writes me "Am about half through. Great ~~stuff~~ stuff." Also Prof. Frank Dobie just sent me a dollar for a copy after reading the literature about it stating he wanted to get it into as many hands as possible right away, though he would not be able to read it himself until he had finished writing the book he was now doing. It is people like your self, Bro Scheff and Pro Dobie that we want to get the book read by and commented on, so

I may much hope you will consider
in this offer.

Every cent taken in on sales goes
toward defraying the cost of the
work of the organization and Mr.
Dunn is donating his time.

It's a very interesting book
and not too long. In fact I found
it hard to lay it down before I
had finished reading it and I'll
admit I'm a poor hand at reading
any thing day, so you can know
this one is not in the least.

Hoping to hear from you soon
and with every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours

(Mrs F. H.) Glen Gray

Any material marked not to return
please pass around among your friends
as I have ample supply for this very pur-
pose.

Mrs G. G.

Bruni, Texas
February 2, 1945

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I know I'm persistent in calling your attention to Arthur Dunn's book "Arithmetic or Revolution", but we members are pledged to get as many people as we can to read this book, especially leaders of progressive organizations, as Mr. Dunn is very eager to get the comments of people like yourself on it, knowing in this way others not so likely to ordinarily read this sort of a book will be influenced to do so, so I'm writing to ask you if I may send you a copy with the understanding you are to read and give your opinion to either Mr. Dunn or myself, then if you don't care to keep the book at the price of $1.00 you may simply return it to me. Will you do this, please, for this cause as portrayed in the enclosed leaflets? Rev. Bro. Gerald J. Schneff of St. Mary's University is reading a copy under these conditions and writes me "Am about half through. Great stuff." Also Professor Frank Dobie just sent me a dollar for a copy after reading the literature about it stating he wanted to get it into as many hands as possible, right away, though he wouldn't be able to read it himself until he had finished writing the book he was now doing. It is people like yourself, Brother Schneff, and Professor Dobie that we want to first get the book read by and commented on, so I very much hope you will consent to this offer.

Every cent taken in on sales goes toward defraying the cost of the work of the organization, and Mr. Dunn is donating his time.

It is a very interesting book, and not too long. In fact, I found it hard to lay it down before I had finished reading it, and I'll admit I'm a poor hand at reading any thing dry, so you can know this one is not in the least.

Hoping to hear from you soon and with every good wish, I am sincerely yours,

(Mrs. F. H.) Alice Gray

Any material marked not to return please pass around among your friends as I have ample supply for this very purpose.

Gray

Brenham Texas

Feb. 24, 1945

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thanks so much for your nice letter of the 20th and check for book, I just received. I know you are very busy and I don't expect to hear from you very often than accounts but, anyway when your letters do arrive, I'm very happy to get them.

I know you don't feel as Prof. Frank Dobie of Texas University seems to have heard sending you the material I do is to "convert" you, but know I do this because I feel in the position you and be are in you have a better chance than many to spread the facts contained in them. I, neither believe people who, for one reason or another, are set in their biased connections can be "converted" to progressive ways, but I feel that the majority are not in that state of mind, but confused and need not only enlightment but also the assurance of others believing as they do, and courageous enough to say so out loud, which leads to organized strength in this battle for human rights, so you can be certain I'll continue to send you anything I have that I feel it in that way. The Propaganda Battle-front's "Editorial For Reprinting" is my offer this time, as I don't know if you are getting this paper or not. The leaflet of its interest (human) story that I know you'll enjoy as I have, while the letter from Stanchers Burt are a bit of personal pleasure that I want you to read.

I am looking forward to your report on Mr. Dunn's book, as I know you will enjoy it as much as Mr. Burt and others have done when you once get time to read it. I'm sending it to you at once, and I hope you will be able to get

others to purchase a copy as this all adds our fight for the winning method of solving our national problems in this work that is being carried upon instead of merely talking about it. As you know Gov. Gnaedl of Ga. is working with Mr. Dunn, and that he is Mr. Dunn's choice for vice-President in 1948, which I am sure will meet with organized labor's approval so, if we can give vice Stan of Jacksonville for the next few years, I believe we have a great and peaceful future in store for us and the world that makes this "keeping on our toes" for all who know "what's up" not only worth while, but a life and death matter.

Do not return anything not so marked, as I have ample of this material.

Letter from Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher's Sec. today informed me that Mrs. Fisher's only son "Capt. James Canfield Fisher, Battalion Surgeon for the Sixth Rangers, who went with this group on their dangerous and unsuccessful expedition to free American prisoners on Luzon, was killed in action in that effort, she had just had word regarding, and that this made her more determined than ever to aid in the work that Parents and Mrs. of Fighting American Inc. are attempting to achieve for a world of free men. I appreciate so much her sending me this message in her hour of greatest grief and it makes me determined to work harder than ever to see that this is the last war that ever is waged to any extent on this earth, by curing the ills that cause them to arise, and as racial discrimination is one of these causes, I hope Mr. Francis and all you who see this will work more vigorously than ever to stop it.

Again thanks for everything you have done for me and with every good wish to you, I am

Sincerely yours

Alice Gray (Mrs. F.H.)

Copied from Mrs. Gray's original letter for convenience of GBJ

Bruni, Texas
May 31, 1945

Dear Dr. Johnson:

"Our Conflicting Racial Policies" is certainly a thought-provoking article, and I'd like to see anyone rationally disprove one idea Dr. Will Alexander has brought out in it.

I do not believe there can be the least doubt that in our progress toward full democracy which is man's destiny, segregation and other unnatural barriers must end, but I am concerned whether this will be brought about by ballots instead of bullets or not.

I am nearly ready to send out "Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans, Inc." material to over a hundred members of a newly organized Unitarian church in San Antonio, and I'll be more than glad to include as many of these reprints of Dr. Alexander's article as you can send me.

As the Southern Electoral Reform League, with which Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans, Inc. is affiliated, is ready for its drive to put pressure on the states still retaining the poll tax laws to repeal them, our organization is making a special drive to get every one who has purchased a copy of "Arithmetic or Revolution"to date to buy another copy for a friend, this money we take is to be used to help defray our part of the expenses involved, so, as I'm trying to double my present sales quota to date, which as you note from inclosed list is fifty copies, I am asking each one who has bought from me to please aid me in this effort.

Thanks and kindest wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Alice Gray.

Bruni Texas
May 31, 1945

Dear Dr. Johnson:

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As the Southern Electoral Reform League, with which Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans Inc. is affiliated is ready for action to put pressure on the State will retaining the Poll Tax law to repeal them, our organization is making a special drive to get everyone who has purchased a copy of "Gestapo or Democ-

tion" is due to humanitarian cop
for a friend, this money we take
to be used to help defray our par
of the expenses involved, so, as In
tuyeny is double my present
sales quota is due, which as you
note from enclosed list is fifty
copies, I am asking each one who
has bought from me to please
aid me in this effort.

Thanks, and kindest wishes to
you,

Sincerely
Alice Gray

ARITHMETIC or REVOLUTION

by ARTHUR DUNN- Lawyer, Author, Economist

The REPEAT is the highest test of interest

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After Centuries we abolished Slavery- To survive we MUST abolish War.

WASHINGTON POST
Sunday, February 18, 1945

Illogical House

Representatives from the poll-tax States are taking an aloof attitude toward the efforts of the Southern Electoral Reform League to unseat them. On the advice of Chairman Sumners of the House Judiciary Committee, they are ignoring the efforts of the league to obtain testimony from Congressmen. Representative Sumners directed attention to the fact that the House is "sovereign and independent with reference to the determination of the election and the qualifications of its own members." In other words, Congress can ignore the constitutional mandate as to allocation of House seats with impunity. No doubt he is right. We know of no power, other than public opinion, that can compel Congress to abide by constitutional requirements of this sort. But the very fact that the House has fallen back upon this argument indicates the weakness of its position before the bar of public opinion.

The elementary fact is that in apportioning House seats among the States, Congress ignored the constitutional mandate that when the right to vote in any State is denied or abridged representation from such State shall be proportionately reduced. Congressman Rankin did not help the situation by saying that this reference is to denial of voting rights by State laws or acts done under State authority. What are poll taxes, if not State laws? True, these taxes do not constitute an outright denial of suffrage. But that is not necessary to invocation of the punitive provisions of the fourteenth amendment. Section 2 of that amendment clearly demands that representation of the States in the House be reduced if they "in any way abridge" the right to vote. "Abridge" means to shorten, diminish or curtail. Unquestionably the poll tax curtails voting. Virginia's Supreme Court of Appeals has recognized that abridgement of suffrage is the purpose of that State's poll tax. Congress is under solemn obligation to apportion seats in the House in accord with this curtailment of voting rights.

Why should the House turn its back upon this constitutional mandate for the sake of protecting the poll tax and then put its stamp of approval upon an unconstitutional bill to abolish the poll tax? That is the course it has been following in recent years. We submit that it doesn't make sense, and hat the right policy to follow is obedience to the Constitution, which requires that representation of the poll-tax States be pared down to fit their curtailment of the voting franchise.

Poll Tax Foe Asks Ouster Of Sumners

Removal of Rep. Hatton W. Sumners (D-Tex.) as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee was demanded today by Arthur Dunn of Ne wYork, counsel for the Southern Electoral Reform League.

Dunn's demand was contained in a letter addressed to all members of the House and was predicated on Sumners' advising 69 Representatives from the South's seven poll tax states to ignore subpenas served on them in proceeding contesting their elections.

The election contests, brought by Moss A. Plunkett, president of the league, as an individual, were instituted on the ground that their elections were illegal because of the poll tax levy.

Dunn, in addition to asking for Sumners removal as chairman, also asked the House to censure him for his recommendations.

NEW YORK POST,
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1945
New York Post
NOV. 10, 1941

Plunkett Hints Court Action On Subpoenas

By DONALD SANDERS

WASHINGTON (AP) — Poll tax foes indicated they will seek court action following a "silent hearing" scheduled for today on the contested elections of members of Congress from southern states.

Moss A. Plunkett, Roanoke, Va., attorney who is contesting the elections of 69 congressmen from poll tax States, invited seven of them to appear as witnesses in his case at a local hotel today, but all have said they will stay away.

Plunkett and his counsel, Arthur Dunn of New York City, said at a news conference yesterday that they had a future course of action in mind, but they did not disclose it in detail.

Dunn commented, however, that laws and rules of the House of Representatives governing election contests provide that any subpoenaed witness who fails to appear "unless prevented by sickness or unavoidable necessity," can be fined 20 and imprisoned.

"That's a matter to be laid before a grand jury," Plunkett added.

They made public the text of a letter written by Dunn to Chairman Sumners (D., Tex.) of the House judiciary committee in reply to his advice on the floor of the House that members stay away from Plunkett's hearing.

"Whether or not the representatives subpoenaed attend for the purpose of giving their depositions in behalf of the contestant in these proceedings, one thing is certain: They will have to answer the charges at the bar of public opinion," the letter commented.

Roanoke World News

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1945.

Poll Tax v. Constitution

The Southern Electoral Reform League has the unique idea that the Constitution of the United States means what it says.

The Constitution says, "when the right to vote . . . for Representatives . . . is denied . . . or in any way abridged . . . the basis of representation . . . shall be reduced . . ."

The South, like the rest of the United States, has about one Representative to each 300,000 people. But unlike the rest of the U. S., in eight states of the South only a minority of this 300,000 can vote.

The others are disfranchised. Their right to vote is "abridged" by the poll tax.

So, the Southern Electoral Reform League simply proposes that either the poll tax states give up their bar to voting, or if they like it too much to do that, that they give up the extra Representatives in Congress that they are fraudulently helping themselves to.

In line with this idea, the League has served certificates of contest on the 79 Southern Representatives from poll tax states, challenging their right to hold office.

The point seems clear enough to us. Anyone think that the Southern Electoral Reform League is wrong; that the Constitution doesn't mean what it says?

Reprinted from The Nation, April 7, 1945

Unseat the Poll-Taxers!

BY J. MITCHELL MORSE

FIRST the Georgia legislature voted three to one to keep the poll tax; then it voted three to one for repeal. One thing that helped it change its mind was a telegram to Governor Arnall promising that if the tax were repealed a campaign to unseat Georgia's ten Congressmen would be dropped. The telegram was signed by Arthur Dunn of New York, counsel to the Southern Electoral Reform League, on behalf of Moss A. Plunkett of Roanoke, Virginia, president of the league. This organization of liberal Southerners is continuing a campaign against the sixty-nine Representatives from the seven remaining poll-tax states. It has formally notified them of intention to contest their election, and has presented more than a thousand pages of evidence to the House Elections Committee to show that their election was unconstitutional. The last of the law's delays will run out toward the middle of May, and the sixty-nine must then appear before the committee and show cause why they should not be unseated. They have not yet presented any evidence in their own behalf. Their time for doing so will expire about April 7—the date is indefinite because the sixty-nine replied to the notice of contest at different times; after that they will have thirty days in which to prepare briefs, and then they must stand trial, evidence or no evidence, briefs or no briefs.

According to the letter of the law their situation is desperate, but all the human factors are on their side. The Elections Committee is divided into three sections to facilitate its work; the chairman of the first section is Thomas G. Abernethy of Mississippi, one of the accused; the chairman of the second section is Ed Gossett of Texas, one of the accused; the chairman of the third section is Hugh Peterson of Georgia, who was originally one of the accused. Of the other members of the committee, three are among the accused and eleven are Republicans; only eight are Democrats from non-poll-tax states. In few actions are the accused so well represented on the bench.

However, there is good constitutional ground for contesting the seats of poll-tax Representatives. The Fourteenth Amendment is known chiefly as the dull matrix of that many-faceted diamond the "due-process" clause, but it contains other diamonds also, among them this one discovered by Mr. Dunn:

> . . . when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein [i.e., in Congress] shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.*

After the decennial census of 1940 the Seventy-seventh Congress was required by the same amendment to determine the number of Representatives to which each state was entitled by its population. This it did. It allotted nine to Alabama, seven to Arkansas, seven to Mississippi, six to South Carolina, ten to Tennessee, twenty-one to Texas, and nine to Virginia. In all these states payment of a poll tax is a prerequisite for voting. The following table shows the average percentages of possible voters who actually voted in the last three elections:

	Poll-Tax States	*Non-Poll-Tax States*
1940	23 per cent	73 per cent
1942	5 " "	39 " "
1944	21 " "	60 " "

Such figures, says the Southern Electoral Reform League, indicate that the poll tax abridges the right to vote. As a matter of fact, when the Virginia tax was provided for at the state constitutional convention of 1901, Senator Carter Glass was very frank about its undemocratic purpose:

> The chief purpose of this convention is to amend the suffrage clause of the existing constitution [illegible]

would be entitled to only twenty-three Representatives instead of sixty-nine. Their legislatures would have to call special elections, either redistricting the states to make a smaller number of districts or providing for the election of all their Representatives at large.

There doesn't seem to be much chance that the Elections Committee will go so far to uphold the Constitution. One Congressman told Dunn, "We're like a club up here in matters of this kind, so I think your contest is going to die in committee." Dunn replied that it was "a matter of the Constitution against Congressional courtesy." Representative Woodrum of Virginia, who favors repeal of the poll tax, told Dunn that it could be achieved only by public pressure. Dunn and Plunkett believe their action may be effective in creating pressure for a federal anti-poll-tax law.

The idea of enforcing the penalty provided in the Fourteenth Amendment was first put forth by Dunn in a book "Arithmetic or Revolution?" published in 1934. Carter Glass's newspaper, the Lynchburg, Virginia, *Daily Advance,* once called the seventy-two-year-old Dunn a "carpetbagger," which shows what century it lives in, but as a matter of fact his mother was a Virginia slaveholder and a relative of Governor Henry Alexander Wise, who refused to reprieve John Brown. Dunn himself was, if anything, more conservative than Glass until 1933. He studied economics at Princeton, accepting as eternal laws of nature the pre-machine-age theories of Adam Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo. After graduation he became a corporation lawyer with offices at 25 Broad Street, across the street from the New York Stock Exchange. His social views were just what you would expect: he voted for Herbert Hoover against Al Smith and against Roosevelt —in fact, the only time he deviated from the straight G. O. P. line was in 1912, when he voted for Theodore Roosevelt as a Progressive.

It took an almost fatal accident to make him a Democrat. On December 21, 1931, he was knocked down by an automobile and injured so severely that it took him five years to recover. He didn't set foot in the financial district for three years. The depression was in full career; the casualty company in which he was insured, one of the largest in the country, paid him $2,500 in settlement of a $5,000 policy; a friend, the president of an even larger firm, told him there wasn't a solvent insurance company in the United States, his three sons, all Princeton graduates, all intelligent young men, were all unemployed; two of them voted the Socialist ticket in 1932. Thus Dunn, who had always been an employer, saw the depression as if through the eyes of a man out of work. The corporation lawyer began for the first time to doubt that Adam Smith was the Messiah. On May 31, 1934, following doctor's orders, he started out on a leisurely automobile trip that lasted two and a half years, covered 42,000 miles, and took him through forty-four states and a part of Canada. He had no time-table, no fixed itinerary; he stopped wherever he felt like it, staying sometimes a day, sometimes a week, looking around and asking questions. He saw the New Deal at work, and was converted.

He began to write down his impressions, and a conversation with a newspaper editor led to the production of a daily column, "The Compass," which eventually was syndicated to seventy papers. This continued until the fall of 1936, when he came out for Roosevelt. When that happened, 90 per cent of the newspapers dropped his column and Dunn discontinued it. By that time he was back in New York and had resumed his law practice, which he still continues. In 1944 he organized the Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans, Inc., to agitate for a quick federal ballot for service men; it has since developed a broad liberal program and is now an ally of the Southern Electoral Reform League in the fight against the poll tax.

Moss Plunkett, president of the Southern Electoral Reform League, must be equally incomprehensible to those who think of reformers in the terms of a J. N. Darling cartoon. His family has been in Virginia for three hundred years, slaveholders, Revolutionary patriots, and Confederate patriots. He himself [illegible]

keep the poll tax; then it voted three to one for repeal. One thing that helped it change its mind was a telegram to Governor Arnall promising that if the tax were repealed a campaign to unseat Georgia's ten Congressmen would be dropped. The telegram was signed by Arthur Dunn of New York, counsel to the Southern Electoral Reform League, on behalf of Moss A. Plunkett of Roanoke, Virginia, president of the league. This organization of liberal Southerners is continuing a campaign against the sixty-nine Representatives from the seven remaining poll-tax states. It has formally notified them of intention to contest their election, and has presented more than a thousand pages of evidence to the House Elections Committee to show that their election was unconstitutional. The last of the law's delays will run out toward the middle of May, and the sixty-nine must then appear before the committee and show cause why they should not be unseated. They have not yet presented any evidence in their own behalf. Their time for doing so will expire about April 7—the date is indefinite because the sixty-nine replied to the notice of contest at different times; after that they will have thirty days in which to prepare briefs, and then they must stand trial, evidence or no evidence, briefs or no briefs.

According to the letter of the law their situation is desperate, but all the human factors are on their side. The Elections Committee is divided into three sections to facilitate its work; the chairman of the first section is Thomas G. Abernethy of Mississippi, one of the accused; the chairman of the second section is Ed Gossett of Texas, one of the accused; the chairman of the third section is Hugh Peterson of Georgia, who was originally one of the accused. Of the other members of the committee, three are among the accused and eleven are Republicans; only eight are Democrats from non-poll-tax states. In few actions are the accused so well represented on the bench.

However, there is good constitutional ground for contesting the seats of poll-tax Representatives. The Fourteenth Amendment is known chiefly as the dull matrix of that many-faceted diamond the "due-process" clause, but it contains other diamonds also, among them this one discovered by Mr. Dunn:

> . . . when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein [i.e., in Congress] shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.*

After the decennial census of 1940 the Seventy-seventh Congress was required by the same amendment to determine the number of Representatives to which each state was entitled by its population. This it did. It allotted nine to Alabama, seven to Arkansas, seven to Mississippi, six to South Carolina, ten to Tennessee, twenty-one to Texas, and nine to Virginia. In all these states payment of a poll tax is a prerequisite for voting. The following table shows the average percentages of possible voters who actually voted in the last three elections:

	Poll-Tax States	*Non-Poll-Tax States*
1940	23 per cent	73 per cent
1942	5 " "	39 " "
1944	21 " "	60 " "

Such figures, says the Southern Electoral Reform League, indicate that the poll tax abridges the right to vote. As a matter of fact, when the Virginia tax was provided for at the state constitutional convention of 1901, Senator Carter Glass was very frank about its undemocratic purpose:

> The chief purpose of this convention is to amend the suffrage clause of the existing constitution. It does not require much prescience to foretell that the alterations which we shall make will not apply to "all persons and classes without distinction." We were sent here to make distinctions. We expect to make distinctions. We will make distinctions.

In 1939 the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals held that the poll tax was primarily intended, not to produce revenue, but to limit the suffrage (*Campbell* v. *Goode,* 172 Va. 463, 2 S.E. (2d) 456).

If the penalty were enforced, the seven poll-tax states stead of sixty-nine. Their legislatures would have to call special elections, either redistricting the states to make a smaller number of districts or providing for the election of all their Representatives at large.

There doesn't seem to be much chance that the Elections Committee will go so far to uphold the Constitution. One Congressman told Dunn, "We're like a club up here in matters of this kind, so I think your contest is going to die in committee." Dunn replied that it was "a matter of the Constitution against Congressional courtesy." Representative Woodrum of Virginia, who favors repeal of the poll tax, told Dunn that it could be achieved only by public pressure. Dunn and Plunkett believe their action may be effective in creating pressure for a federal anti-poll-tax law.

The idea of enforcing the penalty provided in the Fourteenth Amendment was first put forth by Dunn in a book "Arithmetic or Revolution?" published in 1934. Carter Glass's newspaper, the Lynchburg, Virginia, *Daily Advance,* once called the seventy-two-year-old Dunn a "carpetbagger," which shows what century it lives in, but as a matter of fact his mother was a Virginia slaveholder and a relative of Governor Henry Alexander Wise, who refused to reprieve John Brown. Dunn himself was, if anything, more conservative than Glass until 1933. He studied economics at Princeton, accepting as eternal laws of nature the pre-machine-age theories of Adam Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo. After graduation he became a corporation lawyer with offices at 25 Broad Street, across the street from the New York Stock Exchange. His social views were just what you would expect: he voted for Herbert Hoover against Al Smith and against Roosevelt —in fact, the only time he deviated from the straight G. O. P. line was in 1912, when he voted for Theodore Roosevelt as a Progressive.

It took an almost fatal accident to make him a Democrat. On December 21, 1931, he was knocked down by an automobile and injured so severely that it took him five years to recover. He didn't set foot in the financial district for three years. The depression was in full career; the casualty company in which he was insured, one of the largest in the country, paid him $2,500 in settlement of a $5,000 policy; a friend, the president of an even larger firm, told him there wasn't a solvent insurance company in the United States, his three sons, all Princeton graduates, all intelligent young men, were all unemployed; two of them voted the Socialist ticket in 1932. Thus Dunn, who had always been an employer, saw the depression as if through the eyes of a man out of work. The corporation lawyer began for the first time to doubt that Adam Smith was the Messiah. On May 31, 1934, following doctor's orders, he started out on a leisurely automobile trip that lasted two and a half years, covered 42,000 miles, and took him through forty-four states and a part of Canada. He had no time-table, no fixed itinerary; he stopped wherever he felt like it, staying sometimes a day, sometimes a week, looking around and asking questions. He saw the New Deal at work, and was converted.

He began to write down his impressions, and a conversation with a newspaper editor led to the production of a daily column, "The Compass," which eventually was syndicated to seventy papers. This continued until the fall of 1936, when he came out for Roosevelt. When that happened, 90 per cent of the newspapers dropped his column and Dunn discontinued it. By that time he was back in New York and had resumed his law practice, which he still continues. In 1944 he organized the Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans, Inc., to agitate for a quick federal ballot for service men; it has since developed a broad liberal program and is now an ally of the Southern Electoral Reform League in the fight against the poll tax.

Moss Plunkett, president of the Southern Electoral Reform League, must be equally incomprehensible to those who think of reformers in the terms of a J. N. Darling cartoon. His family has been in Virginia for three hundred years, slaveholders, Revolutionary patriots, and Confederate patriots. He himself saw action at Chateau Thierry, Belleau Wood, and St. Mihiel. Yet he works for progressive causes! It was largely due to his efforts that the Virginia legislature last year provided funds to double the salaries of grammar-school and high-school teachers in the state, which then averaged $14 a week.

Dunn and Plunkett are not alone in their fight. They have the active support of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the C. I. O. But they are cheered most of all by the fact that a number of youth organizations, on their own initiative, are conducting a campaign to have their members' parents write a million letters to Congress.

* The word "male" was made superfluous by the Nineteenth Amendment, but has been allowed to stand.

May 31, 1945

Mrs. F. H. Gray
Bruni
Texas

Dear Mrs. Gray:

Dr. Johnson has been working under very high pressure, and has not been able to write you a long letter as he would like.

He has asked me to return the enclosed materials to you with apologies for keeping them so long and with thanks for bringing them to his attention. He also asked me to say that he found Arthur Dunn's book to be one of the most thought-provoking things he has read in a long time.

We think you will be interested in a booklet which we are publishing soon entitled "The South — Economic Opportunity No. 1." It will contain the addresses which were delivered at a conference on The South's Post War Economy sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta on April 11-12. A copy of the conference program is enclosed. As a Council member you will, of course, receive the booklet as soon as it is off the press.

Cordially yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

Enclosures:
Mrs. Gray's materials
SPWEC program
✓ m

(Copied from Mrs. Gray's original letter
for Dr. Johnson's convenience)

Bruni, Texas
Feb. 24, 1945

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thanks so much for your nice letter of the 20th and check for book which I just received. I know you are very busy and I don't expect to hear from you very often on that account, but I assure you that when your letters do arrive, I'm very happy to get them.

I know you don't feel as Prof. Frank Dobie of Texas University seems to feel that sending you the material I do is to "convert" you, but know I do this because I feel in the position you and he are in you have a better chance than many to spread the facts contained in them. I, neither, believe people who for one reason or another, are set in their biased convictions, can be "converted" to progressive ways, but I feel that the majority are not in that state of mind, but confused and need, not only enlightenment, but also the assurance of others believing as they do, and courageous enough to say so out loud, which leads to organized strength in this battle for human rights, so you can be certain I'll continue to send you anything I have that I feel you can use, knowing you accept it in that way. The Propaganda Battlefront's "Editorial For Reprinting" is my offer this time, as I don't know if you are getting this paper or not. The leaflet about Rev. Birkhead is simply sent because of its interest (human) story that I know you'll enjoy as I have, while the letters from Struthers Burt are a bit of personal pleasure that I want you to read.

I am looking forward to your report on Mr. Dunn's book, as I know you will enjoy it as much as Mr. Burt and others have done when you once get time to read it. I'm sending it to you at once, and I hope you will be able to get others to purchase a copy, as this all aids our fight for the voting method of solving our national problems in this work that is being acted upon instead of merely talking about it. As you notice, Governor Arnall of Georgia is working with

Mr. Dunn, and that he is Mr. Dunn's choice for vice-President in 1948, which I am sure will meet with organized labor's approval, so, if we can just steer clear of fascism's clutches for the next few years, I believe we have a great and peaceful future in store for us and the world. That makes this "keeping on our toes" for all who know "what's up" not only worthwhile, but a life and death matter.

Do not return anything not so marked, as I have ample of this sort of material.

A letter from Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher's Secretary today informed me that Mrs. Fisher's only son, Captain James Canfield Fisher, Battalion Surgeon for the Sixth Rangers, who went with this group on their dangerous and successful expedition to free American prisoners on Luzon, was killed in action in that effort, she had just had word regarding, and that this made her more determined than ever to aid in the work that Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans, Inc. are attempting to achieve for a warless world of free men. I appreciate so much her sending me this message in her hour of greatest grief, and it makes me determined to work harder than ever to see that this is the last war that ever is waged to any extent on this earth, by curing the ills that cause these to occur, and as racial discrimination is one of these causes, I hope Mr. Francis and all of us who see this will work more vigorously than ever to stop it.

Again thanks for everything you have done for me, and with every good wish to you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Alice Gray (Mrs. F. H.)

July 9, 1945

Mrs. F. H. Gray
Bruni
Texas

Dear Mrs. Gray:

We now have an additional supply of reprints of Dr. Alexander's article, "Our Conflicting Racial Policies." We are glad to send you 100 of these reprints under separate cover.

Cordially yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

Separate cover
100 Alexander reprints

M

November 6, 1945

Mrs. F. H. Gray
Bruni, Texas

Dear Mrs. Gray:

It was good to hear from you again. I am glad to have the information concerning the way in which the Gallup poll was taken in the Southern States. We are sending you ten copies of the reprint of Dr. Clement's article. If you want more just let us know. We can also send extra copies of the little leaflet It Seems Queer. I believe that the comments of Southern editors on Bilbo and Eastland were printed in the Patriot instead of The Frontier. I am sorry we do not have extra copies.

A friend is paying your dues for the current year, so don't worry about them any more until next year.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Bruni Texas
Oct.31,1945

Mrs. F. H. Gray

RECEIVED
NOV 5 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Johnson :

your editorial in the current issue of the Southern Frontier is especially interesting to me as I just had a report from the director of the Gallup poll institute that this poll was taken in the Southern states among the qualified voters only, or in other words only among those who had payed their poll tax and specifically stated, not among Negroes in sections where these people were not allowed to vote whether they had paved their tax or not. As the report given to the public was not based upon the qualification to vote but upon the desires of the people of this nation on this issue, to me this report is very uncertain and misleading. Also, after reading the report of the investigation made by Dept. of Agriculture regarding the cross section opinion of our farmers toward industrial labor which was far more favorable than any commercial poll ever gave, I am convinced these news paper polls are very unreliable.

Dr. Johnson, the reason I have not paid my dues is because money has been very short with me, due to my husband's mental illness, which caused him to run away from home twice, and ended in a big hospital and other bills that I am far from having straightened out yet, and with perhaps more to come as he is in very poor health now physically due to exposure etc. so I don't know when I may be able to pay up.

With my very best wishes, I am

Cordially Yours

Alice Gray

P.S.

May I have a few extra copies of the Southern Frontier that contained the reports of the Southern newspaper editors to the Bilbo and Eastman Congressional speeches, also, I can use a number of copies of Dr. Rufus E. Clement's splended article in this issue, please.

A. G.

R.W.

December 10, 1945

Mrs. F. H. Gray
Bruni, Texas

Dear Mrs. Gray:

Thank you for your letter of November 29. It always does us good to hear that someone likes The Southern Frontier and considers it worthwhile.

I am passing your comments along to Mr. Warwick who is doing a splendid job on Council publications.

The letters of Bilbo to Dr. Granberry are perfectly awful. I hope we can find room to excerpt them and comment on them in The Southern Frontier. I am turning it over to Mr. Warwick.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Bruni Tex as
Nov.29,19 45

RECEIVED
DEC 4 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr.Johnson:

I have just finished reading the Dec. Issue of THE EMANCIPATOR put out by Dr. John C.Gr anbery of San Antonio which Publication I know you exchange with, and I feel if the letters Se n. Bilbo wrote DR, Gran bery that are published in this issue of that magazine are reprinted in every publication of the South that has any claim of standing up for human dignity there wont be one chance in a thousand of this Se nator being re- elected to the U,S. Senate or any other public office again. People in any section of our nation who pay little attention to insulting remarks made by those they elect to office to " outside critics " and many time sort of glory in this as a retaliation against such criticism will burn with indignation when such tactics is used against one of their own highly respected and beloved citizens,as Dr. Granbery is. So, I hope THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER will start the ball rolling on this matter, and help make sure that,n ot only is Sen Biblo defeate d but all others of his t ype TOO, and none ha ve any chance of again being elected.

Knowing Dr. Grandbery's history as I do, and the grand lovable man he is these letters make me boiling hot with indignation, and I want to see something done that will not only pr event such a th ing happe n ing again ~~from~~ BY any one in public office, but will also help in making the great sacrifices Dr. Granbery and o t hers STILL LIVING have mad e for democracy and real Christianity worth while, during the time they are still ~~livi ng~~ ALIVE to know this.

I have also, just finished reading the Nov. Issue o f THE SOUTHERN FRONTIE R and while I know it isn't necessary for me to ag ain tell you I enjoyed every article in it, I'm going to any way, as I know that even often reiterated praise from the same person often makes a seemin gly thankless task become a j oy. I believe the only thing I envy a ny human being is the ability to put across more effective mean s to extend better racial conditions than I can for democracy in general, but some how the reading of each issue of THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER always relieves me a bit of this feeling of inability as I know I can quote the facts it c ontains to many

people both by word of mouth and, also, in writing and then can pass on each copy of this paper I receive to oth ers and ask them to ke ep the ball ro lling. Small as this is, in this work, I know it all helps.

As always with my kindest reg ards, I am
C ordially Yours

Alice Gray

Mrs. J. H. Gray

December 21, 1945

Mrs. F. H. Gray
Bruni, Texas

Dear Mrs. Gray:

Thank you for your letter of December 12. I am sorry to be so late in acknowledging it, but we have, as usual, much more than we can do. Now we are trying to catch up with everything before the Christmas holidays, and this will have to be a short note instead of a real letter.

Frankly, I do not share your alarm with regard to the menace of the Catholic hierarchy. As far as I can see, the Catholics are doing exactly what every other religious denomination tries to do, but they are so much better organized that they do a more efficient job of it than the others. One of the most political minded and intolerant persons I know happens to be a Baptist, and one of the most broadminded and unselfish friends I have happens to be a Catholic.

Of course, I am for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and tolerance between groups, and I will oppose bigotry and intolerance regardless of the race or creed of those who promote it.

Christmas greetings and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Bruni Texas
Dec. 12, 1945

RECEIVED
DEC 13 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Johnson:

As the Catholic Problem is concerning me more and more as I study this matter, I have planned to answer your letter of Nov. 28th for several days, but, just now am getting at it.

In regard to the abuses of freedom of speech in our effort to retain this freedom, it seems to me the only thing we have to consider is whether the statements made are factual or false, and, if the latter, we already have the means at hand to combat it, and the former needs no way to keep it down by any one who has nothing to hide.

According to Louis Adamic that leaflet of Mrs. Salter's I sent you is every bit factual as far as her exposures are concerned, and her statement that UNDER COVER is an instrument of aid to the Catholic hierarchy in it's drive for domination as it (this book) does focus attention on the Protestants as the real menace of fascism in our nation also, it only exposes the "small fry" in each religion, entirely omiting the real power behind the scenes. Mr. Adamic is sure that this is not a planned thing by Mr. Carlson, however, as Mrs. Salter implies, and his idea of the reason she is having so much trouble getting her works published, is this sort of judging every one who is aiding this plot as doing so deliberately, and her vicious tongue when she is disagreed with. He states that her book "OPEN ENCOUNTER" is packed full of facts but, is very hard to read as it is so rambly. He says she could do an invaluable work in this if she would change her tactics of distrust in people generally, to one of confidence in their integrity and loyalty until she has definite proof they are not such, and in many cases her contention of this charge is verified, but not in nearly all she calls so.

I am sure this hierarchy plot is true and a menace to peace and democracy, and that we Protestants must keep on the alert speaking out against every move made by these leaders toward the achievment of it, if we are to avoid serious trouble in the near future over this very thing, from an intensified uprising of a Ku Klux Klan that the past movements of such will look like a drop in a bucket. That the only way to stop this drive must come through the good will, but steadfast Protestant groups who want to prevent this

peaceably and at the same time save religious freedom in our nation there is no doubt; for the very nature of the Catholic churche's deep conviction of it's mission prevents this stoppage from occuring there in strong enough numbers to be effective.

In my estimation THE PROTESTANT maga zine is the best thing we have to give us the full an d factual information on this problem, and I am wondering if you take it?

At your convenience, I would appreciate hearing your ideas on this issue, please.

With the be st of good wishes and the Se ason's Greetings, I am

Cordial ly Yours

Alec Gray

ARTHUR DUNN, CHAIRMAN MOSS A. PLUNKETT, VICE-CHAIRMAN, ROANOKE, VA. M. GOLDSTEIN, SECRETARY HENRY J. LUCKE, TREASURER

Gray

PARENTS AND WIVES OF FIGHTING AMERICANS Inc.

(a non-profit — non-sectarian — non-partisan organization)

130 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
PHONE: WISCONSIN 7-0740

Bruni Texas
Jan. 7, 1946

RECEIVED
JAN 11 1946
Southern Regional Council

Too much to do here to answer all her stuff!

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Why can't the S.R.C. decide to take up the fight with PARENTS AND WIVES OF FIGHTING AMERICANS and the SOUTHERN ELECTORAL REFORM LEAGUE to force the reduction of Representatives in our national Congress of States continuing to retain their poll tax laws if they or Congress refused to repeal this law? As this can be done with no change in our Constitution and according to it, should be done, it seems to me that pressure from every organization determined to uphold it and are demanding the repeal of this law would soon bring about this desire as none of the states involved would hesitate to repeal it if they knew beyond any doubt to do so would cause them to be very meagerly represented in Congress, while the assurance that no alternative is to be forced upon them will cause no action on the repeal demand at all.

Please let me hear from you on this matter.

I have pondered a lot over your statement to me in reference to the aims of the Catholic Church as being the same as that of the Protestants' and just how to convey to you what is the difference in ways used by these groups that causes so much distrust of the Catholics by the Protestants while this feeling is not experienced by Catholics against Protestants, EXCEPT IN A FEW CASES, NOT CREDITED TO PROTESTISM so, I asked Dr. Kenneth Leslie, editor of THE PROTESTANT how to explain this. He said the main menace in the Catholic way which is not used by the Protestant churches is getting into politics to force their ideas on the nation and "calling the cops", also, he says that years of research have convinced him that, with a very very few exceptions the entire hierarchy of the Catholic Church are not only anti-democrat, but working for clerical fascism all over the world, while in the Protestant ranks, certainly there are many fascists, there are also among our main leaders many, many fighters for full democracy in every phase of

life. He writes me too, that thousands of lesser Catholic leaders and lay members of this Church are devout democrats and support the work being done to expose fascists in all denominations by THE PROTESTANT, instead of hiding the Catholic hierarchy as practically every other organization doing this job of exposing manages to do. He, and several others who know the matter have told me that Dr. Leslie got his inspiration and suggestions for STARTING THE PROTESTANT magazine from one of the best known and beloved Catholic priests on this continent. This assures me, and should any one facing the issue honestly and squarely, that this publication and all who expose the fascistic plot of the Catholic or any other religious leaders is not "anti" but "pro" these religions and only "anti" anti- religion.

This is my sort of fight, I, too am wholly opposed to any form of intolerance or bigotry against religion, or race by any one no matter what his class, title, religion, or race be. I aill fight hard against any one, any where, whose words or works open or "under cover" assure me they are enemies to true Christianity or democracy in any way, and as the entire Catholic hierarchy subscribe to THE idea published by the late Msgr. John C. Ryan, in his book THE CHURCH AND THE STATE, THAT "under your principles of democracy we demand the liberties you stand for, but under our principles we deny these freedoms to you" and nearly every text book used in parochial schools is definitely ant-Semitic and anti-Protestant, as are nearly all Catholic papers etc, in the true sence of real "antism" to destroy for powers sake, this dert of leadership in this Church is anti-religious, anti-democratic, and anti- Christian, so I aim to fight it as hard as I can.

Warm regards to you personally

Sincerely Yours

Alice Gray

Reprinted from The Nation, April 7, 1945

Unseat the Poll-Taxers!

BY J. MITCHELL MORSE

FIRST the Georgia legislature voted three to one to keep the poll tax; then it voted three to one for repeal. One thing that helped it change its mind was a telegram to Governor Arnall promising that if the tax were repealed a campaign to unseat Georgia's ten Congressmen would be dropped. The telegram was signed by Arthur Dunn of New York, counsel to the Southern Electoral Reform League, on behalf of Moss A. Plunkett of Roanoke, Virginia, president of the league. This organization of liberal Southerners is continuing a campaign against the sixty-nine Representatives from the seven remaining poll-tax states. It has formally notified them of intention to contest their election, and has presented more than a thousand pages of evidence to the House Elections Committee to show that their election was unconstitutional. The last of the law's delays will run out toward the middle of May, and the sixty-nine must then appear before the committee and show cause why they should not be unseated. They have not yet presented any evidence in their own behalf. Their time for doing so will expire about April 7—the date is indefinite because the sixty-nine replied to the notice of contest at different times; after that they will have thirty days in which to prepare briefs, and then they must stand trial, evidence or no evidence, briefs or no briefs.

Very doubtful. EBJ

According to the letter of the law their situation is desperate, but all the human factors are on their side. The Elections Committee is divided into three sections to facilitate its work; the chairman of the first section is Thomas G. Abernethy of Mississippi, one of the accused; the chairman of the second section is Ed Gossett of Texas, one of the accused; the chairman of the third section is Hugh Peterson of Georgia, who was originally one of the accused. Of the other members of the committee, three are among the accused and eleven are Republicans; only eight are Democrats from non-poll-tax states. In few actions are the accused so well represented on the bench.

However, there is good constitutional ground for contesting the seats of poll-tax Representatives. The Fourteenth Amendment is known chiefly as the dull matrix of that many-faceted diamond the "due-process" clause, but it contains other diamonds also, among them this one discovered by Mr. Dunn:

would be entitled to only twenty-three Representatives instead of sixty-nine. Their legislatures would have to call special elections, either redistricting the states to make a smaller number of districts or providing for the election of all their Representatives at large.

There doesn't seem to be much chance that the Elections Committee will go so far to uphold the Constitution. One Congressman told Dunn, "We're like a club up here in matters of this kind, so I think your contest is going to die in committee." Dunn replied that it was "a matter of the Constitution against Congressional courtesy." Representative Woodrum of Virginia, who favors repeal of the poll tax, told Dunn that it could be achieved only by public pressure. Dunn and Plunkett believe their action may be effective in creating pressure for a federal anti-poll-tax law.

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1943

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Very doubtful! Why

According to the letter of the law their situation is desperate, but all the human factors are on their side. The Elections Committee is divided into three sections to facilitate its work; the chairman of the first section is Thomas G. Abernethy of Mississippi, one of the accused; the chairman of the second section is Ed Gossett of Texas, one of the accused; the chairman of the third section is Hugh Peterson of Georgia, who was originally one of the accused. Of the other members of the committee, three are among the accused and eleven are Republicans; only eight are Democrats from non-poll-tax states. In few actions are the accused so well represented on the bench.

However, there is good constitutional ground for contesting the seats of poll-tax Representatives. The Fourteenth Amendment is known chiefly as the dull matrix of that many-faceted diamond the "due-process" clause, but it contains other diamonds also, among them this one discovered by Mr. Dunn:

> . . . when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein [i.e., in Congress] shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.*

After the decennial census of 1940 the Seventy-seventh Congress was required by the same amendment to determine the number of Representatives to which each state was entitled by its population. This it did. It allotted nine to Alabama, seven to Arkansas, seven to Mississippi, six to South Carolina, ten to Tennessee, twenty-one to Texas, and nine to Virginia. In all these states payment of a poll tax is a prerequisite for voting. The following table shows the average percentages of possible voters who actually voted in the last three elections:

	Poll-Tax States	*Non-Poll-Tax States*
1940	23 per cent	73 per cent
1942	5 " "	39 " "
1944	21 " "	60 " "

Such figures, says the Southern Electoral Reform League, indicate that the poll tax abridges the right to vote. As a matter of fact, when the Virginia tax was provided for at the state constitutional convention of 1901, Senator Carter Glass was very frank about its undemocratic purpose:

> The chief purpose of this convention is to amend the suffrage clause of the existing constitution. It does not require much prescience to foretell that the alterations which we shall make will not apply to "all persons and classes without distinction." We were sent here to make distinctions. We expect to make distinctions. We will make distinctions.

In 1939 the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals held that the poll tax was primarily intended, not to produce revenue, but to limit the suffrage (*Campbell* v. *Goode*, 172 Va. 463, 2 S.E. (2d) 456).

If the penalty were enforced, the seven poll-tax states would be entitled to only twenty-three Representatives instead of sixty-nine. Their legislatures would have to call special elections, either redistricting the states to make a smaller number of districts or providing for the election of all their Representatives at large.

There doesn't seem to be much chance that the Elections Committee will go so far to uphold the Constitution. One Congressman told Dunn, "We're like a club up here in matters of this kind, so I think your contest is going to die in committee." Dunn replied that it was "a matter of the Constitution against Congressional courtesy." Representative Woodrum of Virginia, who favors repeal of the poll tax, told Dunn that it could be achieved only by public pressure. Dunn and Plunkett believe their action may be effective in creating pressure for a federal anti-poll-tax law.

The idea of enforcing the penalty provided in the Fourteenth Amendment was first put forth by Dunn in a book "Arithmetic or Revolution?" published in ~~1934~~. 1943 Carter Glass's newspaper, the Lynchburg, Virginia, *Daily Advance*, once called the seventy-two-year-old Dunn a "carpetbagger," which shows what century it lives in, but as a matter of fact his mother was a Virginia slaveholder and a relative of Governor Henry Alexander Wise, who refused to reprieve John Brown. Dunn himself was, if anything, more conservative than Glass until 1933. He studied economics at Princeton, accepting as eternal laws of nature the pre-machine-age theories of Adam Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo. After graduation he became a corporation lawyer with offices at 25 Broad Street, across the street from the New York Stock Exchange. His social views were just what you would expect: he voted for Herbert Hoover against Al Smith and against Roosevelt—in fact, the only time he deviated from the straight G. O. P. line was in 1912, when he voted for Theodore Roosevelt as a Progressive.

It took an almost fatal accident to make him a Democrat. On December 21, 1931, he was knocked down by an automobile and injured so severely that it took him five years to recover. He didn't set foot in the financial district for three years. The depression was in full career; the casualty company in which he was insured, one of the largest in the country, paid him $2,500 in settlement of a $5,000 policy; a friend, the president of an even larger firm, told him there wasn't a solvent insurance company in the United States; his three sons, all Princeton graduates, all intelligent young men, were all unemployed; two of them voted the Socialist ticket in 1932. Thus Dunn, who had always been an employer, saw the depression as if through the eyes of a man out of work. The corporation lawyer began for the first time to doubt that Adam Smith was the Messiah. On May 31, 1934, following doctor's orders, he started out on a leisurely automobile trip that lasted two and a half years, covered 42,000 miles, and took him through forty-four states and a part of Canada. He had no time-table, no fixed itinerary; he stopped wherever he felt like it, staying sometimes a day, sometimes a week, looking around and asking questions. He saw the New Deal at work, and was converted.

He began to write down his impressions, and a conversation with a newspaper editor led to the production of a daily column, "The Compass," which eventually was syndicated to seventy papers. This continued until the fall of 1936, when he came out for Roosevelt. When that happened, 90 per cent of the newspapers dropped his column and Dunn discontinued it. By that time he was back in New York and had resumed his law practice, which he still continues. In 1944 he organized the Parents and Wives of Fighting Americans, Inc., to agitate for a quick federal ballot for service men; it has since developed a broad liberal program and is now an ally of the Southern Electoral Reform League in the fight against the poll tax.

Moss Plunkett, president of the Southern Electoral Reform League, must be equally incomprehensible to those who think of reformers in the terms of a J. N. Darling cartoon. His family has been in Virginia for three hundred years, slaveholders, Revolutionary patriots, and Confederate patriots. He himself saw action at Chateau Thierry, Belleau Wood, and St. Mihiel. Yet he works for progressive causes! It was largely due to his efforts that the Virginia legislature last year provided funds to double the salaries of grammar-school and high-school teachers in the state, which then averaged $14 a week.

Dunn and Plunkett are not alone in their fight. They have the active support of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the C. I. O. But they are cheered most of all by the fact that a number of youth organizations, on their own initiative, are conducting a campaign to have their members' parents write a million letters to Congress.

* The word "male" was made superfluous by the Nineteenth Amendment, but has been allowed to stand.

July 9, 1945

President William H. Gray, Jr.
Florida A. and M. College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Gray:

We are glad that you liked Dr. Alexander's article on "Our Conflicting Racial Policies." Under separate cover we are sending you 25 additional reprints of this article.

Very cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Separate cover
25 Alexander reprints
✓ m

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

WILLIAM H. GRAY JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 6, 1945

Mr. Guy B Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We thank you very much for the very fine article which you sent us by Dr. Will W. Alexander on "Our Conflicting Interracial Policies." We would like to have at least ten additional reprints of this article for use if they are available.

Respectfully yours,

Wm. H. Gray, Jr.

WHG:acbb

May 5, 1947

Dr. Wm. H. Gray
A. & M. College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Gray:

As you know, we have at last got around to making a little survey of services to Negro veterans in Florida.

Various of your people at the college were most helpful to Mr. Brazier in getting up the facts for this leaflet.

If more copies would be of any service to you, let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

May 30, 1947

Dr. Wm. H. Gray
A. & M. College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Gray:

Thank you for your kind letter of May 24.

We are having to reprint Mr. Brazier's leaflet. Will send you 200 as soon as we can get them from the printer.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMir

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

WILLIAM H. GRAY JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 24, 1947

RECEIVED
MAY 26 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is to thank you for the data pertaining to services available for Negro Veterans in Florida. It was a pleasure for us to be able to render some small service in making this information available.

Ours will be a constant job of attempting to devise ways and means of seeing that the vast store of human and natural resources of this region are fully utilized.

We should like to have more copies of the very descriptive article prepared by Mr. Brazier. I am sure that data of this kind will make us all more cognizant of the things that need our attention.

Sincerely yours,

Wm. H. Gray, Jr.

WHG:lbh

at least 200 copies if available

June 11, 1947

Mr. William H. Gray, Jr., President
The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Gray:

We are most grateful for your kind words about the Florida survey.

Most of our news out of Florida continues to be encouraging rather than otherwise.

We will send you a couple of hundred copies of the survey as soon as they come in from the printer.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

WILLIAM H. GRAY JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 7, 1947

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Goergia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have just had the occasion to complete a reading of the survey made by Mr. Brazier here in the state of Florida. It is my feeling that the survey is comprehensive in its over-all coverage of the provisions made for integrating Negro veterans in the post war readjustment services provided in the state.

There are indications that Florida has the opportunity to be a pioneer in improving these services having had two of its major cities show the way in handling of the state employment service. It remains to be seen if the self imposed guarantees of continued retardation will be perpetuated through the wanton disregard of the progress being made by liberal and progressive groups throughout the south, or if leaders will refuse to remain shackled by the groundless fears and superstitions that have plagued those who would utilize all the natural and human resources of the romantic south.

In recent months Florida has shown in education that it is willing to face its obligations to all of its citizens. The recommendations made in reference to other agencies and services for veterans in the state remain as a challenge to the leaders of this great commonwealth.

Continued dissemination of information such as this will make the task of education easier to accomplish. It is our hope that work of this kind can continue to improve in effectiveness, in this area where it is so badly needed.

Accept my best wishes for your continued success.

Sincerely yours,

Wm. H. Gray, Jr.

WHG:lbh

13 - Gray, William H.

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

WILLIAM H. GRAY JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

March 15, 1948

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

(for enclosure - see material filed under "10 - Education, Negro")

DEPARTMENT OF RECORDS
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We are enclosing herewith a copy of the program of the Sixtieth Founders Day Celebration held at the Florida A. and M. College recently, including a symposium on "Supervision in Negro Schools," honoring Mr. D. E. Williams, who for twenty years has served as Supervisor of Negro Education in Florida. Through this project, the institution attempted not only to honor Mr. Williams but to provide an enriched learning experience for our students and to reaffirm their faith in the worth and service of these sincere and Christian individuals. In this latter connection, we have felt that in a period of unrest and increasing suspicion between races, a program of this type singling out the significant and sacrificial contributions which have been made by many fine spirited white persons throughout the South in behalf of the cause of Negro education, should indeed be reassuring during these times to a group of students such as ours.

The program was seemingly well received and the participants included many of the outstanding graduates of our college and outstanding educators of both races in the South who did much to make the affair constructive and worthwhile.

Sincerely yours,

Wm H Gray Jr

Wm. H. Gray, Jr.

WHG:acbb

Enclosure

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

For Negroes

WILLIAM H. GRAY JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Go Gray

June 3, 1948

RECEIVED
JUN 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Please forgive me for not having responded to the message which you left with our secretary. She conveyed the information to me and I had really been trying to find someone capable of doing the job which is needed there at Penn School. I am making another special effort in this matter and I hope that within the next week I will be able to report something to you.

Respectfully yours,

Wm. H. Gray, Jr.

WHG:acbb

13 - Gray, Wm. H.

June 29, 1948

Mr. William H. Gray, President
Florida Agricultural and
Mechanical College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Gray:

At my request you very kindly supplied me with the name of a man you deemed suitable to be considered for the job at St. Helena Island. I sent his name on in. Today I had word from Mr. Marion A. Wright of the Penn School Board that the State of South Carolina, in taking over the School Buildings, has required that no other educational program be conducted on the Island for one year.

This, therefore, postpones filling the place in community education.

Mr. Wright tells me that your suggestion will be kept for possible use at such time as the School is in a position to go forward with its program.

I am most grateful for your ready help in this matter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

13 - Gray, Wm. H

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

WILLIAM H. GRAY JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

August 22, 1948

RECEIVED
AUG 23 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Please pardon our failure to acknowledge your recent recommendations.

We have been beseiged by a series of serious and urgent problems and it has been practically impossible for me to turn my attention away from some of our institutional routine long enough to give proper attention to the work of the Council. I hope to be able to give some attention to these matters within the next few days and let you hear from me.

Sincerely yours,

Wm. H. Gray Jr.

Wm. H. Gray, Jr.

WHG/f

13 - Gray, Wm. H.

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

For Negroes

WILLIAM H. GRAY JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 13, 1948

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We have noted an error in our letter of August 22 addressed to you. We are enclosing a corrected copy of the letter and are asking that you kindly substitute it in your files.

Sincerely yours,

Wm. H. Gray, Jr.

WHG:aeb

Enclosure

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

WILLIAM H. GRAY JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

August 22, 1948

RECEIVED
AUG 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Please pardon our failure to acknowledge your recent communication.

We have been beseiged by a series of serious and urgent problems and it has been practically impossible for me to turn my attention away from some of our institutional routine long enough to give proper attention to the work of the Council. I hope to be able to give some attention to these matters within the next few days and let you hear from me.

Sincerely yours,

Wm. H. Gray, Jr.

WHG/f

November 3, 1948

Dr. William H. Gray
Florida A. & M. College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Gray:

It has just come to my attention that Dr. Ira DeA. Reid has moved out of the region. This, of course, disqualifies him as a member of the Board of Directors, since members dwelling outside the region can, according to the by-laws, only be associates, without the privilege to vote. This creates therefore, an additional vacancy on the Board to be filled by your committee.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKay
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

CC Mr. Blanton
Mrs. Heyman
Mrs. Young
Dr. Dodge
Miss Noll

October 28, 1948

Dr. William H. Gray, President
Florida A. & M. College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Gray:

As the time of the annual meeting draws near, it becomes my very pleasant duty to provide such information as I can to assist you and your committee on nominations for the board of directors of the Council.

I am therefore enclosing for your convenience a list of board members classified by year of term-expiration, together with an attendance record for the class of 1948 whose terms expire at the coming meeting. All are eligible for reelection to another term of four years. The suggestion was recently made, however, at a meeting of the Executive Committee, that reelection of board members ought to be conditioned on evidence of active interest in the Council as shown either by attendance at board meetings, or by other factors.

With this in mind, we have prepared the attached attendance record which is based on minutes for the meetings indicated. May I note, in this connection, that among those who appear never to have attended a meeting, that Mr. Jacob Reddix of Jackson College performs valuable services for the Council from time to time in Mississippi, and that Mr. Edgar Stern donates a minimum of $250 each year to the Council? And that Mr. O. D. Duncan, also, of the Oklahoma A & M College, in his visits to the Council offices, has expressed his interest, and his readiness to help at any time in Oklahoma?

A proposal will be made at the coming meeting that, in addition to State Division Heads who were elected to ex-officio board membership last year, Chairmen of closely affiliated Interracial Committees, and others deemed to be closely enough related, also be elected to ex-officio membership. If favorably received by the membership, such a ruling would confer ex-officio board membership on Dr. R. L. Russell of the class of 1948, and other non-board members such as Mrs. James L. Coate, Chairman of the Texas Interracial Committee, the Rev. Leon Russell, Chairman of the North Carolina Interracial Committee, and Mr. John M. Ellison, Chairman of the Department of Interracial Cooperation of the Virginia Council of Churches.

Unexpired terms to be filled by your committee are those of Rabbi Stanley Rabb who has left the Region, and Mr. Ernest Dalpit who has been dropped for non-payment of dues since 1965. Both are of the class of 1969.

May I also pass on to your committee names of suggested nominees which have been given to us variously by members of the board and of the executive committee? These are as follows:

Mr. Mark Ethridge, Editor, Courier-Journal & Times, Louisville, Ky.
Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, Corp. Executive, Charlottesville, Va.
Mr. E. W. Palmer, Pres. Kingsport Press, Kingsport, Tennessee
Dr. Arthur Raper, Dept. of Ag. Economist, Box 72, Rt-2, Vienna, Va.
Judge J. Waties Waring, 61 Meeting St., Charleston, S. C.
Mr. Jonathan Daniels, Editor, Raleigh News & Observer, Raleigh, N.C.
Dr. Harry V. Richardson, Pres. Gammon Theological Sem., Atlanta, Ga.
President Clyde Milner, Guilford College, Guilford, N. C.

Of this list, only Mr. Mark Ethridge and Dr. Arthur Raper are currently members of the Council.

Copy of this letter, with all enclosures, is being sent to all members of your committee, including Dr. Mildred Mell, Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Georgia, who is alternate for Dr. Witherspoon Dodge. Please let us hear from you if we can be of any further help. Should you and your committee wish to be together during the luncheon hour on the day of the meeting, I think that could be arranged.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McNeg
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosures

CC - to Mr. J. E. Blanton
Mrs. Josephine Heyman
Mrs. Hortense Young
Dr. Witherspoon Dodge
Dr. Mildred Mell.

ATTENDANCE RECORD BOARD OF DIRECTORS CLASS OF 1948 1/

	1944	1945	1946	1947
Alexander, Will W., Formerly Executive Director of The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Formerly Vice-President of Julius Rosenwald Fund. Charter Member.	p p p	p p p	- -	p p
Clingman, Charles, Episcopal Bishop, Kentucky Diocese, Signed the Atlanta Statement.	- - -	- - -	- -	- -
Dabney, Virginius, Editor, Times-Dispatch Signed Atlanta and Richmond Statements	p - p	- p p	p p	- -
Duncan, O. D., Professor of Sociology and Rural Life, Oklahoma A. & M. College	- - -	- - -	- -	- -
Goode, H. D., Dentist, Pensacola, Fla.	- - -	p - -	- -	- -
Johnson, Charles S.*, President, Fisk Univ. Incorporator of the Council, Chairman of the Executive Committee	p p -	p p p	- -	- -
Looby, Z. A., Attorney, Nashville, Tennessee Charter Member	- - -	- - -	- -	- -
Mays, Benjamin E., President, Morehouse College, Charter Member	p p p	p - p	- p	p p
Newbold, N.C., Director of Negro Education, Raleigh, N.C., Signed Atlanta Statement, Charter Member.	- p p	p p p	p p	p p
Odum, Howard W., Professor of Sociology, University of N.C. Signed Atlanta Statement, Formerly president of SRC	- p p	p p -	- -	- -
Reddix, Jacob L. President, Jackson College Jackson, Mississippi	* - -	- - -	- -	- -
Russell, R. L., Director of Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, Signed the Atlanta, Statement,	p p -	- - -	- -	- -
Staples, Thomas S., Dean of Hendrix College Conway, Arkansas	- - -	- - -	- -	- -
Stern, Edgar B., Cotton Factor, New Orleans Louisiana	- - -	- - -	- -	- -
Strong, Mrs. A.M.P., Formerly President National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers.	- - -	- - -	- -	- -
Stuart, J.C., Physician, Columbia, S.C. Charter Member	- - -	- - -	- -	- -
Sytz, Miss Florence, Professor of Social Work New Orleans, La.	- - p	p p -	- -	- -

* Member Executive Committee of the Board

1/ All eligible for re-election to a second four - year term

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

President *
Paul Williams
Richmond

First Vice-President *
P. B. Young, Norfolk

Guy B. Johnson, Chapel Hill
Second Vice-President *

Third Vice-President *
Carter Wesley, Houston

Fourth Vice-President *
Harold L. Trigg, Raleigh

Counsel
Leonard Haas
Atlanta

Executives

Executive Director *
George S. Mitchell

Associate Executive Director *
_____ 1/

Secretary-Treasurer
(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy

STATE DIVISION HEADS 2/

Dr. A. D. Beittel, Chairman
Alabama State Division, SRC

Mr. J. M. Dabbs, Chairman 3/
South Carolina State Division, SRC.

Mr. J. M. Tydings, Chairman 3/
Kentucky State Division, SRC

Mr. Edgar Ray, Chairman 3/
Florida State Division, SRC

Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer, Chairman
Mississippi State Division, SRC

Mr. Alfred Nynders, Chairman
Tennessee State Division, SRC

* Ex-Officio members of the Board of Directors, and of the Executive Committee of the Board

1/ Vacancy created by the resignation of Dr. Harold L. Trigg. The Executive Director has recommended to the Executive Committee that this office remain vacant until a suitable person may be found to fill the position.

2/ Voted Ex-Officio members of the Board of Directors at annual meeting, November 12, 1947.

3/ Are elected members of the Board of Directors, also.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Class of 1948 1/

Will W. Alexander
Charles Clingman
Virginius Dabney
O. D. Duncan
H. D. Goode
Charles S. Johnson *
Z. A. Looby
Benjamin E. Mays
N. C. Newbold
Howard W. Odum
Jacob L. Reddix
R. L. Russell
Thomas S. Staples
Edgar B. Stern
Mrs. A. M. P. Strong
J. G. Stuart
Florence Syts

Class of 1949

Stanley Brav
Mrs. C. Hawkins Brown
Hodding Carter
Rufus E. Clement
R. P. Daniel
Ernest Delpit
W. H. Murmion 2/
John A. Griffin
Leonard Haas *
Jacob R. Henderson
Maynard Jackson
Armand May
E. A. McDowell
L. D. Milton
Alfred Nynders
C. H. Parrish
F. D. Patterson
Edwin A. Peniek
John G. Pollard, Jr.
G. D. Rogers
J. W. Seabrook
Mrs. Eugene Spearman
J. M. Tydings
Forrester B. Washington
Aubrey Williams
Marion A. Wright
Mrs. Warren Zouch

* Member Executive Committee of the Board
1/ All eligible for re-election to a second four-year term
2/ Elected Nov. 1947 to fill unexpired term of F. H. Mason

Colorado Springs Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

Class of 1950

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames 1/
Rufus B. Atwood 1/
Louis E. Burnham 1/
Felton Clark
Miss Emily Clay
William E. Cole 1/
Luther P. Jackson 1/
Louis I. Jaffe 1/
David D. Jones 1/
Gerald P. O'Hara 1/
D. V. Jemison 1/
Raymond Paty 1/
Edward Ray
Ira De A. Reid 1/
Philip H. Shulhafer 1/
Goodrich C. White 1/
Josephine Wilkins 1/ *

Class of 1951

Wilson M. Brown 2/
J. M. Dabbs
A. W. Dent 2/
Clark Foreman 2/
Charles H. Gillman 2/
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton 2/
Gordon B. Hancock 2/ *
T. James McNamara 2/ *
Arthur J. Moore 2/
Mrs. W. H. Ratliff
John M. Wheeler 2/

1/ Second term - not eligible for re-election to consecutive term in 1950
2/ " " " " " " " " " " 1951

* Member Executive Committee of the Board of Directors

ATTENDANCE RECORD

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CLASS OF 1948 1/

	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
Will W. Alexander	P P P	P P P	- -	P P			
Charles Clingman	- - -	- - -	- -	- -			
Virginius Dabney	P - P	- P P	P P	- -			
C. D. Duncan	- - -	- - -	- -	- -			
H. D. Goode	- - -	P - -	- -	- -			
Charles S. Johnson*	P P -	P P P	- -	- -			
Z. A. Looby	- - -	- - -	- -	- -			
Benjamin E. Mays	P P P	P - P	- P	P P			
N. C. Newbold	- - P	P P P	P P	P P			
Howard W. Odum	- P P	P P -	- -	- -			
Jacob L. Reddix	- - -	- - -	- -	- -			
R. L. Russell	P P -	- - -	- -	- -			
Thomas S. Staples	- - -	- - -	- -	- -			
Edgar B. Stern	- - -	- - -	- -	- -			
Mrs. A. M. P. Strong	- - -	- - -	- -	- -			
J. G. Stuart	- - -	- - -	- -	- -			
Miss Florence Syts	- - P	P - -	- -	- -			

* Member Executive Committee of the Board

1/ All eligible for re-election to a second four-year term

Standing Nominating Committee: FOR NOMINATION OF MEMBERS OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS

December 8, 1947

Dr. William R. Gray
Florida A. & M. College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Gray:

It gives me much pleasure to advise you of your election, at the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council on November 12th, as Chairman of the Standing Nominating Committee of 1948 for the nomination of members of the Board of Directors at the next annual meeting. Other members of the Committee are as follows:

J. E. Blanton, R. F. D. 1, Box 99, Cardona, Orangeburg, S. C.
Mrs. Josephine Heyman, 3860 Vermont Road N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
Mrs. Hortense Young, c/o Louisville Defender, 418 South 5th St., Louisville, Kentucky
Dr. Witherspoon Dodge, Hampton Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia

We are very happy to welcome you as member and Chairman of this important Committee and trust most sincerely that you will find it possible to serve. For your information we are attaching a list of the Board of Directors, including those whose terms expire with the next meeting. Please do not hesitate to write us whenever we can be of service.

With every good wish for the holidays and for the year that follows, I am

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

AM:ee

13 — Gray, Wm. H.

April 11, 1949

President William H. Gray, Jr.
Florida A & M College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Gray:

I am afraid the language I used in sending out the few copies of the article about Mr. Spaulding was loose. We had some scores only here, and I wanted to get out those on hand.

I shouldn't be a bit surprised but what Mr. J. H. Wheeler, of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, has considerable stacks. I have written him and told him that you could use up to a thousand more, and that I am leaving to him the matter of getting so many as he can to you.

That was generous of you, and I do hope that Mr. Wheeler will have enough to at least partly take up your good offer.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

13—Gray, William

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

WILLIAM H. GRAY, JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 19, 1949

Mr. George S Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks for your letter of April 11, and for your kindness in writing Mr. J H Wheeler, of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina. We have today received a large package containing the article by Mr. Spaulding. We shall promptly distribute these among our faculty and students.

Again with thanks to you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Wm. H. Gray, Jr.

WHG:acbb

RECEIVED
APR 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

13-Gray, William H

April 22, 1949

President William H. Gray
Florida A & M College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Gray:

I thought maybe you could help us get into circulation some extra copies of the new leaflet about the Council, so I am sending you 25 of them.

(punch)

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

13 - Gray, Wm H.

T, Cac

June 23, 1949

Mr. William H. Gray, Jr.
President, Florida Agricultural
And Mechanical College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Gray:

Your letter of the 12th, addressed to Mr. Paul Williams, is being sent on to him at Richmond, but , may I thank you for the check which you so generoulsy enclosed? Every gift, as you know, is of the greatest help to us, and we are most appreciative.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:we

13- Gray, William H.

July 11, 1949

Dr. William H. Gray
A & M College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Gray:

Mrs. Havens has sent me a brief news dispatch announcing your resignation.

I know nothing of the steps that led to your decision, but I should like to assure you in a time of stress of my own and the Council's very high esteem for your integrity and ability.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

File

August 8, 1944

Dear Johnny:

Many thanks for your note and the clipping.
I'm mighty glad you liked my story.

Sincerely,

Mr. John A. Griffin
Room 1, Old Shop Building
Georgia School of Technology
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGIA SCHOOL OF TECHNOLOGY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RADIO COMMITTEE

Thursday

Dear Maggie —

Your story is swell!
Here's an extra copy.

Yours.
John A. Griffin

Room 1,
Old Shop Bldg —

EMORY UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

November 9, 1944

Dear Dr. Reid:

Indeed your exhibit, "The Races of Mankind," deserves a very wide showing. When I saw it the other night out at the University, it was my feeling that it would be very useful to have as many people as possible to see this excellent presentation.

Since receiving your letter in which you offer the exhibit to Emory for use here, I have talked with several members of the faculty and with the President about borrowing the exhibit. I regret very much that the decision is that it is hardly feasible for us to avail ourselves of the exhibit at this time.

It may be just as well that for the moment we cannot use the exhibit out here, since the number of persons who would see it here would be limited. A more readily accessible place would probably be better.

I wish to thank you again for the opportunity to hear the speakers addressing your sociology seminar. And I should like to hear others in the series if I may.

Again I regret that I have not been able to arrange for the showing of the exhibit on the campus.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin

John A. Griffin

Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

EMORY UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

April 6, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Thank you very much for your note and for your program. I shall pass it around here. It looks good to me!

Don't forget the film if you need it.

Sincerely,

John A.

John A. Griffin

JAG:MLH

EMORY UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

December 2, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I must apologize for the long delay in answering your letter of November 17 concerning the Council's Committee on Public Relations. Since I have moved to my father's my mail frequently gets lost over on Fourth Street.

Concerning the committee job, I wish to get you to excuse me. This new place at Emory has had me snowed under, and I find myself with more jobs here than I can possibly handle properly. Later perhaps I will have my feet on the ground and the pattern here worked out a little more carefully than it is at the present time.

Several days ago I wrote to Bob Schofield, who is now a director of the March of Time, and requested that he send a sixteen millimeter print of "Americans All" to me in order that it could be shown to several persons here, including you and others in the Council. I have not heard whether or not Bob will be able to get the print for me. If it is available you are welcome to use it on December 6 or at such other time as you choose. Miss Clay tells me that there is a sixteen millimeter sound projector available--out at Atlanta University, I believe.

I hope that I shall be able to get to the meeting on December 6 for at least a few minutes, but because of the work here I can only attend a part of the sessions.

Thank you for thinking about me and please forgive me this time.

Sincerely,

John

John A. Griffin

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAG:MLH

Extra copy

Excerpt from letter of Harold M. Matthews

to Guy B. Johnson

July 19, 1945

Your mentioning the possibility of teaching interests me. I am enclosing, as I promised, an outline of my training and experience in case you should find use for it in talking to people about jobs or should otherwise want to refer to it. It is pretty sketchy, but I will be glad to elaborate on any part of it or supply references in connection with the consideration of a particular job. As I told you my plans to get into something different is still a confidential matter. I do not want this to get back to my board or staff until I am ready to make a more definite announcement. My head social worker knows it and one board member, but no one else.

Of course I have had some experience in teaching and a great deal of experience in talking to groups about social problems. I enjoy teaching and talking to groups. I like to write and I like to read and do research work. I probably do not know much about general university routine, but perhaps could learn it soon.

There are certain subjects I believe I could teach readily, such as:

History of child welfare.
Present day problems of child welfare.
History of the family.
Modern problems of the family.
Effect of industry on family life.
Public Welfare.
Social welfare administration.
Social welfare organization.
Community organization.
Social legislation.
Basic principles and philosophy of case work.
Social surveys or research.
Criminology.
Poverty, unemployment, etc.
Social psychology and behavior problems.
Child labor and women in industry.
History of social institutions.
Modern day institutions, their use, administration, etc.
Juvenile delinquency.
History of courts and law as related to social problems.

I think I could be of value to a university in maintaining contacts with the community and state in which it was located, help the sociology department be of live and practical value to people and social agencies, and preparing students for going into schools of social work. If a sociology department is interested in doing such things I believe I could fit into it, if not I doubt that I would be helpful or even very deeply interested. Of course I have had a good deal of administrative experience and I like and get along well with people.

I could be of help in an advisory capacity to institutions and agencies or in arranging short courses for their staffs. I wouldn't undertake to teach a highly technical course in family case work nor the heavier, more theoretical sociological courses.

If the compensation for a university job was not up to what I feel I should have, I wonder if it would be possible to hold a part time social work job in the community? this might be of value to the school too.

I feel that I have had my share of the actual "laying on of hands" of social work and hope to get into something more along the line of organization or education, something that would permit me to do a little thinking and writing on the subjects I am so deeply interested in and feel that I know something about. I have certainly had 23 years of rich experience in many social problems.

I have sought all these years to see social problems from an academic and scientific viewpoint and not get lost in the forest of details. I have had my staff collect a library of material pertaining directly and indirectly to their work, do a great deal of reading and we have two staff meetings a month to report on books and papers and to discuss general problems in order to keep a good balance and to develop in the work. We have had a good many staff members go on to quite important jobs in the state and nation and to go back to school for additional education.

August 14, 1945

Mr. John A. Griffin
Assistant to the President
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Griffin:

I have been out of town for a week, else I would have replied at once to your letter of August 4th.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter from Harold J. Matthews and a memorandum concerning his training and experience for the attention of Dean Purks. Please ask Dean Purks to treat this material as confidential and to return it to me as soon as he is finished with it.

Sincerely,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director.

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

EMORY UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

August 4, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Concerning Harold J. Matthews, whom you were good enough to call me about recently, let me say that I have talked with the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and he tells me that the place in sociology has not yet been filled. Because of the uncertainty concerning the fall enrollment, the place may not be filled immediately. Thus it would seem appropriate to have you send me at your convenience full information about Mr. Matthews for the attention of Dean Purks. I shall be happy to pass this on to Dean Purks and to talk to him about Mr. Matthews. However, it is my feeling that because of the various uncertainties that no immediate steps are contemplated in filling this place.

Again let me thank you for calling this name to our attention.

Sincerely,

John A.

John A. Griffin
Assistant to the President

JAG:MLH

July 19, 1945

2212 Wroxton Road,
Houston 5, Texas.

Dear Guy:

We were certainly pleased over the opportunity to visit with you last week. Grace and I both hope you will do it again and that your family might be with you on one of those trips so we can see them too.

Your mentioning the possibility of teaching interests me. I am enclosing, as I promised, an outline of my training and experience in case you should find use for it in talking to people about jobs or should otherwise want to refer to it. It is pretty sketchy, but I will be glad to elaborate on any part of it or supply references in connection with the consideration of a particular job. As I told you my plans to get into something different is still a confidential matter. I do not want this to get back to my board or staff until I am ready to make a more definite announcement. My head social worker knows it and one board member, but no one else.

Of course I have had some experience in teaching and a great deal of experience in talking to groups about social problems. I enjoy teaching and talking to groups. I like to write and I like to read and do research work. I probably do not know much about general university routine, but perhaps could learn it soon.

There are certain subjects I believe I could teach readily, such as:

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Present day problems of child welfare.
History of the family.
Modern problems of the family.
Effect of industry on family life.
Public Welfare.
Social welfare administration.
Social welfare organization.
Community organization.
Social legislation.
Basic principles and philosophy of case work.
Social surveys or research.
Criminology.
Poverty, unemployment, etc.
Social psychology and behavior problems.
Child labor and women in industry.
History of social institutions.
Modern day institutions, their use, administration, etc.
Juvenile delinquency.
History of courts and law as related to social problems.

I think I could be of value to a university in maintaining contacts with the community and state in which it was located, help the sociology department be of live and practical value to people and social agencies, and preparing students for going into schools of social work. If a sociology department is interested in doing such things I believe I could fit into it, if not I doubt that I would be helpful or even very deeply interested. Of course I have had a good deal of administrative experience and I like and get along well with people.

I could be of help in an advisory capacity to institutions and agencies or in arranging short courses for their staffs. I wouldn't undertake to teach a highly technical course in family case work nor the heavier, more theoretical sociological courses.

If the compensation for a university job was not up to what I feel I should have, I wonder if it would be possible to hold a part time social work job in the community? this might be of value to the school too.

I feel that I have had my share of the actual "laying on of hands" of social work and hope to get into something more along the line of organization or education, something that would permit me to do a little thinking and writing on the subjects I am so deeply interested in and feel that I know something about. I have certainly had 23 years of rich experience in many social problems.

I have sought all these years to see social problems from an academic and scientific viewpoint and not get lost in the forest of details. I have had my staff collect a library of material pertaining directly and indirectly to their work, do a great deal of reading and we have two staff meetings a month to report on books and papers and to discuss general problems in order to keep a good balance and to develop in the work. We have had a good many staff members go on to quite important jobs in the state and nation and to go back to school for additional education.

Looking forward to seeing you again before too much water has gone under the bridge, I am

Cordially

Harold J. Matthews

Harold J. Matthews

OUTLINE OF TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE
July 17, 1945.

Name: Harold J. Matthews

Address: 2212 Wroxton Road,
Houston 5, Texas.

Birthplace: Waco, Texas

Telephone: Lehigh 5902.

Birthdate: July 6, 1897.

Marital status: Married, two sons.

Citizenship: United States.

Race: White.

Religion: Baptist.

Membership in Professional Organizations:

American Association of Social Workers.

Education:

Baylor University, Waco, Texas, A. B. 1921. (Sociology)

University of Kansas, Lawrence, A. M. 1922. (Sociology and Social Work.)
New York School of Social Work, Summer Session, 1926. Full time field work with Charity Organization Society, Along with four hours of class work in Case Work at the school.

Several special short courses in case work, child welfare, psychiatry, etc.

Experience:

June, 1922 to April, 1924. Superintendent of Public Welfare of Cole County, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Duties: Family case work, Probation Officer for Jevenile Court and community organization. Was first to hold this job under the provisions of a new state law, worked closely with the State Board of Charities and Corrections to demonstrate county welfare units. Salary $2,120.00.

April, 1924 to July, 1928. Director of Division of County Organization of the Georgia State Department of Public Welfare.

Duties: Supervision of county welfare workers and probation officers, stimulation and organization of counties for welfare work and improved juvenile court work, surveys and collection of material pertaining to social conditions in the state, inspection of certain county institutions, aided with improvement of social legislation. The department was young and I was the first person to hold this position. Salary $2,700.00.

July, 1928 to December, 1930. Executive Secretary, Missouri Conference of Social Welfare. Office at the University of Missouri, Columbia.

Duties: Responsible for general State Conference activities, state and district meetings, etc., stimulation of improved county social work programs, collection and distribution of information pertaining to social conditions in the state, aided in improvement of social legislation, state information center on resources and the like. Work was done partly under sponsorship of Rural Sociology Department of the State University, its extension work and training courses. Salary $3300.

January, 1931 to present. Executive Secretary, De Pelchin Faith Home and Children's Bureau, Houston, Texas.

Duties: Administration of entire agency and all its departments and branches, including an institution, a large foster home program, protective work, adoption work; employment and supervision of a large staff of case workers, nurses, institutional people and others. Directly responsible to the board of directors. Salary $5420.

Only a couple of years prior to my coming, this agency had been expanded from an ordinary orphanage into a general child caring and placing agency. While this change had already been negotiated and some progress made, most of the development as planned and recommended by the Child Welfare League of America has taken place during my administration. I am not claiming all the credit for the progress made, for we have had good leadership and generous support, but I had a good deal to do with it and it has been an interesting and enriching experience.

During the years I have been here as Executive Secretary of the De Pelchin Faith Home and Children's Bureau, it went from an annual budget of $84,000 to one of over $250,000; from a case work staff of 4 to one of 25; from giving no service to Negro children to an outstanding program for them, well staffed and financed; from an ancient congregate type of building for our institution to a new, modern, cottage-type of plant of ten buildings on a campus of 12 acres; from no reserve funds to a reserve of several hundred thousand dollars; from a foster home program for only 30 children to one for 500 children; from being an unknown agency to one written about in national magazines and to being a member of the Child Welfare League of America; development of good personnel standards, purchase and development of a farm-camp for underprivileged children, and many other interesting changes for the improvement of services to children.

This position has involved the employment, supervision and development of a staff of 75 people, all professionally trained where necessary; the spending of large sums of money; planning annual budgets; public relations; the handling of a certain amount of real estate; planning new buildings; cooperation with other social agencies and state departments.

Since it has been the most outstanding agency of its kind in the state, it has meant that we have had to take the leadership in the promotion of improved state programs for children and allied fields, of improved social legislation, securing personnel for new state programs and to some extent help with the improvement of other local programs.

Publications, other activities, etc:

While in Baylor University was student assistant in the Department of Sociology, taught beginning classes, etc.

Was granted a teaching fellowship by the University of Kansas, Department of Sociology. Masters thesis was given a ten page summary in the sociology journal of the University of Southern California.

Won second prize in a national contest put on by the Harmon Foundation in 1929 for article on social work for popular reading. My article, "Are Old People Human?"

Have had numerous articles on child welfare, community organization, juvenile delinquency, etc., published in sociology, social work and popular magazines and papers.

Have had published in Esquire, Prairie S hooner, Decade, etc., stories (fiction) of social significance. One story cited by the O'Brien anthology as being distinctive.

Had a biography, "Candle By Night," published by Bruce Humphries, Inc., Boston, Spring, 1942.

Had a novel, "River Bottom Boy," published by Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, Autumn, 1942.

Vice President of the Missouri Conference of Social Welfare one year.

Secretary-treasurer of the Texas Welfare Association one year.

President of the Texas Welfare Association three years.

Helped organize the Southeast Texas Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers and was chairman one year.

Lecturer on public welfare problems for Atlanta School of Social Work, 1926-1927.

Taught an institute on child welfare at the state convention of Texas Welfare Assn., 1933.

Taught an eight day course on child welfare at a special institute for public welfare workers of Texas and Louisiana, 1934.

Taught an institute for staffs of children's institutions at the Georgia State Confernece, 1944.

Have been a member of various regional committees of the Child Welfare League of America.

Member of the board of Bureau of Mental Hygience, Houston, for about eight years.

Member of the Executive Comm ittee of the Council of Social Agencies (Houston) three years.

Member of the Advisory Committee of the Federal Children's Bureau since March, 1944.

Have helped write and promote legislation to improve public and child welfare laws in Georgia, Missouri and Texas.

Have participated in a great many radio programs, both as speaker and writer of script.

Was in the army during World War I, first in Medical Corps, then in Machine Gun Officers Training School, Camp Hancock, Ga.

EMORY UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

November 30, 1945

RECEIVED
DEC 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I wish to acknowledge your letter informing me that the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council has elected me to membership on the Board. I am most pleasantly surprised and flattered to be asked to serve with you and your distinguished colleagues in the Council. Although I feel that I have made no contribution to the Council to justify my membership on the Board, I am most happy to accept if in your judgment I can be useful. Personally it will be a pleasure to have good reason to see you more frequently.

Sincerely,

John

John A. Griffin

JAG:MLH

SRC Board Membership

November 20, 1945

Mr. John Griffin
Emory University
Georgia

Dear Mr. Griffin:

It is my pleasure to inform you that at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council on November 14, you were elected to membership on the Board for a term of four years. I sincerely hope that you will accept this election and that you will give the Council the benefit of your wisdom as a member of its Board of Directors.

For your information the Board holds two regular meetings annually. One of these is held on the day preceding the annual meeting of members and the other is held immediately on the adjournment of the annual meeting. The time of the annual meeting is the second Wednesday in November. Special meetings of the Board may be called from time to time. The Council bears expenses of Board members when they attend meetings.

Again let me say that we hope that you will accept service on the Board of Directors. May we hear from you soon.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:MS

March 7, 1947

Mr. John A. Griffin
Assistant to the President
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Mr. Griffin:

Many thinks for the copy of the "style book" which I have received, and also for suggesting Mott's Outline Survey of Journalism.

I am enclosing a check for $1.25. Would you kindly route it to the proper person with the request that the Outline be sent to me.

Pardon me for imposing on your good nature with this detail, but I do not know anybody else there.

With kindest good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:mp

EMORY UNIVERSITY

EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

February 26, 1947

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

Dr. Nixon says that Mott's Outline Survey of Journalism, which may be obtained for $1.00 from the Emory University Bookstore, is the best general text for the money. He has mailed to you a style book, which I referred to earlier.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin

John A. Griffin
Assistant to the President

JAG:bm

Deskbook of the School of Journalism

Raymond Nixon.

EMORY UNIVERSITY

EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

March 15, 1947

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

File

Mr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Trigg:

I am sorry for the delay in getting a copy of Mott's book for you, but it is being mailed today. I presume you have already received the style sheet.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin

John A. Griffin
Assistant to the President

JAG:bm

December 4, 1947

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

It is with much pleasure that I perform my task of announcing to you your unanimous reelection as member of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council by that body at its meeting on November 12th.

This recognition of the high service which you have so earnestly and unselfishly performed in behalf of the Council is especially pleasing to staff members who have had the privilege of working with you and so know at first hand the fine talents which you have brought to your task.

With every good wish for the holidays, and for the year that follows, I am

Most sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:EE

G-
Griffin, John

January 30, 1948

TO: Mrs. Agnes McKoy

FROM: George S. Mitchell

John Griffin called today. Three items:

1. It sticks in his mind that he owes the Council some money for some literature which he once ordered for use in some class. If so, he would like to pay for it.

2. As he is leaving the state, he wishes to pay up Council dues for 1948. He will be leaving Wednesday of next week. If you could get him billed by Monday, he would pay up.

3. He is on the Nominating Committee. His recollection coincides with Forrester Washington's recollection that the fourth member was not Mrs. Spearman but was Grace Hamilton. He would like that checked. I told him I didn't know how to check it because the minutes reflected Spearman and that I thought that the minutes reflected that Grace Hamilton

was alternate. He said check with Grace. He said "What to do?".

I got no sense of reluctance to serve with Spearman, whom he scarcely recalled. If he has a motive other than literalness, it would be courtesy to Mrs. Hamilton.

Griffin, John

February 2, 1948

TO: GSM

FROM: GSM

Johnny Griffin called four or five days before he went off to Wisconsin. He will get in touch with Carl Whittaker, Associate Professor of Psychology at Emory, office at Grady Hospital, and smoothe path for me to discuss sex crime matters with him. Whittaker very good guy.

Important: Johnny shyly suggests that maybe it was something he could work on himself as he has a doctoral dissertation to do.

Geo
Griffin file

May 7, 1948

Dear John:

I have written to Bob Weaver and sent him ten dollars of mine and asked him to send me for you two more tickets which, if received, I shall send on to you with a bill for ten bucks.

I talked with your Emory psychiatrist, who was helpful and full of ideas. I suppose it is my duty to go and see him at Grady and explore the matter further. He thought that Federal money might be found for the kind of study we had in mind. I will see him again.

No chance of bringing Alice. No spondulicks, no baby sitters, etc.

We greatly miss you and Wally.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Mr. John A. Griffin
2321 Rugby Row
Madison, Wisconsin

RECEIVED
MAY 4 1948
Southern Regional Council

2321 Rugby Row
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear George;

Here is a further letter about the Rosenwald business in Late May.

Wally and I have wondered about the possibility that Alice might come along to Chicago with you. It occurred to us that she might be planning to or might be open to such a suggestion--so we hereby make it.

We thought it would be so very nice yo see you two in Chicago and that we would like so much to have you come on up to Madison to spend the weekend with us. How about it?

Another thing about the Rosenwald finale is the question--Can you get for me two more tickets? I would like to invited Professor and Mrs. Thomas C. McCormick. He is a native southerner and professor and chairman of the department of Sociology--teaches an excellent course in minority problems, etc. I'll send along the ten dollars if you can manage the extra tickets.

I'm glad that you accepted the invitation signed by Grady Clay to participate in our conference on June 11, 12, 13 (actually Friday night through Sunday morning) on southern problems. You'll hear from Clay in a few more days--he hadn'st seen your letter until I carried it to him last Sunday en route to Madison--thus you did not get any response to your statement that you were to be in Louisville, Ky,, about four weeks ago.

We'll be happy to see you and Alice. If she can't come, we'll count on you. But make Alice come.

Sincerely,

John A.

90: Misc
Griffin

May 12, 1948

Dear John:

Here are the tickets you wanted for the Rosenwald celebration.

I paid ten dollars for them and so you owe me ten bucks when, as and if.

I look forward to seeing you and, I hope, Wally.

Sincerely,

Mr. John A. Griffin
2321 Rugby Row
Madison, Wisconsin

~~Jul~~
90 - Misc - Griffin

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 26, 1948

RECEIVED
APR 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I have been in town for a couple of days on a very hurried visit to do some work here at Emory. I am so sorry that we happened to miss, for I find that you are out of town.

I wonder if there is a possibility that you will be coming up to Chicago for the Rosenwald dinner which you apparently are supposed to sponsor. Drop us a note at:

2321 Rugby Row
Madison, Wisconsin.

I hope that Wally and I can come down to Chicago, and if we do we shall want to have a visit with you. At that time perhaps we could talk a little bit more about the project that you and I discussed in February.

Another project that has seemed to me as a possibility for you to undertake is a study of inter-racial marriage in the states where the law permits such marriage. In reading I have come across in Madison I have been struck by the fact that there are very few marriages -- even in those states where the law permits such marriages. Perhaps a pamphlet stressing these facts would serve some useful purpose -- perhaps not at all.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John A.

John A. Griffin
Assistant to the President

JAG:bm

90

May 25, 1948

Mr. John A. Griffin
2321 Rugby Row
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear John:

We are glad to send some literature.

You will get separately a package of fifty tiny leaflets and twenty bigger ones, together with a stack of our better pamphlets, of which we send only one apiece, hoping that the display will elicit at least inquiries and possibly an order or two.

I look forward to seeing you at Chicago.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

SSeparate cover: 20 Fleming pamphlets
50 SIY leaflets
1 each of Feb, Mar and Apr (Housing in the South) New South

2321 Rugby Row
Madison, Wisconsin

RECEIVED
MAY 14 1948
Southern Regional Coun

Dear George,

Thank you for your quick response to my inquiry. In enclose my check for ten dollars so you won't have to continue my deficit financing. Let me know if weaver comes through so that I can invite McCormick. By the way, did you ever get up that list of national advisers of SRC--you may remember that he is the one of the names I suggested for such a list. He is an expatriate and apparently very interested in the South. An excellent scholar and scientist with good judgment in racial problems, he will be a good man for SRC to make use of. And from what I know of the man, I think he would be glad to make some contribution to the work of a strictly southern outfit.

Wally and I regret that the shortage of spondulicks and baby sitters prevent your planning on bringing Alice to great Midwest. Wally suggests that you bring the children and they can baby sit for us.

Let's talk further about Whitaker and your pet project in Chicago or in Madison if you will please accept our invitation to come up.

In McCormick's class of seventy in problems of minority groups, I had a chance Monday to tell about the SRC. It occured to me that it would be a good chance to distribute a little of your literature about SRC and the South. So I wonder if you would like to send me a package of material about SRC etc and let me turn it over to McCormick for distribution to his class. Don't send anything that will cost the Council too much money, for there are 70 in the class. Perhaps some of those invitations to membership or descriptions of the council and its purposes, if they are not too costly.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

John A.

90 -

June 1, 1948

Mr. William H. Gray
Florida Agricultural and
Mechanical College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Gray:

Two or three weeks ago I called your office long distance and asked for your kindness in trying to think up suitable candidates for the headship of Penn School on St. Helena Island, South Carolina. Your secretary said she would bring the matter to your attention. I daresay her note has gotten lost somewhere in your many concerns.

They want a Negro person with imagination and willingness to try new things, who would conduct an adult education program on the Island and in nearby territory. The ordinary teaching work of the old School, as you know, is to be turned over to South Carolina, but money is available to work out a new and broader educational program.

The man should know some agriculture, but I take it is not to be narrowly agricultural.

I understand that salary is pretty good--$3,600 or better.

It had occurred to me that perhaps some young fellow who had shown ability in veterans' on-the-farm training would be suitable.

If you care to send me in confidence information about one or two suitable persons, I should be happy to send it on to those responsible for the selection.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

EMORY UNIVERSITY

EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
JUN 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

Go — Griffin

2321 Rugby Row
Madison, Wisconsin
June 5, 1948

Dear George,

It was surely a great pleasure to see you in Chicago last week.

Thank you too for the material on SRC which has come and been distributed.

Dr. McCormick and I willget in on Friday morning. I think we had better spend Friday night and Saturday night on the campus, but we'll be delighted to spend Sunday night with you in your bachelor hall. I'd like for McCormick to see the work of the SRC too, perhaps during the day on Friday or on Monday.

I'm counting on you participating in the conference Friday night, Saturday, and Sunday morning.

Wally sends her regards.

Sincerely,

John

13-90-Misc-
Griffin, John

November 15, 1948

Mr. John A. Griffin
837 North Maple Terrace
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear John:

I will get to Madison sometime late Saturday afternoon, November 20, and shall have to leave in time to get back to Chicago for a four o'clock southbound train on Sunday, the 21st.

I hereby take you up on the offer of a bed for Saturday night.

I don't know anything about trains from Chicago to Madison, but assume I can deposit myself at your Madison doorstep by 5:30 P.M. Saturday.

I look forward to this visit.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

13-90-misc-
Griffin, John

November 23, 1948

Mr. and Mrs. John A. Griffin
837 North Maple Terrace
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Wally and John:

I had a mighty nice time, and greatly enjoyed talking with those interesting people. And I enjoyed seeing what we could, in so brief a time, of Madison and the University.

I will try to reach Mr. Griffin tonight. Did

The best of luck for John in his exams and all of that tough business.

We need you all three back in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

REPORT OF GROUP DISCUSSION ON:
"WHAT IS EMORY'S RESPONSIBILITY AND OPPORTUNITY FOR SERVICE:
IN RESEARCH; IN PUBLIC EDUCATION; TO THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENT;
TO THE COMMUNITY—LOCAL, STATE, REGION, WORLD?" *

WHO WE WERE

The group which spent a day together discussing this comprehensive subject included Emory faculty, Emory graduates, and former Emory faculty, as well as a few persons without direct connection except interest in education and the University. Our group was distinguished, however, by including a former member of the State legislature, a Scotchman, a director of a philanthropic foundation, a pediatrician, and a radio station operator, in addition to persons distinguished in academic fields and in law. The group therefore managed to bring together a substantial variety of opinion, but it also provided a goodly portion of direct information, both about Emory, and about communities in the state in which it is located and which it is serving in various ways.

WHAT WE DID

We did not finish our topic. We found time too limited for that. We discussed only two of the four areas suggested, and none of us felt that we had exhausted even those two. We did, however, consider at some length the responsibilities of Emory to the community and to the student. We did not consider its responsibilities to public education or to research.

WHAT WE CONCLUDED

What follows includes the concensus of the group in so far as we

---

*This is the report of one of the three discussion groups in Emory University's Second Annual Public Affairs Clinic held on the campus January 2, 3, 4, 1949. Additional copies of this report may be obtained from the Office of Community Educational Service, Room 13C, Library Building, Emory University, Ga.

could reach one. We took no votes, and therefore did not reach any formal agreements. Certain directly conflicting points of view were present, but, in general, the group would agree to what comes hereafter.

General

We all felt that Emory could perhaps do more toward defining for itself the peculiar function which it expects to perform. None present could refer us to a statement of the goals which Emory has set for itself--in fact we were informed that no such statement existed. We believed that Emory should devote itself to the areas of student teaching, research, and community service, but we disagreed on relative importance, some believing that teaching of students should always have primary importance, others that all three functions were equally important. Although we tried, we discovered that none of our group could construct a wholly satisfactory definition of education. We would suggest, in all seriousness, therefore:

> That the administration and faculty of Emory undertake a self-survey of the institution directed toward--
>
> a. the formulation and adoption of a clear set of objectives
>
> b. an analysis and evaluation of the functions of the institution in light of these objectives, so as to define the validity of functions and their relative importance
>
> c. establishment of a means of continuous self-evaluation to determine the extent to which the objectives are being reached.

Community Service

There was no disagreement about the desirability of Emory providing direct educational services to adults. We discovered that Emory is already conducting a program in this field. In general we felt that it could well be expanded, and we discussed a number of methods by which this could be done. For example, we recognized the usefulness of clinics and institutes on the campus and wished to encourage more of them. But

we strongly believed also that Emory should provide services to communities in the communities themselves. We were aware that there may be financial limitations that would seem to control the extent of expansion, but we also believed that part of that apparent limitation arose from a belief that the function of community service is not of great importance. It therefore suffers in comparison with other functions of the institution. We were convinced that new areas needs to be explored. We would suggest, therefore:

> That Emory explore and develop additional ways of providing services to adults in communities by--
>
> a. aiding communities to organize discussion groups which focus on their own problems
>
> b. translating research results into useable materials of various types and media particularly on problems of the region
>
> c. making available speakers and consultants in special fields where Emory has unique or unusual competence.

Individual Student

We tried to approach the question of Emory's responsibility to the individual student by defining what sort of graduate we would hope Emory is trying to produce. We again had difficulty in reaching full agreement, but we came out with something like the following:

> The product Emory hopes to produce--
>
> a. thinks for himself with clarity and consistency
>
> b. participates actively in public affairs
>
> c. guides his actions by respect for the personalities and rights of other people regardless of differentness from or similarity to himself
>
> d. possesses a well-balanced and stable personality
>
> e. is occupationally competent

We then discussed Emory itself to try to find where and how, or where not and why not, it is or is not producing that kind of people.

We found that swollen enrollments have made it difficult for Emory to do its job. Several members pointed out that little can be done in developing the ability to think clearly and consistently when the class is so large as to make the lecture the only feasible method of conducting it. The group believed, however, that more ingenuity might be practiced in supplementing lectures by discussion sessions of smaller size, and that student discussion groups should be encouraged, perhaps even by recognizing them as an integral part of the curriculum. This would give them at least the status of physical exercise. We felt that the lecture is not an effective way of helping people to think for themselves, and that one of the major jobs of the teacher in Emory is to guide his students into interchange of opinion and idea in the freest sort of atmosphere. Achieving such a purpose would require smaller classes than those which now exist. One disturbing example was cited of students--college graduates--who came to a graduate school so imbued with the idea that they must be directed in their thinking, they resisted and resented efforts to get them to say what they think.

Our discussion of the point about participation in public affairs was brief. We did state our conviction that Emory graduates should be active. Campus discussion groups would help some. Perhaps, though, the most effective method would be through the example of faculty members who themselves were participating. Here, there was some feeling that faculty were restrained from as full participation in public affairs as they might wish to undertake. This contrasted clearly with the freedom from restraint in the class room.

On the point concerned with "respect for the personalities and rights of others," we did little more than suggest that faculty members who have respect for people would somehow imbue their students with that same attitude. We felt the importance of this area, but we made no

substantial suggestions of how to achieve the end.

Concerning a "well-balanced and stable personality," we agreed that for students and faculty, there should be available a counseling service with provision for psychiatric aid when needed. We could not help but recognize that personality difficulties in faculty are often reflected in students, and that the stable personality is as important if not more so than professional competence.

We must have thought that the occupational competence of Emory graduates is relatively certain. We did not discuss that phase.

Out of all this analysis came several clear conclusions. We felt that the faculty of Emory should agree on what product it is trying to create, and should then analyze Emory's offerings and methods to see whether it is in fact creating the product which it hopes to. We were disturbed by the report that faculty meetings are rare, believing that it is impossible to proceed toward common goals without common understanding and agreement. One of our members reported the procedures of a small college where the faculty in a series of sessions before the opening of school in the fall come together to discuss each of the various offerings of the institution in the light of the kind of product the institution is trying to shape. Whether this is possible in an institution the size of Emory we did not attempt to say, but the procedure commended itself to us.

Having looked at these characteristics of the product we were assuming Emory wishes to produce, we recognized that few if any of the measurements of student progress measures achievement in these fields. We agreed that grades on mastery of subject matter did not measure independence of thought, urge to participate in public affairs, or any of the other characteristics we had identified for the Emory graduate, with the possible exception of occupational competence. We felt, too,

that methods of evaluating teaching effectiveness of Emory faculty should be considered and adopted.

We would suggest, therefore, as part of the self-survey which was mentioned above:

> That Emory formulate and adopt the characteristics of the sort of graduate it wishes to produce, and that it review and modify, if necessary, its selection procedures, instructional practices, and means of measurement of student accomplishment to reflect those characteristics.

Ending

All of us were aware of the substantial and continuing contribution which Emory is making to the progress of the Southeast. Our comments are made in the hope that they will be some slight aid in increasing that contribution.

12 - G. Miss
Gerow, R. O.

May 17, 1949

Most Reverend R. O. Gerow
Bishop of Natchez
237 East Amite Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Bishop Gerow:

This morning's mail brought the book, and your most kind letter. How very gracious that was of you to send them both. I look forward with much interest to reading the history of the Diocese.

I found great enjoyment in the meeting at Lexington. It was particularly an honor to have those pleasant breakfasts with you and with Bishop Toolan and with the others there in the Lafayette Hotel.

When next I am in Jackson, I shall give myself the pleasure of calling on you there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

BISHOP'S RESIDENCE
237 EAST AMITE STREET
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

May 13, 1949

RECEIVED
MAY 16 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Under separate cover I am sending you copy of my, "Cradle Days of St. Mary's at Natchez." This is the book that I mentioned to you Thursday morning at the breakfast table. You will find in it an account of the incident of which I spoke in which Bishop Elder was concerned.

Again let me express to you my appreciation of the fine talk that you gave at our Catholic Committee of the South meeting. I found it very enlightening. The information that you gave will help us to understand conditions in the South. Even I, a native of the South who has spent all my life in the South, have learned much from it.

With warm personal regards and with every best wish, I am

Sincerely yours in Christ,

+ R. O. Gerow

Most Reverend R. O. Gerow
Bishop of Natchez

13 - Gs Inc
Green, Vernelle

June 22, 1949

Mrs. Vernelle Green
R.F.D. 2, Box 150 A
Ashland, Virginia

Dear Pooch:

Here is a letter that I hope will help.

We are all right. The children have gone off to a summer camp for two weeks.

Tell Houston and Ada I hope the water works are still working.

I am going to come up there with my little tiny automobile someday and get me some squashes and some snap beans and some more things if the Lord will help me.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

June 22, 1949

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Mrs. Mitchell and I have known Mrs. Vernelle Green for most of her life. She comes from a well brought up family and has been taught and constantly shows courtesy, honesty, and reliability.

She occasionally worked for Mrs. Mitchell several years ago in Richmond, coming in one or two days a week from the country. She always came as agreed and was prompt, cheerful, and obliging. She was at that time relatively untrained, but I understand she has done a good deal of housework since and should by now be competent and skillful at it.

Whatever she undertakes to do, she will carry through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

RECEIVED
JUN 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

R. F. D. 2. Box 65 A
Ashland Virginia
June 21

Dear Mr Mitchell
I Vernelle Green is writing to ask you will you please send me a Recomdation as I would like to go to work this summer. Please send it as soon as Possible. Tell Mrs Mitchell and the rest of your family Hello. Daddy is doing Pretty good with his farming.
Thank you

Vernelle Green

11

9 Griffin, John A

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

May 30, 1950

RECEIVED
JUN 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

We are looking forward to having you at the banquet Thursday night at 6:30 in the new Alumni Memorial Building. We are so glad you are interested in coming.

Sincerely,

John A.

John A. Griffin

JAG:mjh
encl.

Enclosed is a copy of one of the 3 groups of last year's service.

g - Griffin

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

June 12, 1950

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I still have a copy of the film on Princeton University made by Mr. Julien Bryan. Anytime you wish, I can get a machine and bring the film to your office. George, Ralph McGill, and you would thus have a chance to see it. Give me a ring at your convenience.

Sincerely,

John A.

John A. Griffin

JAG:mjh

RECEIVED
JUN 13 1950
Southern Regional Council

October 9, 1950

Mr. John A. Griffin
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear John:

Way last June you were named Chairman of a three-man committee of the members of the Board to bring into the annual meeting nominations for membership on the Executive Committee. Your two members are Gordon B. Hancock, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, and Mrs. James S. Crate, 2410 Inwood Drive, Houston, Texas. You (and they) have not been notified because the plan of reorganization was pending. The plan is still pending, and as the Executive Committee has not met, it has not been discussed. So I think we must in any case arm the Board with suitable nominations.

We are asking you to come into a meeting in mid-October about the reorganization plan. That will be a convenient time to consider the work of your Committee. For the present I only say that Paul Williams is strongly in favor of getting an Executive Committee which shows up and gets things done. The problem is how to create vacancies. We have an automatic rule that may make some vacancies. Anyway, I think you ought to be trying to pick from the present Board members (listed on the brown leaflet) the names of three or four good strong people. It would be possible to name to the Executive Committee, Board members who will be elected in November, but we don't know who they are, so can't do much about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

CC: Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Mrs. James S. Crate

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

March 28, 1949

Mr. John Griffin
Director of Community Education
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Mr. Griffin:

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee on March 16, members of the nominating committee of the Board for bringing in nominations to the Executive Committee were chosen by the Executive Committee as instructed by the Board in November.

Dr. Forrester Washington of the Atlanta University School of Social Work was chosen as chairman of this Committee, and other members named were yourself, Miss Florence Sytzof the Tulane School of Social Work, Dr. Luther Jackson of Virginia State College at Petersburg, and Mrs. Alice Spearman of Newberry, South Carolina.

I do hope you will find it possible to serve on this Committee. May I not hear from you?

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

December 8, 1947

Mr. John Griffin
1426 Clairmont Road
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Griffin:

It is with much pleasure that I advise you of your recent election, at the membership meeting of the Southern Regional Council on November 12, to the Standing Nominating Committee of 1948 for the nomination of members of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Council.

Dr. Forrester B. Washington, of Atlanta University, is the Chairman of this committee of three, and the other member is Mrs. Alice Spearman, "Algene Acres", Newberry, South Carolina.

We are very happy to welcome you to this important committee and sincerely trust that you will find it possible to serve.

For your information we are attaching a list of the Board of Directors from whom members of the Executive Committee are drawn. This list shows date of expiration of terms of all Board Members, and indicates by asterisk which ones are currently members of the Executive Committee. Please do not hesitate to write us whenever we can be of service.

With every good wish for the holidays, and for the year that follows, I am

Most cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

AM:ee

Griffin

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1951
Regional Counc

May 29, 1951

Dear Friend:

You are one of the persons who have been invited in the past to participate in the Emory Public Affairs Clinic. As you recall, these meetings have been held for three years at the time of the Emory Commencement. The purpose of this letter is to tell you that the Clinic will not meet this June. There are some important conflicts, and the Planning Committee feels that it is best to postpone the fourth session of the Clinic to a later time. The Committee is now reviewing the past achievements of the Clinic and planning for the future. You will be informed as soon as the time for another session has been set.

In the meantime, for the Planning Committee and for the University, may I express a word of appreciation for your interest and support.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin

John A. Griffin
for the Planning
Committee

The Committee:
Grady Clay, Jr.
John I. Goodlad
Cullen B. Gosnell
Boisfeuillet Jones
Calvin Kytle
James A. Mackay
Judson C. Ward
James H. Wilson, Jr.

Griffin

OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GA.

RECEIVED
SEP 5 1952
Southern Regional Council

September 5, 1952

EMORY TEACHER WRITES LONDON NEWSPAPER ARTICLE

A two-part article on the American Negro, co-authored by Herbert Deighton, visiting British professor at Emory University last term, and John A. Griffin, Emory sociology professor, appeared in recent editions (July 23-24) of the London Times.

Deighton, a regular contributor to the London Times and dean of Pembroke College, Oxford University, has returned to England.

The 6,000-word article discusses advances made by the Negro in the past 90 years, including improvements under the New Deal, and progress in labor relations, farm policy, and educational opportunities. Deighton and Griffin mention the place of Civil Rights as an issue in the coming national election.

"The status and future of the colored minority in the United States is an important factor not only in American domestic politics but in the field of international affairs," the article states.

###

6r

March 31, 1953

Mr. John A. Griffin
Community Education Service
Emory University, Ga.

Dear Mr. Griffin:

Dr. Mitchell asked me to tell you that Adella Shields, who was on our staff last year, did her master's thesis for Atlanta University on the SOUTHERN FRONTIER, the SRC publication which NEW SOUTH replaced.

I do not remember the exact title, but do know that she did a content analysis for the year 1944-45. We do not have a copy in the office.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Same letter: Morris Abram

June 3, 1953

Mr. John A. Griffen
Emory University, Ga.

Dear John:

The membership meeting May 14 did itself the honor of re-electing you to the Board of Directors of the Council. I do hope that you can write me that you accept.

I can't say how long the term is, for the moment, because the acceptances have to go in a shoe box, and some will get long terms and some short. But do come on back, anyway.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

June 8, 1953

Mr. John A. Griffin
Emory University, Ga.

Dear John:

I see my letter to you of June 3 did not make mention of your election to the Executive Committee. If I don't hear from you in the near future, I will put you down as having accepted. You are an extra good member of the Board and of the Committee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

LAW OFFICES
HAAS, LYONS & HURT
HAAS-HOWELL BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

LEONARD HAAS
WM. WALLACE LYONS
CHARLES D. HURT

August 3, 1944.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I have your letter of August 2nd, regarding Southern Regional Council and affiliated organizations.

Under the By-Laws, the Board of Directors is clothed with authority to permit other Groups or Agencies to become affiliates of the Council "upon such conditions as the Board of Directors may prescribe."

The Board, in exercising this authority, has voted "that the relation between the Southern Regional Council and all state and local organizations having aims and purposes similar to those of the Council be informal and cooperative, the details to be worked out by the Executive Directors."

I am of opinion that the kind of agreement outlined in your letter is simply of an informal and cooperative nature and comes within the purview of the above mentioned resolution. I think the Executive Directors have the authority under the foregoing resolution to enter into such an agreement on behalf of the Council.

In addition to the foregoing, it might be well to adopt a new By-Law at the next meeting of the Board giving the Executive Committee express authority to enter into such agreements, as suggested by you.

Very truly yours,

Leonard Haas

LH:LPM

LEONARD HAAS.

August 2, 1944

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Enclosed is a letter I have received from Mr. George Elmer Ross of Augusta relative to the matter which we discussed in our office a couple of weeks ago. I have acknowledged the letter and have asked Mr. Ross to keep us posted on the Quo Warranto proceedings which he intends to initiate. Will you please return this letter to me?

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

MEMORANDUM TO: MR. LEONARD HAAS August 2, 1944

FROM: GUY B. JOHNSON

SUBJECT: THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

The question of "affiliated" organizations continues to bother us from time to time. Most of the state interracial groups want to become "affiliated" with the SRC. We have explained to them that membership in the SRC is entirely on an individual basis, and that an organization, as such, cannot become a member. However, these organizations are anxious to have some more formal relationship with the Council. Some of them want to broaden their programs beyond the field of race relations and change their names accordingly. Such organizations might be very useful means for implementing the program of the Council in the various Southern states.

Our By-laws provide that "organized groups or agencies whose aims and methods are, in whole or in substantial part, similar to the aims and methods of the Southern Regional Council, may, at the discretion of the Board of Directors, become affiliates of the Council upon such conditions as the Board of Directors may prescribe." At the meeting of the Board of April 28, 1944, it was voted "that the relation between the Southern Regional Council and all state and local organizations having aims and purposes similar to those of the Council, be informal and cooperative, the details to be worked out by the Executive Directors."

I wonder whether, in your opinion, the following procedure would be in keeping with the By-laws and with the resolution of the Board. We would make simple written agreements with certain state and local organizations setting forth the ways in which we can be mutually helpful, and recognizing them as affiliates of the Council. It would be understood, of course, that all membership in the Council is on an individual basis, but we might stipulate that the officers of each affiliated organization shall become members of the Council. Neither party to the agreement would assume any financial obligations toward the other party, and the responsibilities of both parties would be stated in general terms, that is, mutual cooperation to the best of each one's ability.

Such agreements would certainly strengthen the bonds between the SRC and the agencies which come nearest to having the same purposes as the SRC, and they would help to bolster the morale of some of these agencies.

If this procedure does not seem permissible under existing authority, what would you think of proposing to the annual meeting that the By-laws be amended by the insertion of some such provision as the following:

> The Executive Committee may make such agreements as it deems advisable with existing independent organizations or with such independent organizations as may hereafter be formed, in order to further the work of the Council. Such independent organizations shall be known as "affiliated organizations."

LAW OFFICES
HAAS, LYONS & HURT
HAAS-HOWELL BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

LEONARD HAAS
WM. WALLACE LYONS
CHARLES D. HURT

1192

August 30, 1944.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed clipping taken from the August 28th issue of the New York Times.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard Haas

LEONARD HAAS.

LH:LPM

ENC.

LAW OFFICES
HAAS, LYONS & HURT
HAAS-HOWELL BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

LEONARD HAAS
WM. WALLACE LYONS
CHARLES D. HURT

July 11, 1945.

noted GSM

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I find your letter of July 6th upon my return to the City after a short absence.

I know of no point of ethics being involved in the fact that paid employees of the Council are members of the Board of Directors. It sometimes happens, of course, that questions arise at meetings of the Board involving some member of the Board personally, such as salary, performance of duties, etc. It is a general rule of law that a member of the Board of Directors cannot vote on any question in which such member has a personal interest, but that is the only qualification I know of based on a principle of ethics. It is a general rule that all officers of corporations are members of the Board of Directors, yet they are paid employees of such corporations, which in no way disqualifies them.

In view of the foregoing, I see no reason for Mrs. Tilly, Mrs. Havens and Dr. Mitchell to withdraw from the Board.

Very truly yours,

Leonard Haas

LH:KC

July 6, 1945

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Three of our Board members -- Mrs. Tilly, Mrs. Havens, and Dr. Mitchell -- are now paid employees of the Council. One of them has raised a question as to whether it is proper for them to remain on the Board.

There is nothing in our by-laws against their being on the Board, but Dr. Mitchell feels that there might be a point of ethics involved. I shall greatly appreciate your opinion on this matter.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

LAW OFFICES
HAAS, LYONS & HURT
HAAS-HOWELL BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

LEONARD HAAS
WM. WALLACE LYONS
CHARLES D. HURT
1192

September 26, 1945.

RECEIVED
SEP 27 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
C/o Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I thought perhaps you might be interested in the letters of Broadus Mitchell and Virginius Dabney on the subject of "Phi Beta Kappa and Segregated Education" published in the Autumn issue 1945 of the Phi Beta Kappa Reporter.

You need not return the enclosed.

Very truly yours,

Leonard Haas

LEONARD HAAS.

LH:LPM

ENC.

September 28, 1945

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

You will recall that at the recent meeting of the SRC Executive Committee there was mention of a letter from Mr. Carter Wesley, in which Mr. Wesley expressed his views on my reply to an editorial which had been published by Mr. P. B. Young and on other matters concerning the Council's policies.

Mr. Wesley intended for copies of this letter to go to all members of the Executive Committee, but it appears that you did not receive a copy. I enclose a copy herewith for your information.

In my reply to Mr. Wesley I simply thanked him for his letter and expressed the hope that he could be present at the Executive Committee meeting on September 18. I had a couple of cordial notes from him indicating that he was trying to get to the meeting. Unfortunately, he was not able to arrange travel reservations.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

Same letter sent to: Dr. Homer P. Rainey
Mr. C. H. Gillman
Msgr. T. James McNamara

No daily file copies
SRC Board
Membership
(Reelected)

November 20, 1945

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

At the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council on November 14, you were reelected to membership on the Board of Directors for a term of four years.

We trust that you are willing to accept reelection and that you will continue to give the Council the benefit of your wisdom and experience.

May we hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:ms

We missed you very much at the meeting and a resolution of esteem and good wishes was passed. I hope you are feeling fine and will soon be out again.

GBJ.

December 3, 1945

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Greetings from the staff of SRC! We all hope that you are feeling better day by day and that you will soon be up again.

There are a number of points on which we are going to need your advice. One little matter which I shall want to ask you about is the question of joint memberships in the Council. The dues have been raised to $2.00, but the matter of joint memberships was overlooked in the crowded agenda of the Executive Committee and Board. Since the cost of literature is the major item in servicing our members, we could certainly service a joint membership at $3.00 as economically as two individual members at $2.00 each. If there is no legal reason why this cannot be done, we should like to obtain the authorization of the Executive Committee by mail as soon as possible. We are getting a great many nominations of husbands and wives and we feel that most of these would take a joint membership if it is available.

With every good wish,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

File with letter re waste [illegible]

LAW OFFICES
HAAS, LYONS & HURT
HAAS-HOWELL BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

LEONARD HAAS
WM. WALLACE LYONS
CHARLES D. HURT

December 7, 1945.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

My dear Dr. Johnson:

My thanks to you and the Staff for your many good wishes and for the lovely flowers sent to me while at the Hospital.

I am rapidly regaining my strength and will soon be on my feet again.

Answering your letter of December 3rd, I think to establish a joint membership in the Council is equivalent to the creation of a new class of membership, which can only be regulated by the By-Laws. For that reason I doubt that the Executive Committee has power to establish a joint membership.

Very truly yours,

Leonard Haas, By LPM

LEONARD HAAS.

LH:LPM

Ve. → SHR 12/10/45

August 14, 1946

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

I am very sorry that I missed seeing the representative of the American Civil Liberties Union who was in Atlanta last Friday. I returned by plane from Chicago just about the time he was leaving Atlanta.

I understand that the Civil Liberties Union was interested in getting our advice on just what they could do with respect to the Georgia lynchings and similar acts of violence. That is a tough question, of course, and I hesitate to try to give advice when we are all in such a predicament over the question of how to work in a really effective way to combat violence.

I do have a few suggestions which I make from time to time, and I should be glad to set them down here.

(1) Make known to Federal, state, and local authorities in a dignified way your concern over the violation of civil rights and your eagerness to help in any way possible.

(2) Avoid the use of broad generalizations or stereotyped terms which lump all people of a county or state together as if all of them were equally guilty of violating the law. Such stereotypes merely set up defensive action which make it all the harder for the local better element to do what they ought to do.

(3) Keep in close tough with organizations in the South which are active in interracial work and as far as possible, work out certain agreements on strategy.

(4) From time to time give financial assistance to organizations that are in the South which are in a position to do some good. The Southern Regional Council, for example,

might be able to work more effectively on certain cases than an "outside" agency, be are all too frequently handicapped by the lack of sufficient funds to make the necessary investigations and to follow up with legal assistance.

These points are not intended in any way to reflect on the techniques of the American Civil Liberties Union. They have done a lot of good and are certainly one of the best and most reliable agencies operating in this field. If there is anything in this letter that you consider worthy of passing on to the Civil Liberties Union, I shall be glad for you to do so.

With highest regards and best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

NOTE TO GBJ: Mr. Haas said that several earlier issues of THE KEY REPORTER had had interesting articles on some phases of the race problem. He was sorry that he had not thought to send them to us. He said we might find them at the Library.

August 29, 1946

Haas, Leonard

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

It was good of you to send us your copy of the Autumn Issue of THE KEY REPORTER. Dr. Trigg and I have found it most interesting and I am sure that Dr. Johnson will be glad to have an opportunity to read it when he returns next week. I hope that we can also find some of the earlier issues which you mentioned.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

May 21, 1947

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

I have invited the various State Interracial Committee head officials into Atlanta to a meeting on June 17 and 18.

Among the many topics that will need discussing is how far State Divisions can go in legislative work. See, for instance, the enclosed clipping.

We would be most grateful if you could give us an hour or so of your time on June 17 so that we may all get the straight of this vexing problem.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

- 14 - Haas, Leonard

April 21, 1949

Mr. Leonard Haas
888 Oakdale Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Our staff has asked me to write you to express the deep personal sympathy of each one in the loss of your mother. We shall mourn with you her passing.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
for staff members of the
Southern Regional Council

14-Haas, Leonard

April 21, 1949

The Family of Mrs. Aaron Haas
1423 Briarcliff Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

To the family of Mrs. Haas:

You will want to know, I am sure, that in token of her esteem and sympathy, Miss Frances Blackman of 658 Clifton Road, Atlanta, has made a contribution to the work of the Southern Regional Council in memory of Mrs. Haas. This contribution has been made in lieu of flowers.

The Council is deeply grateful to you and to Miss Blackman.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

cc: Miss Blackman

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

$?"L?$(

4/21/49

GSM:

Miss Frances Blackman, 658 Clifton Rd., Atlanta, called this morning to say that she is making a contribution to the work of the Council, in memory of Mr. Leonard Haas' mother, who has just died. She asked that we write a note to the family informing them of this --

family of Mrs. Aaron Haas
1423 Briarcliff Rd., NE
Atlanta

Miss Blackman is mailing a check.
We should do this today. (write the note).

met

cc: Mrs. McKoy

14 - Haas, Leonard

August 26, 1948

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

How very kind indeed of you to send a special contribution to the Council.

It is perfectly true that Father's care and interest were given for many years to the work of the old Interracial Commission and then of the Council.

Repeatedly it was brought out in the last few days in Richmond that, although Father was born in the Civil War and raised during Reconstruction, he was never a sectionalist, nor was his faith in people limited by any barriers of geography or color or religion--or of oceans.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell

LAW OFFICES
HAAS AND HURT
HAAS-HOWELL BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

LEONARD HAAS
CHARLES D. HURT

J. CORBETT PEEK, JR.
REX T. REEVES
RAYMUND R. CALLAWAY
GEORGE A. HAAS

WM. WALLACE LYONS (1922-1946)

RECEIVED
AUG 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

August 20, 1948.

Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Sirs:

For a number of years past, upon a friend's death, the writer has made it a practice of making a contribution to some communal organization in which the deceased was interested, in lieu of a floral offering.

Enclosed please find my check for $10.00 McK which is sent in lieu of a floral offering in memory of Dr. Sam Mitchell.

Very truly yours,

Leonard Haas

Leonard Haas

LH:LPM

ENC.

14- Haas, Leonard

November 18, 1948

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Here are the copies of Mr. Williams' and Dr. Mitchell's reports to the membership meeting that you asked for.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Mitchell

enclosures

1 copy--Paul Williams' report
10 copies--Dr. Mitchell's report

14- Haas, Mr. Leonard

To File

December 29, '48

Dear Mr. Haas,

How very kind that was of you to share your Christmas income, in that generous way, with the Council.

We will try to deserve your confidence. Please come and see us. For help such as you have given you desrve to be loaded with as many pamphlets as you can carry. And I am sure you can give us some ideas on how to get our job ahead.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Mr. Leonard Haas, Jr.

December 29, '48

Dear Mr. Haas,

We are just as appreciative as can be for your generous contribution of twenty dollars toward the work of the Council. The only thing we value more is your praise.

Please stop in at the office when you are down town, and let us get a chance to talk with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Mr. John Haas

Dec. 27, 1948

JOHN HAAS
888 OAKDALE RD., N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Enclosed is a check which I hope you can use to help the Southern Regional Council which I think is doing a fine job.

Lots of luck and a "Happy New Year"---

20.00

John Haas

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

I hope this will help. This was given to me for a ~~Christmas present~~ and I want to give it to the Southern Regional Council so they may keep up their fine work.

HAPPY NEW YEAR
Leonard Haas Jr.

16.00

Leonard Haas

RECEIVED
DEC 29 1948
Southern Regional Council

cc

14.- Haas, Leonard C.

STATE OF GEORGIA
CONSTITUTION
WISDOM JUSTICE MODERATION
1776

Department of State
Atlanta

Ben M. Fortson, Jr.
SECRETARY OF STATE

Joe N. Burton
CHIEF CLERK

In memory of Mrs. Aaron Haas

Frances Blackman
658 Clifton Rd, N.E.

5.00
HM

can
not a member

RECEIVED
APR 22 1949
Southern Regional Council

14 - Haas, Leonard

May 6, 1949

Dr. and Mrs. John C. Blalock
734 West Wesley Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Blalock:

We are most grateful for your generous gift, sent in memory of Mrs. Aaron Haas.

The family of Mrs. Haas will, I know, be deeply appreciative of your thoughtfulness and they are being informed of your gift.

Our very sincere thanks for this most gracious donation.

Cordially yours,

Note Members Case

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

MRS. JOHN C. BLALOCK 734 WEST WESLEY ROAD, N.W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Apr. 20, 1949

Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Bldg.

Dear Sirs:

Please accept my check for $5.00 as a contribution to your work in tribute to the memory of Mrs. Aaron Haas, the mother of our friend Mr. Leonard Haas.

From

Dr. and Mrs. John C. Blalock.

5.00 ck
JMB

RECEIVED
APR 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

14-Haas, Leanne

May 6, 1949

Mr. and Mrs. Morris Hirsch
938 Lullwater Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Hirsch:

We are most grateful for your generous gift, sent in memory of Mrs. Aaron Haas.

The family of Mrs. Haas will, I know, be deeply appreciative of your thoughtfulness and they are being informed of your gift.

Our very sincere thanks for this most gracious donation.

Cordially yours,

Not member

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

MRS. MORRIS HIRSCH 938 LULLWATER ROAD, N. E. ATLANTA, GEORGIA

May 3 1949

Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga

$5.00
MB

Gentlemen:

Enclosed find check in memory of Mrs. Leon Kass. I would appreciate it if you would notify Mr & Mrs. Leonard Kass that this donation has been made in memory of their mother.

Sincerely
Mr & Mrs. Morris Hirsch

RECEIVED
MAY 5 1949
Southern Regional Council

14 Haas, Leonard

May 6, 1949

Mrs. Harold Montag
1198 Oakdale Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Montag:

We are most grateful for your generous gift, sent in memory of Mrs. Aaron Haas.

The family of Mrs. Haas will, I know, be deeply appreciative of your thoughtfulness and they are being informed of your gift.

Our very sincere thanks for this most gracious donation.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

1198 Oakdale Rd. N.E

Mr Geo. Mitchell
So. Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

25.00

Enclosed find check in memory of Mrs. Aaron Hass. Kindly acknowledge to Mr & Mrs Leonard Hass and family.

Sincerely
Mrs Harold Martin

14-Haas, Leonard

May 10, 1949

500
DB

Mrs. M. L. Hirsch
938 Lullwater Road
Atlanta 6, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hirsch:

We are most grateful for your generous gift, sent in memory of Mrs. Aaron Haas.

The family of Mrs. Haas will, I know, be deeply appreciative of your thoughtfulness. A copy of this letter is being sent them for their information.

Our very warm thanks for this donation.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

MRS. M. L. HIRSCH
938 LULLWATER ROAD
ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA

May 9, 1949.

Sou. Regional Conference,

Dear Sirs, —

Am sending the enclosed in loving memory of Mrs. Aaron Haas.

Sincerely

Beulah F. Hirsch

RECEIVED
MAY 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

14 - Haas, Leonard

May 10, 1949
May 10, 1949

Mrs. Calvin Sa
Mrs. Calvin Sandison
3025 Nancy Creek Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Sandison:

We are most grateful for your generous gift, sent in memory of Mrs. Aaron Haas.

The family of Mrs. Haas will, I know, be deeply appreciative of your thoughtfulness. A copy of this letter is being sent them for their information.

Our very warm thanks for this donation.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

MRS. CALVIN SANDISON
3025 NANCY CREEK ROAD, N. W.
ATLANTA, GA.

In memory of

Mrs. Aaron Haas.

$1,000
[illegible]

RECEIVED
MAY 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

June 10, 1949

RECEIVED
JUN 13 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leonard:

You were going to send me a list of the people in the "Second Sunday" group, if that is the right name for it, whom I was to send the reprint of the article from THE REPORTER and a copy of the March, 1949, NEW SOUTH with the "Pattern of Violence" report in it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Excuse handwriting
no stenog today.
Leonard Haas

14 Haas, Leonard

Mr + Mrs Jas J. Selvage ✓
Biltmore apts
Mr + Mrs Robt Foreman
216 N. Pacy's Ferry Rd, N.W.
Mr + Mrs C. F. Palmer ✓
48 Northwood Ave
Mr + Mrs Walter Paschall
958 Albion Ave N. W.
Mr + Mrs Glenn Rainey ✓
120 3rd St N.W.

Mr + Mrs Elbert Tuttle
54 Westminster Dr NE
Mr + Mrs Jas. O. Sanders
60 Delmont Drive N.E. apt x

Sinclair S. Jacobs ✓
20 Montgomery Ferry Dr NW
Dr + Mrs Hal Davison
2888 Habersham N. W.
Mr + Mrs Hinton Longino
2982 Habersham N. W.

Mr + Mrs Rich H Rich
27 N. Andrews Dr NW.

Mr + Mrs Arthur J. Harris
Harris Trail N.W.

✓ = members

14- Haas, Leonard

June 23, 1949

Mr. & Mrs. Arthur Harris
Harris Trail, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Harris:

At the suggestion of Mr. Leonard Haas, I take pleasure in sending you a recent article about the Southern Regional Council, and the March issue of our small magazine describing today's pattern of violence."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM;d

cc: Mr. Leonard Haas

June 23, 1949

Mr. & Mrs. Rich H. Rich
27 W. Andrews Dr., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Rich:

At the suggestion of Mr. Leonard Haas, I take pleasure in sending you a recent article about the Southern Regional Council, and the March issue of our small magazine desdribing today's "pattern of violence."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:d

cc: Mr. Leonard Haas

June 23, 1949

Mr. & Mrs. Hinton Longino
2982 Habersham N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Longino:

At the suggestion of Mr. Leonard Haas, I take pleasure in sending you a recent article about the Southern Regional Council, and the March issue of our small magazine describing today's "pattern of violence."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM;d

cc: Mr. Leonard Haas

June 23, 1949

Dr. & Mrs. Hal Davison
2888 Habersham, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. & Mrs. Davison:

At the suggestion of Mr. Leonard Haas, I take pleasure in sending you a recent article about the Southern Regional Council, and the March issue of our small magazine describing today's "pattern of violence."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:d

cc: Mr. Leonard Haas

June 23, 1949

Mr. & Mrs. Jas. O. Sanders
60 Delmont Dr. N. E. Apt. 4
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Sanders:

At the suggestion of Mr. Leonard Haas, I take pleasure in sending you a recent article about the Southern Regional Council, and the March issue of our small magazine describing today's "pattern of violence."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:d

cc: Mr. Leonard Haas

June 23, 1949

Mr. & Mr. Elbert Tuttle
54 Westminister Dr. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Tuttle:

At the suggestion of Mr. Leonard Haas, I take pleasure in sending you a recent article about the Southern Regional Council, and the March issue of our small magazine describing today's "pattern of violence."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:d

cc: Mr. Leonard Haas

June 23, 1949

Mr. & Mrs. Robert Foreman
216 W. Pacy's Ferry Rd.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Foreman:

At the suggestion of Mr. Leonard Haas, I take pleasure in sending you a recent article about the Southern Regional Council, and the March issue of our small magazine describing today's "Pattern of violence."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:d

cc: Mr. Leonard Haas

June 23, 1949

Mr. & Mrs. Walter Paschall
958 Albion Ave., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Paschall:

At the suggestion of Mr. Leonard Haas, I take pleasure in sending you a re ent article about the Southern Regional Council, and the March issue of our small magazine describing today's "pattern of violence."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:d

cc; Mr. Leonard Haas

WILLIAM A. SUTHERLAND
ELBERT P. TUTTLE
JOSEPH B. BRENNAN
EDWARD R. KANE
HERBERT R. ELSAS
RANDOLPH W. THROWER
NORMAN STALLINGS
JAMES H. WILSON, JR.
MALLORY R. SMITH

LAW OFFICES OF
SUTHERLAND, TUTTLE & BRENNAN

RING BLDG., 18TH & M STS., N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.
NATIONAL 8618
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLDG.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
WALNUT 6332

ATLANTA

July 5, 1949

RECEIVED
JUL 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 23 enclosing the article about the Southern Regional Council. I enjoyed very much hearing your discussion of this matter recently and shall read the article with interest.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Elbert P. Tuttle

EPT/LG

cc: Mr. Leonard Haas

Haas - Leonard

June 26, 1950

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leonard:

The Executive Committee at its March meeting requested that a form of bequest to the Council be drafted.

If you will be so kind as to provide me with suitable language, I will request the decision of the September meeting as to proper use to make of the clause.

Sincerely and appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Thanked Haas

October 25, 1950

Mrs. Leonard Haas
888 Oakdale Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Haas:

The Committee of 100 sponsors contributions to the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Inc.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU

INCORPORATED (1918)

205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Telephone LExington 2-8595

RECEIVED
OCT 25 1950
Southern Regional Council

OFFICERS

Allen Wardwell
Honorary Chairman

Paul L. Feiss
President

Ralph H. Blanchard
Randall J. LeBoeuf, Jr.
Vice Presidents

Craig R. Smith
Secretary

Valentine E. Macy, Jr.
Treasurer

DIRECTORS

Edward K. Bachman
James G. Blaine
Mrs. Sidney C. Borg
Allen T. Burns
Harry M. Carey
Homer Folks
Mrs. John B. Henneman
Hugh Knowlton
Arch Mandel
Miss Adele W. Morrison
John B. Niven
Leo Perlis
Ellis Russell
Wm. Jay Schieffelin
John M. Shaw

D. Paul Reed
Executive Director

B. D. Burhoe

Mrs. E. R. Goodwin
Research & Advisory

October 23, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Committee of 100, about which you inquire today, sponsors contributions to the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Inc. We trust this identification will be sufficient for your purposes.

Yours sincerely,

B. D. Burhoe

B. D. Burhoe

BDB:hm

October 23, 1951

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Leonard:

My apologies for the accident by which your name was included on the list to which Mr. Richardson and others wrote letters October 15.

The list was originally drawn up to include you and Mrs. Tilly and Morris Abram and Harold Fleming, as a proper sprinkling of interested white friends to be present at the original gathering.

It was furthest from our mind that you would be asked to make any further contribution yourself.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

LAW OFFICES
HAAS AND HURT
HAAS-HOWELL BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

LEONARD HAAS
CHARLES D. HURT

J. CORBETT PEEK, JR.
REX T. REEVES
RAYMUND R. CALLAWAY
GEORGE A. HAAS

WM. WALLACE LYONS (1922-1946)

October 16, 1951

RECEIVED
OCT 22 1951
Southern Regional Council

Rev. Harry V. Richardson,
Gammon Theological Seminary,
9 McDonough Boulevard, S. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sir:

I acknowledge with pleasure receipt of yours, Dr. Mays' and Mr. Walden's letter of October 15th relative to contribution to the Southern Regional Council.

I am glad to hear that nearly $1,000 has come in to the Council from twelve contributors. My own contribution of $100.00 was sent in some time ago.

With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Leonard Haas

Leonard Haas.

LH:LPM

Haas

May 28, 1952

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leonard:

This is a matter of considerable interest.

The NCALL is another example of a kind of organization becoming increasingly popular. Not exactly a federation of agencies, but an over-all organization of people coming individually from many agencies working in a common field. And several such over-all organizations have lately been queried closely by the Internal Revenue people, on the ground that they have engaged in lobbying. I am told that there has been a good deal of question as to whether the taint on the over-all would reflect back on the component organizations and attaint them.

This document does not seem to me to raise any question. But it is a wholesome warning as to the increasing tightness of the Internal Revenue people.

I have circulated it to members of our staff.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:oc

April 15, 1954

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Here is a copy of a pleasant note from Mr. Hopkins, at the C and S Bank.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/m
Enclosure

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

We confront now two problems related to the state organizations:

1. Suitable By-Laws for each state organization. A draft of such By-Laws is submitted for your scrutiny and correction.

2. Shouldn't each state organization seek a Corporate Charter under the laws of its own state? In that event, to what extent, having regard for the laws of the several states, may we with propriety prescribe generally the purposes, structure, and powers of such corporations?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Sample By-Laws for State Divisions (Florida By-Laws as sample)
ROUGH DRAFT
May 5, 1954

BY-LAWS

of The

(_____) DIVISION OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of this organization is the _____ of the Southern Regional Council

ARTICLE II

Purpose

(To be supplied)

ARTICLE III

Membership

Section 1. Members. (to be supplied)

Section 2. (omit)

Section 3. Dues. Annual dues shall be $____, payable on the anniversary of membership.

ARTICLE IV

Meetings

Section 1. Annual Meetings. The _____ of the Southern Regional Council shall hold annually a meeting of members for the transaction of business at such a time and place that may be designated by the Executive Committee. Notice of the meeting should be given not less than 30 days before the meeting.

Section 2. Special Meetings. Special meetings may be called by the Chairman or by the Executive Committee, at any time. Notice of every special meeting shall state the time and place of such meeting and the nature of the business to be transacted, and it shall be delivered to each member at least ten days before such meeting.

Section 3. Quorum. The presence of not less than thirty-five of the members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at all meetings of members.

Section 4. Voting. Each member shall have one vote, and unless otherwise provided in these by-laws, a majority of votes cast shall be sufficient to elect or to pass any measure.

Sample By-Laws - 2
Rough Draft
May 5, 1954

ARTICLE V

Executive Committee

Section 1. Election and Powers. The members shall elect an Executive Committee of not more than 16 members, in addition to the Chairman, three Vice-Chairmen, and the Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio /elected/ members of the Committee. The members of the first Executive Committee elected under these by-laws shall be divided by lot so that the terms of four expire in one year, four in two years and four in three years, and four in four years. At each subsequent meeting, four members shall be elected to the Executive Committee to serve terms of three years. They shall be eligible for re-election except that they may not serve more than two consecutive full terms. The Chairman of the state division shall be the Chairman of the Executive Committee. During the intervals between meetings of members the Executive Committee may exercise all the powers of the members unless otherwise instructed. It shall keep a full and fair account of its transactions, and its actions shall be reported to the members at their meetings and shall be subject to revision and alteration by the members.

Section 2. Meetings. The Executive Committee shall hold regular meetings quarterly, and they may hold special meetings at the call of the Chairman or of any five members of the Committee.

Section 3. Quorum . The presence of nine members, including ex-officio members, shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Section 4. Vacancies. (delete)

ARTICLE VI

Officers

Section 1. The officers of this organization shall be a Chairman, three Vice-Chairmen, and a Secretary-Treasurer. These officers shall be elected annually by members and shall perform duties usually performed by such officers. Any vacancy in any of these offices other than that of Chairman, may be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII

Staff

Section 1. The _____ of the Southern Regional Council may employ an executive secretary and an associate executive secretary, and assistants to either of these, or other professional or clerical staff as may be needed.

Staff shall act in agreement with policy and program laid down by the membership meeting of the Executive Committee. The Executive Secretary and Associate Executive Secretary may be present at meetings of the Executive Committee in all of the meetings with voice, but without vote.

Professional staff members, as distinct from clerical staff members, shall be appointed for a year, subject to renewal by the annual membership meeting. The Executive Committee shall annually recommend to the membership meeting the new employees or changes in staff personnel at the professional level.

ARTICLE VIII

Finances

Section 1. Checks and Drafts. All checks, drafts, or orders for payments in the name of the _____ shall be signed by the Secretary-Treasurer. But the Secretary-Treasurer may in writing delegate this authority to the Executive Secretary, provided such delegation is approved by a meeting of the Executive Committee and provided that such delegation shall be revocable at any competent meeting of the Executive Committee.

Section 2. The person authorized to sign in this manner for the Division, either the Secretary-Treasurer, or the Executive Secretary, shall be bonded in an amount deemed sufficient by the Executive Committee and by the Southern Regional Council, Inc. For convenience, these bonds will be written through the Southern Regional Council.

Section 3. Checks. For so long a period as the finances of the _____ shall be assisted by the Southern Regional Council, salary checks for all staff personnel shall be mailed from the Central Office of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Section 4. Bookkeeping and financial reports for the _____ of the Southern Regional Council, shall be in accordance with procedures prescribed by the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Section 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit a financial report to the members at each annual meeting.

ARTICLE IX

Amendments

Section 1. These By-Laws may be amended at any annual meeting of the members or in any special meeting called for that purpose by a majority of members present, but no such amendment shall become valid until after written approval of it has been given on behalf of the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE X

Affiliations

Section1. The _____ may become an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council upon such conditions as the Southern Regional Council may prescribe. The By-Laws of the _____ shall be approved by the Council or the Executive Committee of the Council in advance of affiliation.

Sample By-Laws - 4
Rough Draft
May 5, 1954

ARTICLE XI

~~Disaffiliations~~
Disaffiliations

Section 1. The _____ may disaffiliate from the Southern Regional Council at its own discretion, and the council may require disaffiliation for breach of these By-Laws, or in the event (after a year, by the Council) the Council deems the aims and methods of the _____ to be no longer tuned to these of the Southern Regional Council.

Section 2. In the event of disaffiliation, any property of the _____ purchased with the proceeds of the Council's aid to the _____ shall be at disposition of the Council.

ARTICLE XII

The Executive Committee shall appoint a Finance Committee of not to exceed five persons, which persons need not be members of the Executive Committee. It shall be the duty of this Committee, through its chairman, to report quarterly to the Executive Committee on its fund raising activities.

ARTICLE XIII

Corporate Charter

The _____ of the Southern Regional Council may incorporate under the laws of ___(name of state)to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to maintain an organization for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South, in theendeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices which will result in the greatest good for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of race tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust, to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, State, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

~~Section~~ ARTICLE XIV
~~Dues~~

All members of the _____ shall, during such time as they are affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, in addition to dues payable to the _____, shall be subscribers to the publication of the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE XV

Purposes

The purposed of the _____ shall be the same as those given in Article XII above.

Sample By-Laws - 5
Rough Draft
May 5, 1954

ARTICLE XVI

So long as the _____ is monetarily assisted by the Southern Regional Council, no substantial part of its activities shall be carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation.

ARTICLE XVII

So long as the _____ is affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, employment of paid staff at the professional level while the primary responsibility of the _____ shall be only in agreement with the Southern Regional Council and its authorized officials.

Kack has reply to this letter in her file on tax-exemption

November 15, 1954

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leonard:

A point came up in the staff meetings, held in conjunction with the Board meeting, that requires legal consideration.

The various state organizations do not, as yet, have written evidence of tax-exemption from the Internal Revenue Department. Since getting such statements is a slow process, there will be an interim period of a year or more before all of them will have evidence that would satisfy a foundation. During this period, would it be possible for the Southern Regional Council, as a tax-exempt agency, to receive sizeable gifts -- say, $300 to $5,000 -- earmarked for the development of program in a particular state?

We see an analogy in the grant of the Fund for the Republic to the Southern Regional Council for the specified purpose of developing program in state organizations. Since this grant is tax-exempt, would not the same principle apply to other grants made through the Council for designated state organizations?

We will appreciate your advice on the legal question involved.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence
GSM/eab

Dear Leonard:

A point came up in the staff meetings, held in conjunction with the Board meeting, that requires legal consideration.

The various state organizations do not, as yet, have written evidence of tax-exemption from the Internal Revenue Department. Since getting such statements is a slow process, there will be an interim period of a year or more before all of them will have evidence that would satisfy a foundation. During this period, would it be possible for the Southern Regional Council, as a tax-exempt agency, to receive sizeable gifts/earmarked -- say, $300 to $5,000 -- for the development of program in a particular state?

We see an analogy in the grant of the Fund for the Republic to the Southern Regional Council for the specified purpose of developing program in state organizations. Since this grant is tax-exempt, would not the same principle apply to other grants made through the Council for designated state organizations?

~~Would~~ We will appreciate your advice on the legal question involved.

Sincerely,

GSM

Southern Re[redacted]

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU[redacted]

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

November 12, 1954

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leonard:

A point came up in the staff meetings which accompanied, in time, the Board meeting.

In the event that sizeable sums, on the order of say $300 to $5,000, were successfully solicited within the various states in which we are forming these reorganized state race relations agencies, could those gifts be made to the Southern Regional Council for the benefit of the development of a race relations agency in a particular state?

Obviously, there is an interim period of a year or more before the various state organizations will know the answer on whether they are successful in obtaining tax-exemption or not. Gifts made to the Southern Regional Council for the development of a program in a particular state would automatically have tax-exemption.

We see strongly the analogy of the gift of the Fund for the Republic to the Southern Regional Council for the development of a dozen such agencies. And we are inclined to argue that if that gift is tax-exempt so should other gifts be, even those earmarked for the development of program in particular states.

Would you be so kind as to advise us on how that would stand legally?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

December 20, 1954

Revive corres. with Leonard Haas re annual certificate from chairmen of state organizations that they have not violated the act of tax exemption. If this requirement went through arrange for similar certificates for years divisions are assisted by SRC.

August 25, 1954

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leonard:

In several letters back and forth with Marion Wright on miscellaneous points, he has brought up a question on which we need help.

It was first proposed in his letter of July 3, 1954 as follows:

> "Mechanics for assuring SRC that no use of funds will be made in the future or has been made in the past to foster any political activities which would jeopardize our tax exempt status. My mind is open on the method but I do not believe that we should pass out funds without assurance from the recipient that no such use has been made of any part of the fund."

Our reply to that letter was as follows:

> "Our idea would be a detailed letter to each state outfit, laying out the details of our agreement with the state organizations and exacting an agreeing reply. Would that be satisfactory?
>
> . . . there will be the additional safeguard of a requirement on SRC's part that the By-Laws of each state outfit contain language approved by SRC prohibiting politics. There is, also, the safeguard of our payment of the personnel by check from here. But I am willing to require a certification from each state outfit's chairman, quarterly or annually, as the Executive Committee may think best, that the tax-exempt assistance is not being used for political or propagandist purposes."

Marion Wright's final letter, July 19, said "your idea seems satisfactory to me," and also:

> "I like the idea of annual certification by each state chairman that no part of our funds is being used for political or progagandist purposes. My opinion is that Mr. Haas should phrase this certification so that it will be uniform in all cases and will meet the requirements of Federal statutes or Treasury regulations."

We will be at work on a general letter of agreement with each state organization, but we are uncertain of the exact language which, in that letter, would safeguard the point of political participation.

My own suggestion for covering the point in a letter to state organization chairmen would be as follows:

TAX EXEMPTION AND AVOIDANCE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The U. S. Statute defining tax exempted corporations contains the phrase: "and no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation," and the same language governs tax exemptions on gifts.

The Southern Regional Council feels it necessary and proper to safeguard this matter in the conduct of its own program and in its requirements from assisted and affiliated organizations.

One safeguard is the inclusion in your By-Laws of language prohibiting political activity.

We would further wish positive language in your reply to this letter stating that the state organization which you head will painstakingly observe this rule. And further, we would need to receive, at the end of each calendar year in which SRC assistance would have been received by the state organization , a certificate from you or your successor as chairman, that the language of the Act has been observed by the state organization during the preceeding calendar year.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

March 21, 1955

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas & Dodd
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leonard:

Generosity is a great virtue. Generosity and promptness combined -- and that over these many years -- put us all deeply in your debt.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

HAAS, WHITE & DOUGLAS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
SUITE 601 HAAS-HOWELL BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

LEONARD HAAS
EDWARD S. WHITE
HAMILTON DOUGLAS, JR.
GEORGE A. HAAS
LAIRD W. SHULL

TELEPHONE
WALNUT 1151

March 17, 1955

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Sirs:

MAR 18 1955

Enclosed please find contributions from the following:

Elliot L. Haas - $50.00
Herman J. Haas - $50.00
Edwin Haas, Jr. - $50.00

3 CR
rha

Acknowledgment of these contributions may be made to the above parties care of Haas & Dodd, Haas-Howell Building, Atlanta, Georgia.

Very truly yours,

Leonard Haas

Leonard Haas.

LH:LPM

ENC.

March 21, 1955

Mr. Edwin Haas, Jr.
c/o Haas-Howell Building
Haas & Dodd
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Mighty kind of you to send $50.00 to our Southern Regional Council. We promise you it will go to good purpose.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - Official receipt $50.00

cc: Mr. Leonard Haas

March 21, 1955

Mr. Elliot L. Haas
c/o Haas & Dodd
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Nearly a hundred years ago a tobacco manufacturer in Richmond, Virginia, named Thomas, who was a Baptist, extended his friendship and hospitality and help to my Baptist preacher grandfather who had a Seminary on his hands. Indeed, the friendship had roots a generation or two before that! I was told, at my mother's knee that anyone descended from her was ever to be friends with anyone descended from the Thomases. And to this day I think I know where all the Thomases are.

I feel the same way about all people kin to Leonard Haas.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - Official receipt $50.00
cc: Mr. Leonard Haas

July 7, 1955

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leonard:

This matter should be notified to you, and I now do so.

Various people say the station or the broadcaster should be sued. My own disposition would be a strong letter setting them right -- that and no more.

But, do read it and ponder it, and you and I will discuss it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

Encl. transcript of radio Broadcast
station W.I.L.D., Montgomery, Ala.

Mrs. Leonard Haas
888 Oakdale Road, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia

August 8, 1955

Dear Harold:

Enclosed are the excellent materials which I appreciate your sending to me ever so much.

I suppose that by now, Scott Houston has called you re this subject. It developed that other obligations made it impossible for me to be present at either their September or October meeting. However, I had already read these materials and found them well worthwhile.

Again, many thanks for your interest and help. I am going to plan for us to have an evening together soon without an agenda.

Best wishes,

Be Haas

Resignation from Chairman + as counsel for SRC

October 17, 1955

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leonard:

Twenty-five solid years of devoted service, even to the best of causes, earns a man all the laurels. We are all grateful to you for sound backing and wise advice, and we cannot stand in the way of your wish to hand over the job of counsel. But I do state that I think you are performing that function admirably, and it will be a great loss to SRC to shift the job to anyone else.

Nevertheless I will, of course, bring your letter to the attention of the Executive Committee at its forthcoming meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. Marion A. Wright

HAAS, WHITE & DOUGLAS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
SUITE 601 HAAS-HOWELL BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

LEONARD HAAS
EDWARD S. WHITE
HAMILTON DOUGLAS, JR.
GEORGE A. HAAS
LAIRD W. SHULL
RICHARD G. WILKINS

TELEPHONE
WALNUT 1151

1192

October 14, 1955

OCT 15 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

For the reasons given to you in person, I tender herewith my resignation as counsel for and as a member of the Executive Committee of Southern Regional Council, Inc., which I ask that you present to the Executive Committee when it meets on October 28th.

Please be assured I shall continue, as always, to be interested in the activities of the Council, and if at any time I can be of any help please call on me.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard Haas

Leonard Haas.

LH:LPM

Mrs. Edwin R. Haas,
c/o Mr. Leonard Haas,
Suite 601, Haas-Howell Building,
Atlanta,
GEORGIA.

November 30th, 1955.

Dear Mrs. Haas,

Gentleness and thoughtful kindness and self-sacrificing helpfulness I think is named Haas.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.
Encl.

HAAS, WHITE & DOUGLAS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
SUITE 601 HAAS-HOWELL BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

LEONARD HAAS
EDWARD S. WHITE
HAMILTON DOUGLAS, JR.
GEORGE A. HAAS
LAIRD W. SHULL
RICHARD G. WILKINS

TELEPHONE
WALNUT 1151

1192

November 29, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

NOV 30 1955

Dear George:

Enclosed please find contribution of Florence L. Haas of $100.00 to Southern Regional Council.

CR rha

Acknowledgment should be made to Mrs. Edwin R. Haas, 140 Waverly Way, N. E.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard Haas

Leonard Haas.

LH:LPM

ENC.

Exec. Board

February 6, 1956

Mr. Leonard Haas
Suite 601
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Marion Wright some time back asked for a publication of a break-down of our Board Members by occupational classification. This has been done and is here supplied to Members of the Executive Committee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

May 2, 1956

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leonard:

The meeting of the Executive Committee on April 20-21 elected Mr. Joseph Haas to be General Counsel to the Southern Regional Council. We have written Mr. Haas and asked him to be kind enough to serve in that capacity. I had some personal assurance from him two weeks ago that he would be willing so to serve.

I declare I hate to push together the covers which bind the fluttering leaves of the occasion stretched over all these years when you have put devotion, courage, wisdom, learning, and sacrifice into the Southern Regional Council. As long as I live I will cherish each leaf.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

cc: MAW

RECEIVED MAY - 4 1956

HAAS, WHITE & DOUGLAS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
SUITE 601 HAAS-HOWELL BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

LEONARD HAAS
EDWARD S. WHITE
HAMILTON DOUGLAS, JR.
GEORGE A. HAAS
RICHARD G. WILKINS

TELEPHONE
WALNUT 1151

May 3, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

photograph

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter of May 2nd advising me of the election of Joseph Haas as General Counsel of Southern Regional Council, and of his acceptance thereof. I am quite sure you will find him satisfactory in every respect.

I greatly appreciate the warm sentiments expressed in the last paragraph of your letter. I can only say that my association with you and your associates at Southern Regional Council has been one of the greatest satisfactions of my later years. My interest in the Council shall remain unabated.

With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

Leonard Haas

Leonard Haas.

LH:LPM

May 7, 1956

Mr. Leonard Haas, Attorney,
Haas-Howell Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Some time ago you generously agreed to continue as General Counsel until such time as a suitable replacement might be found. That time seems now to have arrived.

No mere polite expressions of regret fit this occasion. More than once your active intervention saved the life of the Council. Always your wisdom guided it aright and your resolution and spirit inspired the organization to hold fast to its high purposes. That we are alive and that we spurn compromise where principle is involved are largely due to your own intellectual and moral integrity.

You have left your impress on the Council. The Council will leave its impress on the South. Whether it knows it or not, the better South of the future will owe much to Leonard Haas.

Personally, I am the richer for our association.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

b c to George Mitchell
b c to John A. Griffin
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

May 14, 1956

MEMORANDUM

TO: GSA

FROM: GSM

Will you try to find out how one gets a scroll illumined suitably? Matter arises in connection with proposed presentation to Leonard Haas in November at the Board meeting. HCF is drafting the language.

cab/

May 14, 1956

MEMORANDUM

TO: HCF

FROM: GSM

Will you take on responsibility for contriving language suitable to be used in a scroll honoring Mr. Leonard Haas; to be available in time for illumination in time for the Board meeting prospective in November.

eab/

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . .

June 12, 1956

GSA:

Dr. Mitchell would like you to handle all notations on the card and lists.

Return to

GSA

June 12, 1956

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leonard:

We are sorry to have you resign, but I understand the considerations which move you. I will present the matter to the Executive Committee at its meeting in July.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

HAAS, WHITE & DOUGLAS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
SUITE 601 HAAS-HOWELL BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

LEONARD HAAS
EDWARD S. WHITE
HAMILTON DOUGLAS, JR.
GEORGE A. HAAS
RICHARD G. WILKINS

TELEPHONE
WALNUT 1151

1192

June 5, 1956

RECEIVED JUN 6 1956

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Attention Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

Dear George:

For the reasons given you over the telephone today, I am herewith tendering my resignation as a member of the Council and also as a member of the Board, effective immediately.

Please be assured that my interest in the Council has not abated one whit.

With all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Leonard Haas

Leonard Haas.

LH:LPM

cc
GSM

August 2, 1956

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leonard:

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council July 20-21 a motion was passed accepting your resignation from the Board of the Southern Regional Council with great regret. I notify you of this so that you may know that the action is official.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 18, 1956

Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Haas
888 Oakdale Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bea and Leonard:

At the earnest invitation of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, the two of you should please try to be at Williamsburg for the meeting of the Board of SRC November 14-15. The Williamsburg Restoration has promised us a pair of taverns on the Duke of Gloucester Street, and we may sort out rooms as we please therein. Meals in the dining room of the Lodge, perhaps a third of a mile away. We hope people will appear in time for lunch at the Lodge on November 14th (no special foregathering -- find a table as people please). The meeting should begin at about 2:00 in the afternoon of the 14th. Another meeting next morning, and after lunch on the 15th we will scatter.

As to transportation.

By rail. You take the Seaboard's Silver Comet (Emory about 6:40 p.m.) to Richmond, and get off in rather the dawnings -- about 5:30 a.m., and wait about disconsolately for the C. and O's train for Williamsburg, which leaves Richmond around 8:00 a.m., and gets into Williamsburg an hour later. Back trip much the same, riding Comet Richmond to Emory.

By car. About 600 miles, each way. Make for East North-Central North Carolina, then push up to Surry Court House, Virginia, whence frequent ferries to Jamestown Island, when eight miles to Williamsburg.

By plane. Best deal is to take EAL Flight 582, 8:00 a.m., November 14th from the Atlanta airport, arriving at Richmond airport 11:39 a.m. Richmond's airport is a leg on the way to Williamsburg. SRC will probably have a couple of cars at the Richmond airport, for the load down to Williamsburg, and people ought to have been fetched to Williamsburg by 1:00 -- time for lunch. Richmond to Williamsburg is hardly fifty miles. The back run November 15th, (if you should come straight back), easiest by EAL Flight 565 from the Richmond airport at 2:53 p.m., reaching Atlanta airport at 6:33 p.m.

By all precedent, headquarters should be in Brick House Tavern on the Duke of Gloucester Street. When you have decided the best way to go, if you want us to get the tickets and deliver them to you, we would be glad to.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED DEC 11 1956

December 7, 1956

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

I wish to express my regret that because of my evening class I could not attend the dinner last night in which the Council made an effort to express to you its appreciation for your wonderful contribution to its program and to its purposes through the years.

I think your spirit and devotion is well illustrated in a little incident that I recall. George Mitchell and I called on you and suggested that despite your expressed interest in turning over the counsel's job to someone else, we wished to ask you to continue for a longer time because of special circumstances that the Council was in. It didn't take you ten seconds to agree.

And so may I add my personal word of appreciation to those expressed to you by the Council.

Sincerely,

JAG

John A. Griffin

Bd. directors
Haas Dinner

December 14, 1956

Mr. Philip Hammer
70 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hammer:

We want to thank you for cooperating with the Council in sponsoring the dinner at Atlanta University to honor Mr. Leonard Haas.

You will recall that each participant was requested to contribute $2.00 for the cost of his dinner. We would appreciate your sending a check to the Council for this amount.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA/bsc

December 14, 1956

Mr. Joseph Haas
First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

We want to thank you for cooperating with the Council in sponsoring the dinner at Atlanta University to honor Mr. Leonard Haas.

You will recall that each participant was requested to contribute $2.00 for the cost of his dinner. We would appreciate your sending a check to the Council for this amount.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA/bsc

another original made 1 copy correct

Gilbert
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

December 14, 1956

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mayo:

We want to thank you for cooperating with the Council in sponsoring the dinner at Atlanta University to honor Mr. Leonard Haas.

You will recall that each participant was requested to contribute $2.00 for the cost of his dinner. We would appreciate your sending a check to the Council for this amount.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA/bsc

December 4, 1956

Dr. B. R. Brazeal
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Brazeal:

I have checked with your secretary and found that you plan to return to your office on Wednesday of this week.

Doctor Mitchell would like for you to participate in a dinner honoring Mr. Leonard Haas at the Atlanta University Dining Hall on Thursday evening, December 6, 1956, at 7:00 p.m. The Council's citation will be presented to Mr. Haas at this time.

Each person participating is requested to pay $2.00 for the cost of his or her meal. The affair is open to wives. Please let me know as early as possible whether or not you can attend.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA/bsc

December 4, 1956

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

Doctor Mitchell would like for you to participate in a dinner honoring Mr. Leonard Haas to be held at the Atlanta University Dining Hall on Thursday evening, December 6, 1956, at 7:00 p.m. The Council is presenting a citation to Mr. Haas at this time.

Each person participating is requested to pay $2.00 to cover the cost of his or her meal. The affair is open to wives. Please let us know as early as possible whether or not you can attend.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA/bsc

December 4, 1956

Mr. Joseph Haas
Fist National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

This will confirm my telephone conversation with you on yesterday in reference to a dinner at Atlanta University Dining Hall on Thursday, December 6, 1956, at 7:00 p.m.; to honor Mr. Leonard Haas.

There will be a charge of $2.00 for each person participating in the dinner. The dinner will be held in the Atlanta University Dining Hall located at 40 Chestnut Street, Southwest.

You may also feel free to bring your wife. Some of the board members have indicated that they are bringing their wives. Please let us know immediately if you plan to bring your wife.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA/bsc

Carbon
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

December 4, 1956

Miss Josephine Wilkins
c/o Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Wilkins:

This will confirm my telephone conversation with you on yesterday in reference to a dinner at Atlanta University Dining Hall on Thursday, December 6, 1956, at 7:00 p.m., to honor Mr. Leonard Haas.

There will be a charge of $2.00 for each person participating in the dinner. The dinner will be held in the Atlanta University Dining Hall located at 40 Chestnut Street, Southwest.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assitant

GSA/bsc

Eaton's
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

December 4, 1956

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mays

This will confirm my telephone conversation with you on yesterday in reference to a dinner at Atlanta University Dining Hall on Thursday, December 6, 1956, at 7:00 p.m., to honor Mr. Leonard Haas.

There will be a charge of $2.00 for each person participating in the dinner. The dinner will be held in the Atlanta University Dining Hall located at 40 Chestnut Street, Southwest.

You may also feel free to bring your wife. Some of the board members have indicated that they are bringing their wives. Please let us know immediately if you plan to bring your wife.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

gsa/bsc

December 4, 1956

Mr. L. D. Milton, President
Citizens Trust Company
212 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Milton:

This will confirm my telephone conversation with you on yesterday in reference to a dinner at Atlanta University Dining Hall on Thursday, December 6, 1956, at 7:00 p.m., to honor Mr. Leonard Haas.

There will be a charge of $2.00 for each person participating in the dinner. The dinner will be held in the Atlanta University Dining Hall located at 40 Chestnut Street, Southwest.

You may also feel free to bring your wife. Some of the board members have indicated that they are bringing their wives. Please let us know immediately if you plan to bring your wife.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA/bsc

December 4, 1956

Mr. Philip Hammer
70 Fairlie Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hammer:

This will confirm my telephone conversation with you on yesterday in reference to a dinner at Atlanta University Dining Hall on Thursday, December 6, 1956, at 7:00 p.m., to honor Mr. Leonard Haas.

There will be a charge of $2.00 for each person participating in the dinner. The dinner will be held in the Atlanta University Dining Hall located at 40 Chestnut Street, Southwest.

You may also feel free to bring your wife. Some of the board members have indicated that they are bringing their wives. Please let us know immediately if you plan to bring your wife.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA/bsc

Board Members

1. B. R. Brazeal - Ja 1-1173
2. G. E. Clary - Jru 8-9817 another engagement
3. R. E. Clement - Ja 3-6431 out of city until return Friday
4. John A. Griffin - ~~Ja 3-1957~~ Dr 3-1621 Dr 4-348 can not come
5. Joseph Haas - Ja 5-6831 Honorees
6. Philip Hammer - Ja 4-6441 Mr. & Mrs. Haas
7. B. E. Mays - Murray 8-4223 will attend
8. L. D. Milton - Ja 4-0614
9. J. M. Richards - Dr 3-3690 will be away
10. H. V. Richardson - Jru 8-8311 will be away
11. Miss Josephine Wilkins - Tr. 5-3461

Staff

1. Dr. Mitchell & Alice come $2.00 per person
2. Harold Fleming
3. Dr. Wells & Mrs Wells yes
4. Fred Routh
Thursday 7:

8
10
12

Marion A. Wright
Po. 5 - 2522
Spruce Pine, N.C.

DR. R. R. MILLER
SCHOOL OF DENTISTRY
MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE
NASHVILLE 8, TENN.

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American Civil Liberties Union

Founded 1920
Incorporated

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

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January 24, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I have your January 20 letter requesting a copy of a speech by Edward Bennett Williams before the ACLU on the issue of proper legal defense of unpopular clients. We don't have such a statement. Mr. Williams was scheduled to address our Biennial Conference in Chicago last April, but he had to cancel at the last minute. However, he has spoken on this subject on numerous occasions and I am sure if you write him he will send you a statement of his views. His address in Washington, D.C. is 839 17 Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Sincerely yours,

Alan Reitman

Alan Reitman
Associate Director

Law Offices
Edward Bennett Williams
1000 Hill Building
Washington 6, D.C.
METROPOLITAN 8-6565

EDWARD BENNETT WILLIAMS
THOMAS A. WADDEN, JR.
CHARLES P. MULDOON
HAROLD UNGAR
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VINCENT J. FULLER
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ROBERT L. WEINBERG

COUNSEL
JOHN W. GUIDER
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JOHN A. SELBY

February 4, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your letter to Mr. Williams dated February 1, 1961 has been received during his absence from Washington. He is at present in trial in Boston and does not plan to return for at least another week.

I am sorry that we cannot comply with your request for copies of statements or speeches on the subject of legal defense of unpopular clients. Mr. Williams does not use a prepared text when speaking so unfortunately we have none available for distribution.

Very truly yours,

Jenora Parker

Jenora Parker
Secretary to Mr. Williams

February 1, 1961

Mr. Edward Bennett Williams
839 - 17th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Williams:

On a number of occasions you have spoken on the responsibilities of attorneys and bar associations in the legal defense of unpopular clients. If available, may we have a copy of any of your statements or speeches on this subject?

Thank you for your attention to this request.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mf

November 21, 1961

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

It was very good of you to phone before the Annual Meeting. I am sorry that I was not in to take the call. We would, as always, have been delighted to have had you with us. Fortunately, we always know that your interest in the Council is strong.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

~~Leading File~~

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ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

file

November 4, 1964

Mr. Joseph Haas
1116 First National Bank Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Joe:

A personnel question has arisen, on which I have come to believe, after much consideration, I must ask your opinion as counsel.

The question is whether a professional employee of the Council may offer for election to the state legislature, taking leave of absence without pay during his campaign and during sessions of the legislature (if elected).

Would you please advise me and the Personnel Committee whether in your opinion:

1. Such action would violate or jeopardize our legal obligations as a tax exempt organization;

2. Such action would be in the interest of the Council, even if legally permissible?

Employees of tax exempt institutions(e.g. university professors and administrators) have often offered for and given legislative service. We are not clear, however, as

to whether a similar privilege is available to SRC's professional employees.

I would greatly appreciate your counsel as soon as convenient for you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
cc: Members of the Personnel Committee
John Wheeler
Raymond Wheeler
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Franklin Williams
Stephen Wright

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Leonard Haas

Born: Atlanta, Georgia, 1880

Formal education: A.B. University of Georgia, 1899; LLB. Columbia University, 1902.

Occupational history: Admitted to the New York Bar, 1902; Practiced in New York City 1902-1904. Admitted to the Georgia bar 1904 and has since practiced in Atlanta, individually fifteen years and in various partnerships. Now with Haas, Lyons, Howell, & Hurt. Counsel for numerous insurance and transportation companies, etc.

Currently a member of: American Bar Association; Phi Beta Kappa; Legal counsel for the Southern Regional Council (also on executive committee of SRC)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Feb. 8/44

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

It was with considerable fear and trembling that I agreed a month ago to take the directorship of the Council. I was very happily situated at Chapel Hill, where I was in my twentieth year of service, and my roots had gone down pretty deep there. However, when I was asked to be executive director of the Council, I felt that I was under a moral obligation to take the place and to try my level best to help the Council achieve the goals which were set forth in the Durham-Richmond-Atlanta conferences.

I am aware of the great part which you played in preparing the Durham Conference and the Durham Statement. I know that you must have gone through some very trying moments. I am also aware of the fact that the idea of setting up a Southern Regional Council was possibly developed a little too quickly. But the thing is done now, and, as I see it, we must all work like everything to make of the Council a truly democratic body whose primary aim shall be to work along the lines of the Durham Statement. In my "keynote" talk at the meeting next week I am going to bear down hard on this point.

I hope that you are planning to come to the meeting on next Wednesday and Thursday. We hope to dispose of the by-laws and the election of directors during the afternoon session on Wednesday. At any rate, either on Wednesday evening or Thursday morning, we want to have a program session. Mrs. Ames has agreed to talk on the theme of the transition from the Commission to the Council. I hope that you will consent to follow her with a talk on whatever is closest to your heart with respect to the implementation of the Durham Statement. I will follow with my talk on the purposes and policies of the Council, and Dr. Reid will present some suggestions as to program and methods of work. I feel that this session would not be complete without a talk from you, for in a very real sense you are the father of this whole movement.

Since I have been here I have worked night and day to prepare for a really significant meeting on February 16-17, to conserve the good-will of people on the Commission who have had —and with good reason — some misgivings as to the relation of the Council to the Commission, and to offset in various ways some of the well-intentioned but hasty procedures which were followed in forming the Council. For example, the chairmen decided to put only five names on the petition for the charter in order to save time and to save expense in advertising the petition. Since the charter was to be granted in Georgia, they used three Georgia names plus the co-chairmen. They overlooked the fact that this constituted them the sole legal body for organizing the corpora-

tion; and they neglected to meet, as provided by the charter, and to designate charter members to ~~organizing~~ be associated with them in organizing the Council. Even the temporary Board of Directors were not legally members of the Council, because the Incorporators had not met and so designated them. However, I think that all of this has really turned out to be a blessing. When I came into the picture a few days after the charter was granted, I began to pick up all of the background of the Council that I could. I suddenly realized that it would look very bad indeed for the thirty-six temporary directors to meet in February as the charter members and elect themselves each and everyone as members of the first Board of Directors of the SRC, Inc. When I brought this to the attention of the Incorporators, they were all to glad to accept the suggestion that they meet and designate a good-sized group of charter members. And so it has come about that all members of the Commission and all persons who took an active part in one or more of the Durham-Richmond-Atlanta conferences have been given a chance to accept charter membership. I believe that you agree with me that this is exactly as it should have been all along. The meeting next week will now be a real charter-member meeting. There will be between one hundred and one hundred fifty people present, with about a hundred represented by proxy. It is most important that this large group be made to realize that this is their organization and they must decide upon its by-laws, government, and program of action.

I hope that you will be here for the meeting, that you will speak, and that we will have time for a good heart-to-heart talk about the Council. Looking forward to seeing you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Guy B. Johnson

P.S. I thought you might be interested in an address which I made at A & T College last November on their Founders' Day, and I am sending a copy under separate cover. It was very hurriedly prepared, the last half having been written at A & T during the hour before I was to speak; and now that I look back on it I am painfully aware that there is a spot —where I refer to my article of nine years ago — which sounds very egotistical! This address was written two months before I had the remotest idea that I would be connected with the Council. I had been saying this sort of thing every time I spoke on race relations, and so, when I was asked to consider the directorship of the Council, I felt as if someone had said to me, "Well, here is the chance. Either put up or shut up." I had grave doubts as to whether I was the sort of man the job called for, but I felt that I just had to take it and do my best. It was the toughest decision I have ever made, and I had to make it quickly before my head got the better of my heart.

GBJ

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

Sixth March
1 9 4 4

GORDON B. HANCOCK

Dr Guy B Johnson
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Dr Johnson:

When I left Atlanta a few days ago I was supremely happy at the turn of many matters. Your very acceptance of the directorship of the new Southern Regional Council filled me with bouyant hope and not without a keen appreciation of the exacting demands that will be made upon you. But because I have the profoundest high regards for your ability and sincerity I left Atlanta a very happy man. Moreover the conviction is being gradually forced upon me that the thing we are trying to do must be done sooner or later and even if many of our plans prove abortive we still will be pioneers in the more aggressive interracialism which the great Tommorrow will demand.

More than once have I thought on the necessity of a strategy. I know you have. Unless we have a strategy we are going to be left at the post. In some of our meetings there in Atlanta I urged to incorporate the name of the Deity in some of our carefully worded statements. While I do not mean that our orgainzation should go into the evangelization business, I do mean that there is a trmendous pull in religion and its implications. I am convinced that we can go farther in the name of religion than under any other standard. Within the last fifteen years it has been my great privilege to speak before groups of yonng whites of the South and East and in the aggrgate I would conservatively estimate the number at about approximately 15,000 with occasional sermons in white churches. I am convinced that in the religious appeal we have something. Of the Marxian and Christian formulas I believe that the latter holds greater possibilities for us in our present situation. The very moment we predicate a program on the Christian ethic, we rally a large segment of our population or we set them in conflict with the teachings of Jesus Christ. The most rabid Negro-haters are church members for the most part and although in the short run the church affiliations may not weigh heavily with him, the ordinary church member sooner or later returns to religion for his ultimate comfort and if he find the racial challenge bound up with his religion he is bound to register himself in a certain type of Christian reaction.

I am not a zealot in things religious. I just feel that we have in the Christian religion the dynamic that we need in our present undertaking. It is hardly possible for us to launch our efforts as a religious organization, but there is no good reason why we should not. But to make it somewhat of a cross between religion and democracy, we put the greatest forces in the nation on the defensive. Churchmen are becoming more and more ashamed of the part church members are playing in the perpetuation of the un-Christian thing we call race prejudice. Unless we do something about prejudice itself, we labor in vain.

Dr Guy Johnson Two

The soundest kind of strategy will prescribe for prejudice. I am sure that it will be possible for you and Dr Reed to devise something in your program that takes this important fact into account. Whatever I may be able to do I shall be glad to do in the future even as in the past. But my long experience convinces me that we are going to miss a great dynamic if we totally ignore the reservoir of possibilities residing in the Christian ethic. With men like Babson and Ellwood and Hocking and others calling for a return to the fundamentals of religion, there is a possibility-even a probability-that at the close of the current war there will be rising a tide of religious enthusiasm and it is quite possible that this tide will lift our movement forward at a rate we could not reasonably dream by sheer operation of economic and sociological processes detached from spiritual content implied in religion.

Mrs Ames wrote me that she spoke to you about my more or less necessitous situation. Mr Young also apprised you of my hopes that I could be of help in ways whereby I might receive some remuneration. This is putting the thing rather bluntly but it is putting it just about right. There is nothing especially shameful about being poor if one has been conscientious in his prosecution of a thankless task such as I have done these years. While not exactly down and out, I am nearing old age without sufficient security for the simple reason I preferred serving at work I liked rather than at work I could make something out of financially. I turned down a job offering $3500 in New Jersey to come to Richmond at a salary of $1200 in 1921. I rather had the notion that Negroes who were prepared to help other Negroes should not run away from the problem but should rush right into it and stand up to it and fight it out. This I have tried to do these years. But in my determination to do good I have missed many opportunities to "fix" myself financially with the result I would be happy to come in on some of your projects not merely to share in the means at the disposal of the Cpuncil but rather share in some of the responsibility for advancing the common cause.

I am mightyb glad that you are going to continue the Frontier. When we were sponsoring the Durham Conference I got out a little paper which I called The Southern Vision. I realized even as you have already done that we need an organo of expression. Moreover we need one that will tell some of the many good things as well as many of the bad things. There are some hopeful things happening from time to time but these are played down so effectively that we are left as if stranded in dismay and confusion. Our organization could easily play up more of the better side. Here is where I would like to function.

In order that you might get some idea of what was my conception of a paper to carry out our program I am enclosing a copy of the publication. I feel that the cartoon is powerfully suggestive. So in the Frontier, our cartooning can be made a powerful force for good. I had thought if you could call the publication the Frontier-Vision it would embody the two great ideals which permeates our organization. The "Frontier" would set forth the wonderful movement launched by interracialists of yesteryear; the "Vision" would symbolize the Durham Conference which sponsored the meetings out of which grew our present promising Regional Council. As you see there is an element of the sentimental in my suggestion and this makes it all the more unimportant. The main thing is, the Southern Regional Council must move forward to its Heaven-appointed destiny. There are possibilities in the movement that should hold possibilities of immortality for the men consecrated to its advancement.

With sincerest pledges of fullest cooperation and with high hopes for great accomplishments in the by and by if not now, I remain,

Yours very faithfully,

Gordon B. Hancock

The Southern Vision

Sponsored By The Southern Conference On Race Relations

"Men Must Be Brotherized or They Will Be Brutalized"

VOL. I | RICHMOND, VA., APRIL 1943 | No. I

THE ANSWER

LAST OCTOBER a group of Negroes met in Durham and addressed themselves to a threatening situation. Those Negroes knew that they could not solve all the problems of the Negro race; that their intentions would be gainsaid and their serious attempt disparaged. But those Negroes knew that tragic situations seldom or never correct themselves; but must be handled by men of courage and vision.

That group of men and women faced an awful challenge but to their credit be it said that they did not back down before it, but stood up to it and brought forth the Durham Declaration or the basis for a new charter of race relations in the South. There was no precedent set for us; there were no finances to attract the attention of those of great promotional powers. We went to Durham with the conference promoted at an expense aggregating only fifty dollars.

One of the first advance notices that the Durham group was in dead earnest was their attempt to discharge the indebtedness. They did, but this left no funds for promotional work. The *Journal and Guide* published 500 copies of the Conference Proceedings and so quickly were these exhausted that 1600 additional copies were brought from the press. So strong was the demand for copies that we ordered 5000 published and to date this number is moving rapidly.

Requests for copies are coming from every region and state of the country. The publication of such large number of copies entailed a financial obligation of quite two hundred dollars. The Guide published the statement on faith and so we sent out a call for funds with the question, WHAT IS YOUR PLEASURE? meaning of course whether we are to go back or go on? To date the constituency of the conference and other interested friends have contributed nearly three hundred with which to promote the work of the conference. These men and women of vision answered with their money and so the work goes on. Copies of the report have been sent to every white and Negro college of the South and many to the East and West and North by request.

Today we are mailing copies to the fifty-five seminaries of the South white and Negro. We have written a record which must be read throughout the nation. When Negroes answer with their pocketbooks we are heading somewhere in particular.

The Atlanta Conference

A HUNDRED representative white Southerners recently met in Atlanta to consider the statement made by sixty representative Negro Southerners who met in Durham last October. The statement released to the Associated Press by the white group was encouraging. They recognized the justice of all the Negro's petitions and made this significant observation: "These Negro leaders rightfully placed emphasis in their statement on discrimination in the administration of our laws purely on racial grounds. We are sensitive to the charge and admit that it is essentially just. . . . While all citizens are governed by the same laws, it is recognized that Negroes have little voice in the making or enforcement of the laws under which they must live. This is a violation of the spirit of democracy. No Southerner can logically dispute the fact that the Negro is an American citizen, and is entitled to his civil rights and economic opportunities." The statement further pledges the white South to "correct discriminations between races in the allocation of school funds, in the number and quality of schools, in the salaries of the teachers and in the distribution of public utilities and public benefits."

If the Durham Conference did no more than provoke this statement of the white South, it has abundantly justified itself. But this is not the end but the beginning. The first time the Negro and white South have reduced to writings and record their mutual proffers of understanding. Of course no intelligent person assumes that the interracial millennium is just around the corner; but the most doubtful Thomases in the realms of race relations must admit that a constructive beginning has been made. It is possible and even probable that we are on the threshold of some constructive developments in race relations that may easily prove a blessing to the races, the nation and the world. Those who say, "It can never be done in the South," should remember that "never" is a long time! We are hopeful because we are right—because we are working for Human Brotherhood!

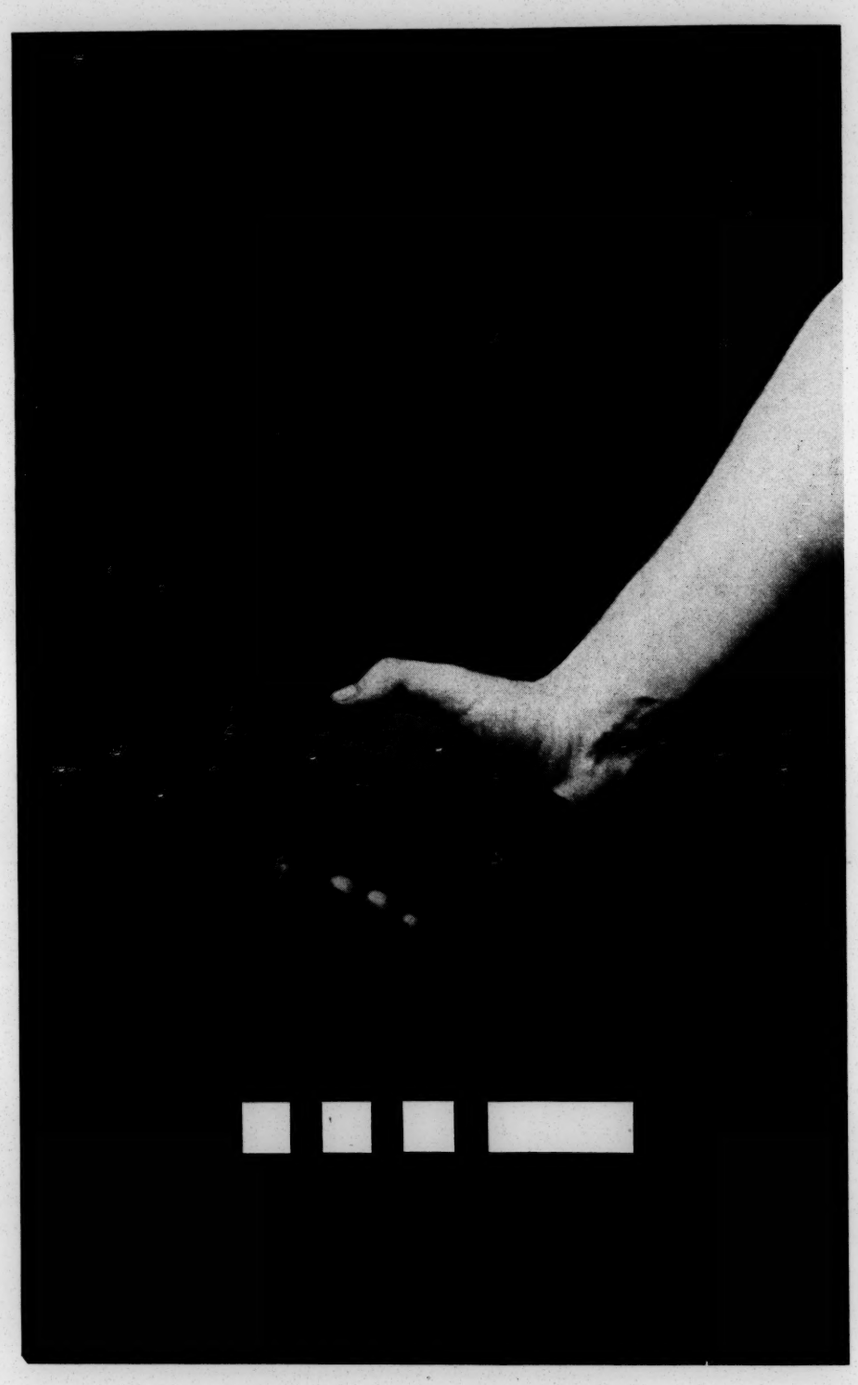
Salutatory:

The Human Brotherhood

ONLY HUMAN brotherhood is worth the tragic price mankind is paying to the gods of war. Only human brotherhood can give meaning to our vaunted way of life, our proclaimed democracy, our boasted religion and the envisioned four freedoms. In all recorded history this world has never presented such a tragic situation as that surrounding mankind today. Through the onward strides of science mankind is standing upon a pinnacle of material power threatening to hurl himself downward to destruction.

The world that might have been a paradise is an arsenal where implements are being fashioned to reduce human slaughter to a science. With the powers of science geared to human destruction and with the genius of mankind consecrated to hate and hurt, a heartbreaking spectacle is foisted upon him who like Jeremiah can sit at the upper window and view the tragic transpirations. We may utter pleasing platitudes and prove by a certain kind of logic the greatness and the progress of mankind; but the solemn fact remains we are face to face with destruction.

With World Wars coming in such swift succession and with such accentuated fury, our way leads up hill and into the dark. This is by no means the last world war, if we really consider the things that go to make for peace.



FORMULA FOR VICTORY—*Victory for Human Brotherhood* FRAZER
Courtesy of Virginia Union Bulletin

Race hatreds and international suspicions that today are rankling in the hearts of the battling nations are the surest guarantee of another world war more deadly than the one upon us today. These are ugly, sombre facts that make us to shudder as the shadow of things to come flits in our pathway. Wars and rumors of wars, economic and social preachments, professed Christianity are not the answers to the deeper yearning of the human heart after peace. Human brotherhood is THE ANSWER!

There is a peaceful world of the future separated from the warring world of the present; but the portal leading thereto is human brotherhood as envisioned by the Son of God. There is no other way. There is no alternative but death! MEN MUST BE BROTHERIZED OR THEY WILL BE BRUTALIZED. We have tried brutality long enough. Lets try brotherhood NOW. THE SOUTHERN VISION fares forth today on the high and holy mission of human brotherhood.

Another Moral Creditor

THE RETIREMENT of Dr. R. B. Eleazor from the Commission on Interracial Cooperation is an event of more than passing moment. He has wrought well. There are thousands who will hold him in affectionate veneration for the effective prosecution of a thankless task. He was not spectacular; he did not go in for publicity stunts with race relations as a tail to fly his kite of personal popularity. Dr. Eleazor tried conscientiously to further the cause of interracial good-will. He succeeded in a marvelous way. May he through the coming years feel proud of a record wrought in a tedious and at times thankless task. The thing he tried to do must be done if we of the South are to be spared great tribulations. He retires a great moral creditor with the South and nation deeply indebted to him for a substantial service rendered. There are those who will not forget.

¶

THE ACCESSION of Dr. Luther Foster to the presidency of Virginia State College is an occasion of real encouragement to the race. The basis of his promotion was not in his claims of profound scholarship but in a record that stands out in bold relief. Degrees and great learning have their place but great ability and character have their place also. The elevation of Dr. Foster is an unmistakable recognition of this stubborn fact. In Dr. Foster the great opportunity has made contact with a great man. We are emboldened to predict great things for Virginia State in the future even as there were great things in the past.

¶

WOULD THAT we all were gifted as Dr. Rufus Clement of Atlanta University with the rare gift of doing much and saying little. Like the leaven hidden in a measure of meal it is better known by its results. Great accomplishments must have great foundations. Dr. Clement is determined to lay solid foundations. There is an element of assurance in everything being done at Atlanta University. We need sorely such example of quiet greatness.

Sacred to the memory of late president J. B. Watson of A. and M. College of Arkansas. He was one of those who caught the vision that the Durham Conference brought forth. Whatever comes of the great attempt to help interracial understanding the Durham Conference sought after, will be a tribute to the part he played in launching the movement. The cause of education and race relations have lost an able champion.

THE INTERRACIAL Review by the Catholics is easily a classic in its field. If one would see interracial cooperation in action one must read the Review. With the characteristic Catholic thoroughness, the Review not only speaks of Negroes and for Negroes but it lets Negroes speak for themselves. Throughout the South the Catholics are cultivating those friendly contacts of the races that spell good will. Futhermore, it would pay some of our Protestant brethren to come a little closer to the people they fain would save. Religion is one thing that cannot be spread by long distance. The salt cannot save by proxy and neither can good will between the races be cultivated if one party to the cultivation is regarded as untouchable. Negroes will become more impressed with the religion of the white man who is not afraid of them. The Catholics of the South have come to grips with the color question!

¶

OF THE more than three thousand copies of the Durham Statement sent out, eighty per cent was requested by churches and church organizations and study groups. This is tremendously suggestive. The church is at last interested in the outcome of things interracial. The church is at last stirred from its apparent lethargy before a tremendous challenge. After all, the brotherhood of man is one of the basic tenets of the Church and it is therefore fitting that the Church should awake and put on its strength and gird for the pressing task of making Christianity a practical means of fostering human brotherhood. Though late, it is not too late for the church to take its place as leading champion for the cause of race relations.

Getting Somewhere

WHEN FIFTY students of a white high school chorus led by their director, betake themselves to a Negro church and sing for an interracial meeting where a Negro is the principle speaker; and when they mingle freely and with apparent pleasure among hundreds of Negroes who have turned out for the occasion; and when they sit in respectful reverence while a Negro speaker lays bare both the beautiful and ugly facts pertaining to race relations—we are getting somewhere in particular. This is what happened at Roanoke Virginia on Race Relations Sunday. Those students of Thomas Jefferson High School and their eminent Director were really showing the only way to HUMAN BROTHERHOOD.

¶

DR. W. A. FOUNTAIN, President of Morris Brown College is the noble son of a noble sire. He holds a strategic place in the educational economy of the South. He heads a college that Negroes built with Negro money. While we Baptists and Presbyterians and what-nots were asking educational alms of the white man. Richard Allen, the immortal, was training Negroes to help themselves. The Negro Methodists have learned lessons we all must learn if we are to reach our high destiny. Dr. Fountain's blessing upon the Southern Conference has been a source of great strength. The "Richard Allenization" of the Negro race is imperative. The spirit is epitomized in Morris Brown and its erudite President, Dr. Fountain.

¶

DR. CHARLES S. Johnson of Fisk University has recently been elected as chairman of the department of race relation of the American Missionary Association. This is great both for the Association and for Dr. Johnson. This gives him an added outlet for his mighty intellectual powers and gives the Association the services of one whom there is none better. Dr. Johnson epitomizes the enviable combination of common sense and learning which amount to great wisdom. Another gem in the diadem of well-deserved recognition.

VARIETY OF INTERESTS SEEN IN SIGNERS OF STATEMENT

Atlanta, Ga.—Among the persons attending the conference of leading white Southerners here recently and who signed its formal statement on race relations in their individual capacities and not as representatives of any organization to which they belonged, were the following:

The Rev. Theodore F. Adams, pastor of the First Baptist church, Richmond, Va.; Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Atlanta; Noble Y. Beall, Atlanta; Noel R. Beddow, Birmingham, southern director of the United Steel Workers of America (CIO); George C. Bellingrath, of the Rabun Gap-Nacoochee school, Rabun Gap; the Rev. Albert D. Bettes, Orangeburg, S. C.

Rabbi Stanley Bray, Vicksburg, Miss.; Wright Bryan, managing editor of the Atlanta Journal; the Rev. A. R. Burham, Gainesville, Fla.; A. C. Burttram, CIO representative, Birmingham; William E. Cole, professor of sociology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville; R. L. Cousins, Atlanta.

Methodist Bishops A. Frank Smith, Houston, Texas, and Paul B. Kern, Nashville, Tenn.; Bishop Charles Clingman, Episcopal bishop of Kentucky, Louisville; the Rev. Thomas W. Currie, Austin, Texas; W. H. Crawford, Atlanta; Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Va.; Miss Andrew Dale, Nashville, Tenn.; Mrs. George F. Davis, Orangeburg, S. C.; Mary DeBardeleben, Atlanta.

F. M. Dickenson, Memphis, Tenn.; J. C. Dixon, vice president of Mercer University, Macon, Ga.; R. L. Foreman, Jr., Atlanta; Mark Ethridge, publisher of the Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.; the Rev. S. Hughes Garvin, Louisville; Mrs. Nathaniel Gist Gee, Greenwood, S. C.; the Rev. William Gehri, Memphis.

Mrs. Rebecca M. Gershon, Atlanta; C. H. Gillman, Georgia representative of the CIO, Atlanta; Bishop Robert E. Gribbin, Episcopal bishop of Western North Carolina, Asheville; Carey E. Haigler, district CIO representative, Birmingham; Joel C. Harris, Atlanta; Julian LaRose Harris, southern representative of the New York Times, Atlanta; Mrs. E. B. Harrold, Macon, Ga.

Mrs. Henry Havens, Jacksonville, Fla.; Waights G. Henry, Atlanta; Waights G. Henry, Sr., Atlanta; W. C. Henson, Cartersville, Ga.; the Rev. John W. Inzer, Asheville, N. C.; Annie Tait Jenkins, Atlanta; Dr. M. Ashby Jones, Atlanta; Smith L. Johnston, Sr., Woodstock, Ga.; Ryland Knight, Atlanta; Bernard J. Kane, Atlanta; Nat G. Long, Atlanta; Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution.

Frank McCallister, Atlanta; Deaconess Alice McLarty, Birmingham; the Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara, Savannah, Ga.; Edward G. Mackay, Atlanta; Kathleen Mallory, Birmingham; Rabbi David Marx, Atlanta; Lucy Randolph Mason, Atlanta; the Rev Haskell M. Miller, Knoxville; William Mitch, Birmingham; Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, Atlanta; Mrs. Audley Morton, Athens, Ga.

N. C. Newbold, North Carolina State Department of Education, Raleigh; Dr. Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Dr. Stuart R. Oglesby, Atlanta; the Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Savannah, of the Savannah-Atlanta Catholic diocese; W. M. Parker, Atlanta; J. M. Payne, Columbia, S. C.; A. M. Pennybacker, general secretary of YMCA, Chattanooga, Tenn.

E. C. Peters, president of Paine College, Augusta, Ga.; the Rev. H. T. Quillian, president of LaGrange College, LaGrange, Ga.; Mrs. W. H. Ratliff, Sherard, Miss.; Rebecca Reid, Columbia, S. C.; J. McDowell Richards, of Atlanta; James L. Robb, president of Tennessee Wesleyan College, Athens, Tenn.; the Rev. R. L. Russell, McDonough, Ga.; the Rev. John W. Shackford, Greenville, S. C.

Neal B. Spahr, Knoxville, Tenn.; Mrs. Alex Spence, Dallas, Tex.; Mrs. A. H. Sterne, Atlanta; Harry S. Strozier, Macon, Ga.; Willis Sutton, superintendent of Atlanta city schools; John B. Tate, College Park, Ga.; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta; the Rev. King Vivon, Nashvlle; Goodrich C. White, Atlanta; Josephine Wilkins, past president of the Georgia League of Women Voters, Atlanta; W. H. Wiseman, Erin, Tenn.; Emily Woodard, Vienna, Ga.; and Bishop John Moore Walker, bishop of the Atlanta Episcopal diocese; Mrs. R. L. Turman, Atlanta.

¶

THE ELEVATION of Dean O'Hara Lanier to the acting presidency of far-famed Hampton stirs the imagination. It is a most gratifying event and we pay here our deference to this young educational stalwart who seems bent on going places. Good things have a way of happening ever and anon and this is one of them. We are pulling for him—and with him.

DR. BENJAMIN Mays proved to be a man of great vision at Durham. He was the very first to see that we could not do the gigantic task we were set to do in one day. Said he, "Our opportunity is too great to rush through with these deliberations. Let's take our time and write something monumental that the coming generations may read with pride and hope." Dr. Mays had something. The great Morehouse College that made John Hope famous and who in turn helped to spread its fame is a going concern headed towards the heights. There is only one Morehouse and the amiable cultured Benjamin E. Mays is its president.

¶

EDITOR P. B. YOUNG of the *Journal and Guide*, deserves the gratitude of the Negro race and nation for the part he played in helping to bring to fruition the Durham Conference. He opened not only the columns of the *Journal and Guide* but his pocket book to the amount of $25.00 in cash. He advanced nearly $200 for Conference printing. The membership and friends have rallied in a way to discharge the debt. When our men of means are willing to put at the disposal of a great cause their resources without hope of gain we are coming into a new phase of the struggle for Negro advancement. When our faith is implemented with our resources and when we are willing to sacrifice and suffer for our cause, our cause advances irresistibly.

¶

DR. ROBERT P. Daniel of Shaw University was the first to respond to our post-conference call for funds. He had his five dollars in waiting it seems. This fine spirit explains why Shaw's renaissance is demanding the attention of the nation. The forty thousand dollars recently turned over to Shaw is a feeble recognition of what is going on there. The nation remembers with pride the days—the great days—of Shaw under Charles Meserve.

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

March 29, 1944

GORDON B. HANCOCK

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
95 South Fairlie Street, N. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

It was a source of deep regret that I could not attend your meeting last Wednesday, but a sudden turn of affairs here interrupted my plans at the last minute, and I had to forego what I know to be a rare privilege and opportunity. I hope things moved along in a fine way, and as soon as you can, please tell me the whole story.

On the 12th of April, I am invited to Little Rock to share in a symposium discussion before one of the sessions of the Southern Regional Y. W. C. A. Meeting. They have asked me to give a brief resume of the events leading up to the organization of the Southern Regional Council and to discuss, if possible, the program of the Council. Will you, therefore, inform me as best you can what is our program for the immediate future? Moreover, they have asked me to name a few of the most prominent figures among the whites of the South, who are going along with us in this movement. Of course, I can recall a few, but I should like to have a more complete list--that is, a list certified by you. I accepted this invitation very largely because I thought it would give an opportunity to publish the big thing we are trying to do.

Saw him here on Apr. 4 & gave him some material

With high personal regard, I remain

Yours truly,

Gordon B. Hancock

Gordon B. Hancock.

GBH:s

will be there on Friday.

May 10, 1944

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Department of Economics and Sociology
Virginia Union University
Richmond, 20, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

Thanks for your letter of May 6. I hope that the announcements about the committees will be coming out soon from Dr. Odum.

I certainly agree with your reaction to the articles in COMMON GROUND by Mr. Redding and Miss Smith. I had intended to discuss this matter with you when you were here for the Board meeting, and to show you a copy of my reply to the Redding and Smith articles. As soon as the spring issue of COMMON GROUND came out, I wired the editor and asked for the privilege of replying. This was granted, and I submitted my article about April 17. It was accepted, and it will appear in the summer (July) issue of COMMON GROUND.

I am sending under separate cover a copy of my reply. I hope that you will give me your frank comments on it. Will you please return the copy to me, since I have had a number of requests for it.

I doubt whether COMMON GROUND would consider an additional reply, but I think that a critical letter to the editor would be all to the good.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Separate cover

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

May 6, 1944

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I left Atlanta with the impression that we had made a very fine beginning with our stupendous task. I appreciate more than I can express your intimation that I am to be Chairman of your Publication Committee. I feel that in some such capacity, I can render my best service to our new organization.

I was tremendously impressed by the articles in "Common Ground," by Redding and Miss Smith, both of whom were logically and polemically "off-side." Redding appeared as a good lawyer with a bad case. I have never seen such a superficiality more ably expressed. I am asking the editor to allow me to reply. Whether such a reply is worthwhile I am unable to say. Advise me on this point.

Very kindly yours,

Gordon B. Hancock

Gordon B. Hancock.

GBH/s

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
95 Fairlie Street, N. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dr. Johnson -
via Dr. Johnson

COPY

Sixth May 1944

Margaret Anderson, Editor
Common Ground
222 Fourth Avenue
New York City New York

My dear Miss Anderson:

A copy of the Spring issue of Common Ground is before me. The articles Southern Defensive I and II by J Saunders Redding and Lillian Smith respectively of course interest me much as one of the champions of the Southern Regional Council. It would be exceedingly unfair if not indeed unfortunate if their superficial treatment of the subject is left unchallenged and unanswered. The very fact that your editorial note makes much of the fact that you were unsuccessful in getting these articles answered is by no means conclusive proof that there is no answer. There is and I should be too glad to give such answer if you will give promise of reasonable space. I am of course assuming that you are more interested in getting the whole truth told than merely disparaging and misrepresenting the conception and objectives of the Southern Regional Council and the conscientious and honorable men and women who brought it into being and who are resolved to prosecute it with all power that in them is until you and Mr Redding and Miss Smith bring us another and better program.

The very assumption that you and Mr Redding and Miss Smith want something for the Negro that we of the Southern Regional Council do not want or that you want it worse is fallacious and misleading. The most that you can claim is that you want it perhaps in another "tone" and this is not decisive in the ultimate analysis; for the things you are saying have been better said these thirty years by Dr DuBois who was without doubt the ablest opponent of segregation this country has known. But the mere opposition to segregation has not succeeded in eliminating it. The members of the Southern Regional Council, some of them at least have gone much farther than Mr Redding in analyzing its disastrous effects on the Negro race. Mr Redding and Miss Smith and you merely stated that it is bad and on this we all agree; but I have gone farther a hundred times and said that segregation is a form of elimination. But this does not remove segregation however dangerous may be its implications for the present and future of the Negro race. Moreover for quite a generation the NAACP an organization in which all of the Council Members of the Negro race hold membership of one classification or another has stubbornly fought segregation and denounced it in terms more scathing than you have employed but segregation remains and largely because of such

superficial treatment as was given it in the current issue of Common Ground. Neither you nor Mr Redding nor Miss Smith examined the matter sufficiently close to say that segregation is derived from prejudice and the destruction of prejudice must precede the elimination of segregation. Moreover all of you flagrantly ignored the fundamental sociological processes by which such evils as prejudice must be overcome.

Of course the men and women who founded the Southern Regional Council might have chosen the easier course such as you and Mr Redding and Miss Smith chose, and that is, the task of criticising those who had the courage to come to grips with a situation that is baffling to us all. But we knew that such course demands no courage and at times little or no superior intelligence. To assume at its beginning that the Southern Regional Council cannot do what has not been done is to disparage unduly human efforts to improve human fortunes. If we fail--and we will not--ours will be a more honorable role than those who stand by to gloat over our failure with their inevitable "I told-you-so." You have nothing to prove that you and Mr Redding and Miss Smith want something for the Negro race that we of the Southern Regional Council do not want. Our modus operandi may differ but our objectives never.

Resolved to the final analysis the greatest difference between our position and yours is that you are interested chiefly in getting something said and we are interested chiefly in getting something done. In your editorial note you said that segregation "must go." So say we all; but when and by what means? You imply that it will go from the mere repetition of catchwords and bristling popular phrases. These have been tried too long with lamentable results. We are trying to correct conditions that will be conducive to the destruction of prejudice for then and not until then will segregation go. Some very able Negroes and some conscientious whites North and South have said before "segregation must go" but it has not gone in spite of the laudable fight that has been made against it. If you and Mr Redding and Miss Smith have no over-night formula for the instantaneous elimination of race prejudice then you are in the same boat with the sponsors of the Southern Regional Council. Moreover should you come upon any magic formulae by which these great objectives can be attained without the painful processes of general and specific education please let us have them at once; then and not until then shall we acknowledge you interracial omniscience which however great cannot bring the desired consummation unless implemented by powers you do not seem to possess or at least you are not bringing to bear on the problem. After all the major question is one of modus operandi and you and Mr Redding and Miss Smith have not offered one better than the Southern Regional Council. If we fail we shall not have done worse than Democracy and Christianity and Humanity itself. "Not failure but low aim is crime."

We are interested primarily in getting something done and you in getting something said; we are interested chiefly in how a thing works, you patently in how it sounds. Between these two points of view there is no necessary correlation as you will doubtless agree. Should this humble petition find favor in your sight I shall be only too glad to send an article entitled "Southern Offensive" if I can find the time.

With the deep conviction that our differences on details must not blind us to our common interests and objectives, I remain,

Yours very faithfully,

Gordon B Hancock

May 23, 1944

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Department of Economics and Sociology
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

I am returning Miss Anderson's letter of May 11 which Dr. Odum sent on to me. It is not much of a letter, is it? I suppose COMMON GROUND does not want to hear any more about it!

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

May 15. 1944

Dr Howard W Odum
Chapel Hill N.C.

Dear Dr Odum:

Thought you would be interested in Miss Anderson's reply. She tries unsuccessfully to disparage Dr Johnson's article by calling it an "answer". The fact is Dr Johnson completely demolishes the opposition. Send this on to Dr Johnson with the request that he return it to me. We are on the offensive!

Cordially always
Gordon B Hancock

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

May 19, 1944

Dear Guy:

I enclose the two letters which Dr. Hancock sent me and which he suggests you return. I think he wanted us both to see the nature of the correspondence which seems to me now to be quite satisfactory.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

ENCLOSURE

SESQUICENTENNIAL OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY
Provided for in the Constitution 1776; Chartered 1789; Cornerstone Laid 1793; Opened 1795

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

Nineteenth June
1 9 4 4

Dear Dr Johnson:

Thanks for your letter relative to the Clarke manuscript. By all means get the opinion of Professor Cousins of Atlanta and others if need be. However I am all-out for the publication of this work. It strikes me that the man has something. I should be glad to work out a series of sermonettes from manuscripts of noted ministers. You may either collect these and send to me for editing or put me in contact woth the ministers themselves.

We are expecting you here in the near future and your coming will doubtless be of great good to our common cause. After the East-West Conference defaulted at Chicago, the boys seem inclined to lay off the Southern Regional Council. What can we do about the current revolt? Could not you point out to these democratic run-aways what we are trying to do and show how it obviates much of their ranting?

Yours truly,

Gordon B. Hancock

Gordon B. Hancock

June 29, 1944

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Department of Economics and Sociology
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

Thank you for your letter of June 21, and also for the copy of your letter to Miss Smith. I think that it was a foregone conclusion that Miss Smith would decline our invitation to membership, but I am glad that we erred on the side of generosity. Our moral position is now much stronger than her own, because she has refused to come in with an organization which already has, or will eventually have, among its members the liberal and progressive thinkers of both races in the South. We did not start the controversy, and I think it is unfortunate to see the liberals quarrelling among themselves, but in a way I am glad that it happened, because I believe it has definitely strengthened the position of the Council.

Your letter to Miss Smith is a jewel. May I have the privilege of showing it to some of our friends here? It is a temptation to publish Miss Smith's letter to the Board of Directors, particularly since she has sent copies to various persons who have no connection with the Council, but I think that on the whole it is better to let the matter rest.

The June issue of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER, which, unfortunately, will be late on account of illness and overwork among our staff, will be devoted almost entirely to the political revolt in the South. I have written a long editorial pointing out the possible consequences of the revolt.

Here in Georgia, there is not much interest in the sort of revolt which is being staged in Texas, Mississippi, and South Carolina, but there is a good deal of tension over the approaching Democratic primary of July 4. We have been giving a good deal of attention to this problem, particularly here in Atlanta. Although we have not been able to get anywhere with the State Democratic Executive Committee which has made an official pronouncement to the effect that the primary will be white, we have managed to get some expressions of liberal sentiment in the newspapers and elsewhere which we believe will bear fruit in the long run.

I shall probably see you by the time this letter reaches you.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

Twenty-First June
1 9 4 4

Dear Dr Johnson:

A copy of Miss Smith's reply to our invitation has just reached me. I think her declination was a justly deserved rebuke to our over-generosity in view of her studied attacks on our enterprise. We are not going to strengthen our position by inviting our hecklers to"come in". When the question of inviting Roscoe Dungee to come with us arose,I opposed it rather emphatically on the ground that whereas such gesture would make us appear broad and generous but if such gesture was spurned it would make us look little indeed. Miss Smith and Miss Anderson and Mr Redding with their points of view do not belong with us.

Hope things are going fine. What about this proposed political, secession of the South? Have we any concern in this matter? If so,what?

Dr Guy Johnson
Atlanta Ga

Yours Gordon Hancock

July 11, 1944

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Department of Economics and Sociology
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

Mr. Stetson Kennedy of Miami, Florida, who is author of Palmetto Country and who is writing a new book on The Four Freedoms Down South, was in the office recently. I showed him a copy of your letter to Lillian Smith, and he thought that it was a very fine statement. He wants to know whether you would make this letter available to him. I presume that he means he would like to quote from it in his book.

Please let me know whether you have any objection to Mr. Kennedy's making use of the letter. I am not sure whether there is any ethical point involved here, but my offhand judgment is that since Miss Smith distributed her letter outside of the Council family, we are not under obligation to withhold your letter from interested persons. However, I will leave the matter entirely to your judgment.

It was good to see you in Richmond, but I wish that I could have stayed longer. I wanted very much to get out to the University, but my conference with Mr. Allen lasted so long that I barely caught my train late in the afternoon.

We have some extra reprints of my reply to the Redding-Smith articles in COMMON GROUND, and if you have any suggestions for the distribution of 50 or more of them in Virginia or elsewhere, please let me know.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

July 14, 1944

Dr Guy Johnson
Accept my
Dear Dr Johnson:
Feel free to use this
letter in any way you
wish

Gordon B. Hancock

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

Dec 15, 1944

GORDON B. HANCOCK

Dr Guy B Johnson
Atlanta Ga

Dear Dr Johnson:

I want you to know how deeply gratified I was over the substantial nature of your achievements in behalf of the SCL. You have laid some substantial foundations for the future. You had a great task cut out for you but you have handled things most masterfully. You and Dr Bond have my warmest thanks. We are on our way!

Faithfully — Gordon B Hancock

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM	✓	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

March 13, 1945

To:

Dr. Gordon B. Hnacock
Institute of Race Relations
Moore Street Baptist Church
Richmond, Virginia

PLEASE HAVE IRA REID CALL US AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

Guy B. Johnson

PAID

Charge to:

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue

July 18, 1945

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

Attached hereto is our check for $38.94 to reimburse you for the expense of your recent trip to Atlanta.

We are so glad that you like our new quarters. They are a great improvement over the cramped space which we had in the Standard Building. Our "family" is growing so rapidly, however, that we shall probably be a little crowded even here before long. We like a big family, though!

Thank you for letting us see the copy of your letter to Miss Finch. We shall send her some of our printed materials, and Dr. Johnson will return the copy to you when he writes you about a statement concerning Eastland's attack on Negro soldiers.

We hope that you can arrange to be with us for the next meeting of the Executive Committee -- August 22.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

Received 7-10-45

Dear Miss Clay:

Enclosed find statement. The enclosed letter explains itself. Let Mr Johnson read and return. I was tremendously impressed with our new Quarters. Good luck to us

Gordon B Hancock

made my train this pm. OK

Tell Mr Johnson
that I feel
that we
cannot strengthen
our position
really by making
some statement
referring
to Lansdowne's attack
on Mr Asquith

W

C
O
P
Y

Twelfth June
1 9 4 5

Miss Mary D. Finch
Pendle Hill
Wallingford, Pa.

My dear Miss Finch:

It is deeply humiliating that your letter has gone so long unanswered. A multitude of pressing obligations and speaking engagements within the last few weeks at such widely disparate points as Detroit, New York and Atlanta have left me no choice save to postpone an answer to your highly appreciated letter. It may interest you to know that during these busy weeks I found time to go to Miss Stubbs for the twelfth year. As usual the reactions were stimulating and withal helpful to me as I hope they were to all present. I regard Miss Stubbs as one of our most constructive workers in the field of race relations. I am presenting to her out of deep gratitude a copy of What The Negro Wants autographed.

It is encouraging to have you speak commendable of my chapter in the above-mentioned book. I hope we hit the point in spite of much repetition and the point of view presented in my contribution was a studied attempt to make the publication less repetitious as it would be in the very nature of the work. And you wanted to know "if anything has happened" as a result of the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond statements. Well, a lot has happened but it is not of spectacular nature. The Southern Regional Council was organized and took over the work of the old Interracial Committee. The absorption of this committee almost overnight is one of the finest tributes we could pay to the new organization. Our budget last year was in the neighborhood of forty thousand dollars and it will be even larger this year. We have in the director Dr. Guy B. Johnson a very capable though conservative man and it is my firm belief that once our machinery gets oiled we are going places.

Unfortunately the pressures are so great that we are all impatient in this whole matter and a lot of time is spent finding fault with people who are not doing as fast as we want the thing we ourselves do not know how to do. Christianity has been preached for nearly two thousand years but it has not settled the problem of man's inhumanity to man. The democratic ideology is nearly two hundred years old in this country but the democratic spirit is sadly lacking on every side. Yet there are those who expect the Southern Regional Council to solve the race question within three years. It cannot be done however impatient we may be in the premise. Things are not moving as swiftly as I would like but if I were in charge I doubt if I could go faster. So I like yourself am waiting and watching and hoping.

July 27, 1945

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

I find that I have not returned the copy of your letter of June 12 to Miss Finch which you so kindly sent me. I am enclosing it. Thank you very much for letting me see this excellent letter.

I am also enclosing a mimeographed memorandum in answer to Eastland which we are using in places where we hope they will do some good. If you would like more copies, please let me know. Dr. Mitchell and I wired the War Department urging them to make a statement about Senator Eastland's attack on Negro soldiers. We hope that our wire along with many others which they undoubtedly ~~naturally~~ received had some effect in bringing forth the statement by Undersecretary Patterson.

Thank you for sending us a copy of your review of Strange Fruit. I also noticed it in the Journal and Guide last week. You really gave the book a raking over!

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

#1-SRC1934-#2-3-After the War-
Opportunities for the Negro Veteran-
WWA reprint-SF June-List

July 30, 1945

Miss Mary D. Finch
Pendle Hill
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Finch:

Recently Dr. Gordon B. Hancock sent us a copy of his letter to you in which he referred to the Southern Regional Council. Thinking that you might be interested in knowing more about the Council and its program, we are sending you herewith several of our current pamphlets, along with a copy of the June issue of our monthly publication THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER.

If we can be of service to you at any time, we shall be glad to hear from you.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . EMILY H. CLAY . . . .

July 18, 1945

Send to:

Miss Mary D. Finch
Pendle Hill
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

#1-SRC, 1945-2-4-AFTER THE WAR-SF: June

(Dr. Gordon B. Hancock sent me a copy of his letter of June 12 to her, telling her something about the SRC, and explaining that it was a result of the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond statements, about which she inquired.)

DARBY-ATLANTA

C
O
P
Y

Twelfth June
1 9 4 5

Miss Mary D. Finch
Pendle Hill
Wallingford, Pa.

My dear Miss Finch:

It is deeply humiliating that your letter has gone so long unanswered. A multitude of pressing obligations and speaking engagements within the last few weeks at such widely disparate points as Detroit, New York and Atlanta have left me no choice save to postpone an answer to your highly appreciated letter. It may interest you to know that during these busy weeks I found time to go to Miss Stubbs for the twelfth year. As usual the reactions were stimulating and withal helpful to me as I hope they were to all present. I regard Miss Stubbs as one of our most constructive workers in the field of race relations. I am presenting to her out of deep gratitude a copy of What The Negro Wants autographed.

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November 29, 1945

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

Thank you for your good letter. I appreciate more than words can express your spirit of wholehearted support and your insight into the various difficulties which beset us.

I was awfully sorry not to be able to have a good talk with you before you left Atlanta. I wanted to see you and Virginius Dabney, but both of you had to rush along to catch your train.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:BT

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1945
Southern Regional Council

November 27, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I was terribly disappointed in leaving Atlanta without a long talk with you. There were some matters which I wanted to go over with you but time failed me. I hope in the near future it will be possible for us to discuss these matters which so vitally concern our promising organization.

I left Atlanta with a feeling of deep satisfaction over the turn of events. I have never felt so thoroughly encouraged. The only fear I have ever entertained for the Southern Regional Counsel was the fear that we might dissipate our limited energies in too much research. I so expressed myself in the meeting as you may well remember. Subsequent events have indicated that others felt as I did. But when the real clamour arose in the last meeting for action, and when the "action" spirit seemed to pervade the meeting last week my fears were greatly relieved. I liked your report and I liked your approach to the whole meeting. You have my wholehearted support as you have always had. I was especially impressed at the way you handled the little matter between you and Dr. Young. There were those who were hoping and fearing that it might have been more serious. I have done my best to keep Dr. Young and Dr. Wesley in good interest and in good faith. I think the re-election of these two men was a most propitious development.

I liked your staff very much; I was especially impressed with Mr. Warwick in view of the read task which lies ahead.

With all good wishes, I remain

Yours always,

Gordon B. Hancock

Gordon B. Hancock

November 26, 1946

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

It was indeed a pleasure to have you present at the annual sessions of the Southern Regional Council on November 12 and 13. We value your thinking and guidance very highly. We are grateful for the contributions which you made to the success of the meeting.

I have been here almost eleven months and have had the opportunity to study the program of the Council and also to vision its needs and the challenges which face it.

I feel that on the foundation already laid we are now ready to do a substantial and constructive job in the field in which we labor. You have probably read in the papers about the formation and meeting of the Committee of the South at Birmingham on November 21. The entire South seems to be thinking of its problems in similar terms. The personal element is being eliminated and the broad field of social and economic needs are being given objective consideration. The Southern Regional Council is well oriented to this more objective approach to the problems of the South. With sufficient finances and staff I am convinced that we can make a distinctive contribution to the present and future progress of the region.

You will have many opportunities to interpret the Council's program to thousands of people whom you will meet. We need distinquished leaders like you in this program if it is to enjoy the success which it deserves. I feel that we are fortunate in having you on our executive committee.

With kindest good wishes and highest personal regards, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg,

Associate Executive Director

HLT:ms

April 8, 1947

Prof. Gordon B. Hancock
Dept. Of Economics and Sociology
Virginia Union University
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. Hancock:

It was kind as could be of you to write your note.

I welcome the new opportunity. I am especially glad that the job gives me the right to travel about and reach the friends who do the work of the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:k

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
DIAL 4-4131
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

RECEIVED
APR 4 1947
Southern Regional Council

April 2 1947

Dr George Mitchell
Atlanta Ga

Dear Dr Mitchell
Accept this token of my
English appreciation of your
acceptance of the leadership
of the SRC. Congratulations and
pledges of unfailing loyalty

Gordon B Hancock

May 13, 1947

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond 20, Va.

Dear Dr. Hancock:

Thank you for your check for $12.00, covering membership dues for 1947 and a contribution of $10.00.

Thank you, also, for your suggestion that the Hon. Arthur W. Mitchell be invited to membership on the Council. We are following through on this suggestion.

We have been most encouraged during recent months both with the increase in new members and with the renewals from our other members. Needless to say, we value highly the continued interest and support of members like yourself who have evidenced their faith in the Council from year to year.

Cordially yours,

Anna S. Warwick
Acting Secretary-Treasurer

ASW:r

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
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ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. INEZ B. TILLISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

April 25, 1947

Dear SRC Member:

Recently our membership has been increasing at the rate of almost one hundred a month. We think you will agree that this is indicative of the growing strength and effectiveness of SRC in the affairs of the region.

While we are proud of our new members, we do not in the least overlook the vital importance of the continuing interest and support of old members. We urge you, therefore, to mail us, before it slips your mind again, a check for your 1947 dues.

We hope that you will use the enclosed card and self-addressed envelope for forwarding your money, including any additional contribution you feel you can make. We might remind you that dues and contributions to SRC are deductible for income tax purposes.

Cordially yours,

Anna S. Warwick

Anna S. Warwick
Acting Secretary-Treasurer

nominating Hon Arthur W Mitchell former Congressman from Illinois for Membership. He has expressed most enthusiastically his desire to go along with us

Gordon Blackwell

Bo. [illegible]
Hon Arthur W. Mitchell
Petersburg Va R-2,

May 19, 1947

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

I read with much interest your column, "Has Negro Leadership Fumbled?", in the Atlanta Daily World of May 6.

I have been somewhat interested for years in the general line that you took in that column. It is so difficult a topic, particularly when a white person thinks and talks about it, that I won't try now to put down my views. But, I do hope that in the near future you and I can be together and I can explore with you what position I personally should take in that whole problem.

I suppose that improvement is a blend of a matter of better earnings and economic opportunities and of housing arrangements, but it is teasing to think that some popular movement could do some good. Of course, it is badly needed among many levels of white people, too.

Anyway, I want to tell you that I was glad to see your column.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

Between The Lines

(By DEAN GORDON B. HANCOCK FOR ANP)

Atlanta World 5-6-47

Has Negro Leadership Fumbled?

HAS NEGRO LEADERSHIP FUMBLED?

The Negro race on the whole is committed to Negro leadership. Negro leadership must assume accordingly not only full credit for Negro advance, but blame for racial retardation. The question is being vigorously pressed in some quarters as to whether Negro leadership is giving the race what it wants or what it needs?

The difference is that which distinguishes the statesman from the politician. The statesman looks over the shoulders of his fellows and charts his course among the matters of tomorrow while the politician keeps his ears to the ground sitting the while astride the fence. When Negro leadership was in its infancy one could readily understand why attempts would be made to carry the crowd through a penchant for popularity; but in this late day when almost every Negro who wants to can get his name in the papers, Negro leaders ought more and more become impervious to the entreaties of the popular appeals and seek more and more to help the Negro race.

When Negro leaders give more heed to what the masses want than to what they need they become remiss in their solemn duty and become weights instead of wings to a struggling people.

STILL SLIGHT JOBS

Negroes do not care any more for their jobs than they cared 25 years ago. ob-slighting among Negroes is as flagrant as it ever was. A head bellman tells me that an impocunious Negro comes with tears in his eyes asking to be "put on" the bellman bench; that the first real good night he has he lays off until his earnings are spent and then he reappears only to repeat week after week and month after month.

The proverbial lay-off after pay day and the drunken spree are as much a part of the life of the Negro workingman as ever. Wherever whites can replace Negroes with whites they are more and more doing so. Negroes turned off immediately begin to cry, "Color! Color!" The truth is Negroes just do not generally stick to the job. We all know this to be true, but what is being done about it is the more important question.

Nearly all of our fighting energies are going into fighting the white man and none going to orient the Negro in job holding and the importance thereof. The extent to which Negroes have not been educated to hold their jobs is the extent to which Negro leadership has fumbled one of its greatest opportunities.

MANNERS LACKING

The average Negro lacks public manners and behavior. Negroes are still too loud and boisterous in public. Of course we all know why but this does not correct the evil. Most of us in traveling around do not go very far before we are embarrassed by the public behavior of some of our group. But we are never embarrassed enough to try to help them to better behavior. We only withdraw from such people and criticize them "among ourselves."

The only thing approaching a sustained effort to correct our public manners has been the continued attempts of The Union and the Pittsburg Courier to call attention eo this area of Negro life. Is the Negro press in general and the leadership in general fumbling in this matter? This writer holds that if as much has been done to make the Negro resent the racial peculations of the white man, the Negro would have as much appreciation of his public manners and job as he has resentment against the anti-Negro whiteman.

The Negro sections of our large urban centers are like unto a slaughter pen where Negroes viciously stab and kill one another with brutal abandon. Matters are not getting better but worse. Homicide among Negroes with 50,000 in college is worse than when we had only 10,000 in college. What is the educated Negro doing if he is not teaching lowly Negroes not to murder one another? What is Negro leadership in general doing if it is not teaching the Negro to value his job. Of what consequences is Negro leadership if it cannot improve the public manners of Negroes?

No wonder Dr. Charles Houston urged in a recent address that 50 per cent of the Negro's fight should be directed toward the end of getting Negroes to "straighten up and fly right." Negro leadership fumbles when it generates resentment towards the anti-Negro white man and overlooks the danger that lurks in the job-slighting loud-mouthed, fellow slaughtering Negro at our door.

WISHING WELL

Registered U. S. Patent Office.

7	3	8	2	7	4	8	3	6	2	5	7	3
G	G	H	S	O	A	E	I	G	A	F	D	F
4	6	3	7	5	8	3	2	7	8	7	3	8
R	L	T	S	A	A	S	C	G	V	U	H	E
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R	O	I	A	N	N	D	S	V	O	E	A	R
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A	N	E	O	H	E	N	C	I	O	E	D	W
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A	L	N	D	O	N	R	E	V	D	B	R	E
3	8	5	7	8	3	7	4	8	2	7	3	8
O	S	S	E	S	F	S	O	U	J	T	M	C
7	3	2	8	4	8	3	8	7	8	7	2	3
E	A	O	C	W	E	N	S	E	S	M	Y	Y

HERE is a pleasant little game that will give you a message every day. It is a numerical puzzle designed to spell out your fortune. Count the letters in your first name. If the number of letters is 6 or more, subtract 4. If the number is less than 6, add 3. The result is your key number. Start at the upper left-hand corner of the rectangle and check every one of your key numbers, left to right. Then read the message the letters under the checked figures give you

12-26

Copyright 1946, by William J Miller, Distributed by King Features, Inc

Hancock, Gordon B.

December 1, 1947

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Department of Economics and Sociology
Virginia Union University
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

Thank you more than I can say for your letter of November 20 with its kind words. Your good opinion means much and I shall hope to deserve it.

I am attaching hereto check covering your expense account sent in with your letter. It is always good to have you with us.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

AM:ee

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
DIAL 4-4131
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

November 20, 1947

RECEIVED
NOV 24 1947
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Mrs Agnes McKoy
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta Georgia

My dear Mrs McKoy:

Enclosed find expense account statement. May I take this occasion to tell you how happy I was to find you so thoroughly and effectively absorbed in the great work of advancing the Southern Regional Council. It is true that we have been made a little heavy at the loss of certain of our good workers, but there have been gratifying compensations in the fine people we have always found to take their places.

Miss Clay endeared herself to our group in very intimate ways and so did Miss Tillison. But you have brought to the work something that has made us rejoice in our good fortune to have such fine services as you are rendering. It is my fond hope and prayer that you may long with us to carry forward the work you have so wonderfully begun.

I speak modestly when I say that nobody suffered just as I did in bringing the Council to reality. It represents sweat and tears and in many ways blood. Its welfare and future are so very close to my heart. More and more I am being strengthened in my belief that the genuine good will of the best white southerners is being implemented in ways that are unmistakable. We who met at Durham are being gloriously vindicated through the fine manifestations that are coming from the better elements of the white South.

Yours very faithfully,

Gordon B. Hancock

Hancock

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

February 9, 1948

GORDON B. HANCOCK

11 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

Because I am filling an engagement at Albany State College, Albany, Georgia, on Friday evening, the 13th instant, I feel reasonably certain that I cannot return to Atlanta in so short a while to attend the Executive Committee meeting, but I have the assurance that Dr. Young will be there, and Dr. Trigg; and it is my further hope that things may turn out finely.

As concerning your acceptance of the chairmanship of a certain organization, I would offer an objection. We are called upon from time to time to answer the charge that we are feeble, and timid and innocuous in our program. I would hate to face an added charge that we are inclined to be subversive. Just a few days ago I had a talk with J. Shands Meachum who does considerable writing for the press. He told me that in a listing of organizations for the advancement of race relations, he purposely left out the Southern Regional Conference on the score that it was doing nothing, but it took me only a short time to convince him that although our program is not spectacular, it is nevertheless positive and determined. He agreed that in the future his appraisal would be different.

Regretting that I cannot be with you on the 25th, I remain

Very taithrully yours,

Gordon B Hancock

Gordon B. Hancock.

GBH/s

14 - Hancock, Gordon B.

September 22, '48

Dear Mr. Hancock,

Here's a helpful editorial from the New York Times.

The Chattanooga and Birmingham papers carried the statement in full, and we know of twenty-odd leading Southern papers which carried good summaries of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

14- Hancock, Gordon B.

November 17, 1948

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

It is always a great pleasure to us to have you with us and last week was no exception.

Thank you so much for your dues payment and contribution, which have been credited, as you will see, on the enclosed check stub.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosure

16.00

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
DIAL 4-4131
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

RECEIVED
NOV 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

My Dear Mrs McCoy:
Please deduct from the bills 2 years membership's dues plus $1.00 as a contribution for the work & count on me for the dinner next year. The SRC must live

Gordon B. Hancock

Note Above amount is entered in the disbursements journal.

14- Hancock, Gordon B

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
DIAL 4-4131
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

April Sixteenth 1949

RECEIVED
APR 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr Harold C Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta Georgia

My dear Mr Fleming:

Many thanks for the leaflet. Needless to say, it entuses me greatly. This publication in the hands of five thousand southerners and a few thousand key northerners will bring to the SRC the too long delayed recognition it so verily deserves.

You did a masterful job and I feel bold to predict that there will be abundant rewards and a general strengthening of our lines. If the publication stimulates others as it has stimulated me-and I have no doubt in this matter-we are going to move out into a larger realization of the great opportunity which is ours. I have always felt that we had SOMETHING the knowldege of which would win a sure support of the most constructive personalities of the south and nation.

Upon receipt of my extra copies I shall autbgraph them and send them along to those who will surely be interested.

Yours very faithfully,

Gordon B Hancock

Gordon B Hancock

14 - Hancock, Gordon

May 2, 1949

Professor Gordon Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Hancock:

You were kind enough to praise Fleming's new pamphlet. I want to tell you that your good taste was shared by Mr. G. D. Rogers, Sr., who wrote us saying that he had read it with much liking and wanted us to send copies to a long list of people whose names he attached.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

14-Hancock, Gordon

October 18, 1949

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Department of Economics
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

That was a grand column and we all greatly appreciated it. I think if we can weather the next few weeks we will live a long time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

14- Hancock, Gordon

October 18, 1949

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Department of Economics
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

You may recall that at the June meeting of the Executive Committee you suggested that the Council devote more effort to promoting the sale of our publications in stock. The enclosed leaflets are the result of your suggestion. I hope you will think them usefully done.

May I add my thanks to those of Dr. Mitchell for your fine column on the Southern Regional Council which appeared in the press last week.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t
enclosures

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
DIAL 4-4131
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

OK & find lunch!

Gordon B Hancock

2/15/50 Richmond Va

RECEIVED
FEB 13 1950
Southern Regional Council

Hancock

September 1, 1950

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Capahosic, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

I am proud that I know about Capahosic. I am glad you can have a period there.

We couldn't muster even a quorum for September 9, and so are setting a later date. The letter is on its way to you. I was the more inclined to set another date because of your letter saying you couldn't be here the ninth.

I suppose that the attitude of the GEB was what we might expect. I also think that they would bend for Douglas Freeman and come to our aid. Be it remembered that we have no application before them. I stand ready to put one in when and if you say so.

We are delighted that you are to work at the ministers through Dr. Long. I think you will have some luck.

I am oppressed by your references to a possible resignation from the Executive Committee, and I do wish you would not let that blow fall, or, better still, would lift it from us entirely. Without you on the Executive Committee I would feel rudderless. You are the one person who knows all of what was intended and can judge each action in the light of that. No one begrudges in the least the price of the travel from Richmond. We will always pay the expenses of an Executive Committee; everyone would be happy if there were people in regular attendance from much further off than Richmond. I beg you not to give any further thought to resigning from the Executive Committee.

We are limping pretty badly here at the end of August, be we hope things pick up during September.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Dictated August 31, 1950

RECEIVED
AUG 30 1950
Southern Regional Council

Capahosic Virginia
Twenty-Eighth August
1 9 5 0

Dr George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Dr Mitchell:

Notice of the approaching Executive Committee meeting is at hand. From all imdications I shall not be able to make this one. About that time matters around Richmond will be demanding my urgent attention and it is needless for me to say that I regret my inability to come to Atlanta for the meeting.

Now a word about our talks with Dr Freeman. Upon my first mention of the matter he was enthused with the idea of getting the General Education people to chip in with a donation. They replied to him that they had made some donation and that"the Southern Regional Council should build up its finances". I immediately wrote Dr Freeman that this was exactly what we are proposing to do, but must find some way to tide ourselves over the current financial"rough place". I have not heard further but I hold hopes that Dr Freeman may personally make a donation and I am going to ask him to beg of the GEB a small donation if no more, to help us in the present strain.

I shall proceed to see Dr T Garis Long a prominent white Baptist minister in Richmond upon my return. He is planning to get me before the white ministers conference and let me make my plea and this I shall do to the best of my ability and with the earnestness that I so keenly feel about our finance-weary orgainzation. It seems almost paradoxical that at a time when we are coming into our own we are so nearly financially stranded. But perhaps it will be better tomorrow and that we shall get the break we so much need.

For some time I have been thinking of resigning from the Executive Committee. It occurs to me that I am too far away to attend all the meetings at the Council's expense. Of course my heart is in the work and will be unto the end but good intentions do not pay railroad fares. I have long realized that because of the part I played in the formation of the Council, the fine men and women who conduct our affairs have been hesitant to drop me, feeling that somehow they owed me perhaps a peculiar debt of consideration. Many of them know what a beating I took in getting the Durham Conference launched. The main work of this conference fell upon my shoulders and nobody in particular knew what we were about and certainly we had no funds with which to work. It was a case of making bricks without straw. We came through and many of those connected now with the Council knew what tribulation was visited upon me because of dogged determination to put over the Durham meeting. We succeeded and the world hailed our efforts. But I have felt now for some time that a member in my place nearer Atlanta would serve a nobler purpose. And besides, our honorable president, Mr Williams is in Richmond and I am in Richmond and this to my mind looks like a kind of organizational "nepotism". Remember nothing can cool my interest in the future of the Council and I shall always work for its advance. I shall submit a formal resignation at an opportune time with the hopes it may be accepted in the same spirit in which it is offered-in the interest of the Council's financial easement. Count on me to do all I can with the Richmond whit Baptist ministers.

Yours faithfully
Gordon Blaine Hancock

November 2, 1950

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Dept of Economics and Sociology
Virginia Union University
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. Hancock:

After many delays, I did get off a letter to Mr. Arthur Mitchell on October 30. In it I told him that an arrangement with him was confirmed (he most generously will from time to time travel on our behalf and at our expense, but without salary). I went on to suggest that the annual meeting would be a good time for him to see the organization at work and asked him to come down at Council expense for the Board meeting and for the membership meeting. I do hope he will.

The day after my letter to him went out, here came in a letter from him saying that he had been down in the eastern part of the state talking here and there and had collected several memberships for us. He sent in the checks. That was an act of great kindness.

I have further suggested to Mrs. Hortense Young in Louisville (chairman of the committee of the membership to make nominations to the Board) that her committee take under advisement the nomination of Mr. Mitchell to be a member of the Board.

It would be kind of you to be in touch with Mrs. Young before or at the meeting, in order that she may have your views.

We do hope you are coming down for the meeting. We will need you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
DIAL 4-4131
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

RECEIVED
NOV 2 1950
Southern Regional Council

Thursday Aft

Dear Dr Mitchell:

Be sure to extend to Ex-Congressman Mitchell a personal invitation to the approaching meet of SRC. I saw him today, he was somewhat disappointed that he had not received one.

Gordon B Hancock

October 9, 1950

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Professor Hancock:

You will see what the matter is. Please turn it over in your mind and come prepared to help as usual.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

Same letter to Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton

October 9, 1950

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

The June meeting of the Executive Committee appointed you a member of the Resolutions Committee. I do hope you can be present for the annual meeting November 8.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in Mr. Mitchell's absence

December 4, 1947

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

It is with much pleasure that I perform my task of announcing to you your unanimous reelection as member of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council by that body at its meeting on November 12th.

This recognition of the high service which you have so earnestly and unselfishly performed in behalf of the Council is especially pleasing to staff members who have had the privilege of working with you and so know at first hand the fine talents which you have brought to your task.

With every good wish for the holidays, and for the year that follows, I am

Most sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:ee

Hancock, Gordon B.

January 20, 1952

Professor Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Va.

Dear Professor Hancock:

Many thanks for your letter of January 28 and for your signature on the Paul Williams presentation paste-in, which came Monday.

It is certainly true that Charles Johnson has found mighty few opportunities to serve as chairman of the Executive Committee. No better candidate to my mind than Mr. Clement.

The Executive Committee is made up of seven people elected to it annually by the Board, plus the officers of the Council (the president and four vice-presidents), who are elected annually by the membership, plus the counsel. As they made you a vice-president this year, you are still quite important a member of the Executive Committee. The officers are not simply decorations; they are integrally part of the Executive Committee. So as a vice-president you ought still to come to the Executive Committee whenever you can. And I will do what I can toward getting it set on days of the week when it will be convenient to you.

We have had a little better luck this month on money than I had expected. The Sidney Hillman Foundation gave us $1,500 (though it hasn't yet come), and Marshall Field's foundation sent us $2,500 to help with printing New South for the year. So we are finishing January with accounts pretty square, and at least for the rest of the year we wantt have printer's bills. From what I could learn in Washington and in New York about the Ford Foundation, it will be June or July before they make up their minds. So I am trying to husband resources to keep us going until then. Wherefore, I am the more grateful for your kind writing to Mr. Jemison.

It seems to me that you have foregone your travel checks on two or three other occasions. I think that if we accept your kind offer this time of foregoing it again, we would turn precedent into habit. So if you will let us, Miss Stoney will send you a check this time. Though we are deeply grateful for your willingness to do without. Everybody else is being paid, and I don't see why you

shouldn't.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
DIAL 4-4131
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

January 28, 1952

RECEIVED
JAN 30 1952
Atlanta Regional Council

Dr George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Dr Mitchell:

Your financial statement for December w was not a total calamity. I hope the Ford people come through. I just wrote Dr Jemison a long and plaintive letter asking for a thousan dollars. What he will do is anybody's guess. I mean to do some intensive canvassing this year for the Council. In the meantime I want to resign as member of executive committee. I want so much to see Dr Clement as chairman of the executive committee instead of Dr Johnson who finds it increasingly difficult to fun tion. I am rather proud and exceedingly grateful to you for mentioning my name as vice-president. It was a recognition I have tried so very hard to deserve.

My expenses for the last meeting were approximately fifty dollars which I am donating for the work. If you will so indicate I shall receive credit with the revenue people. Send necessary vouchers. I feel that we are going to get OUR BIG BREAK THIS YEAR. Just sit tight.

Yours very faithfully,
Gordon B Hancock
Gordon B Hancock

Expenses:
RR fares 24.05
Pullman - 21.14
meals - 6.00
lodging - 2.00
Misc - 2.79
Total $55.98

(ASR)

I lost my voucher and called ~~mess~~ at ticket agent who said the clergy fare to and from Atlanta was 24.05. Round trip coupon 21.14. Please check and make any necessary correction

— W —

April 21, 1953

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Box 6056
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Dr. Hancock:

I don't know when I have had a letter that I appreciated more than that kind one of yours April 13, This is your Council, and there is nothing any of us take more pleasure in than your praise of what we do.

And the check you sent in yesterday from Mr. May gives more evidence of your steady devotion.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Hancock

Post Office Box 6056
Richmond Virginia
Thirteenth April
Nineteen Fifty-Three

RECEIVED
APR 14
Southern Regional Council

Dr George Mitchell Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr Mitchell:

You will never know how my heart rejoiced when I received a letter from Mr Wright saying that the Ford Foundation had sent twenty thousand for immediate needs. Somehow even in our blackest hour I felt that we would get a break, for our cause is just. It is difficult to see just how we can ultimately fail. My great concern has been for you and Mr Fleming and the rest of the office force. You people have heartened me by you sacrifices. I have thought on more than one occasion "Surely there must be some reward for such faithfulness". And although we are yet not out of the woods, things are "looking up" as the comman parlance goes.

This is to simply express my personal gratitude to you and your staff for your faith and determination. Because of what your sacrifices have taught me, I have a more abiding faith in human nature and God. The world cannot be but so bad with such people as you and your co-workers as a part of its great cosmic scheme. You have been magnificent. You have made bricks without straw. You have uncomplainingly lifted a mighty heavy load. YOU ARE BOUND TO ULTIMATELY TRIUMPH. Such faith as yours cannot go unrewarded. As you remember when England was being baptized with fire from Germany's mighty air forces and when hell and damnation were the portion of those luckless people of once mighty England, and when it seemed that fortune had forsaken a great people, there was not a whimper; nobody said to the furious Germans to "lay off"; not a cowardly word was spoken and that great people met the worst that Germany could do with a determination seemingly siperhuman. The indimitable and mighty Churchill in one of his most inspired moments said that that time of crisis was "England's finest hour". May the historian of the future say as much for you and your staff who faced in a way financial destruction or embarrassment without a whimper. And now we are once-and I hope forever-out of the red. You can give more studied attention to our pressing problems which are many and complex but not without hopes of a solution or adjustment.

It has been mighty fine to work with you and to have had you as a comrade in tribulations financial. You have inspired me to make more heroic efforts towards the completion of our appointed task. You have done so much to insure the completion of the work mapped out by the few daring souls that met that November day in Durham and brought forth the Durham Manifesto. I am simply trying to say thank you for what you have meant to the cause.

Yours very faithfully

Gordon B Hancock

Gordon B Hancock

Hancock

July 21, '53

Dear Dr. Hancock,

I deeply appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending me Father's letter. His far-seeing courage is badly needed to-day. I send the letter back; it belongs with the things that relate to you and to Virginia.

We are off after a new scheme; local discussion groups, formed by people of both races, interested in what the Court's ultimate decision will mean. We will be getting out some manuals to guide such groups, and hope that we can get them started in a great many places. The first small knot of people in each county and town who come together, find the facts, and make friends in doing so, will set opinion in that place when the time comes for action.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P Q B + 6056

~~DEPT. OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY~~

~~VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY~~

DIAL ~~[illegible]~~ 2-1723

RICHMOND ~~23~~ 22, VIRGINIA

GORDON B. HANCOCK

Friday Afternoon

My dear Dr Mitchell:

Thanks for your latest letter in reference to the stand taken by the Methodist Conference. It must have been heartening to you as it was to me. Our cause is just and we are going to win.

The other day in perusing some correspondence of former years, I ran across this letter from your father and I wanted you to read it and see what he said about the set backs but above all I wanted you to be encouraged by his great faith in the cause of righteousness.

The passing of Dr Freeman, my long-time friend and counsellor, filled me with profound distress. He was a giant intellect and a majestic spirit. His like will not appear soon, if at all.

In the near future you will have my annual contribution with memberships as we proposed in our last meeting.

Yours very kindly,

Gordon B Hancock

Gordon B Hancock

RF – Suspend till Dec. 15
HCF

PO Box 6056

Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Nov 22, 54

My dear Mr Fleming:

You may count on me to render the honorable service of my earliest convenience.

Gordon Hanning

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Gordon B. Hancock

Born: Greenwood, South Carolina, 1884.

Formal education: A.B. Benedict College, 1911; DD. Benedict College (honorary) 1925; A.B. Colgate University, 1919; B.D. Colgate University, 1920; A.M. Harvard University, 1922; Oxford University 1937, Cambridge University, 1938.

Occupational history: Pastor, Bethlehem Baptist Church, Newberry, S.C. 1911-1912; President Seneca Jr. College, 1912-1918; Professor of sociology and economics, Virginia Union University, 1921; organized the department of Economics and Sociology, 1922, chairman, 12 years; lecturer on Race Relations, Columbia University, Princeton, University, Randolph-Macon College, University of Richmond: Addressed Baptist World Alliance on "The Color Challenge", Atlanta, Ga. 1935; Director of the Torrance School on Race Relations;

Currently member of: Member, Southern Sociological Society, American Sociological Society, American Economic Association, Academy of Political and Social Science.

Publications: When Manna Faileth, Our Coming Captivity, The Commercial Advertisement and Social Pathology, Three Elements of African Culture, "Between the Lines" (syndicated column, associated Negro Press).

Travel: England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, France, Switzerland, Egypt, Palestine, Holland, Italy, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia.

14- Ravens, Mrs. Henry

January 30, 1950.

Dear Jane;

I am really ashamed of myself for not writing you long ere this. I had thought that I would have had a little more time than before but it seems that I am even busier.

The children came here on the 10th and stayed only one week, four days at the Williams and four days with us. Both Henry and I simply put everything aside to be with them. That Peter is a honey, I have joined the dotting grandmas in a large way. He is such a well, healthy baby that ofcourse he is happy and just goos and laughs all the time. Son and Joyce were well and we just had a happy time all together.

Last week, was the annual meeting of the Auxiliary in this Diocese and my last meeting as President. It was in Tallahassee so I spent the entire week there. It was indeed a grand climax and I loved each minute of it. They presented me with a most beautiful gold emblem and chain as well as orchids, gradinias and other flowers on each day. I felt like the Queen of Sheba.

Now, I am in the midst of getting ready to go to New York on the tenth and planning the annual meeting of the Provincial Department of Christian Social Relations to be here in April. We will not have Mr. Hodding Carter as last year, but hope we can get someone who is as good a drawing card.

Along with all of this, Dr. Mitchell was here. He seemed very cheerful. He said there was to be a meeting of the Ex. Committee on Thursday. Do keep me posted. We had Dr. Trigg at our meeting in Tallahassee but I did not have much time with him.

I was sure that I had sent you that survey stuff I had. I have not found it here so you had better check up there in the office. I will look again. But I have cleared out so much in the past two months, Iam sure it is not here. Hope it has not gotten lost as there was some interesting things in it.

It was good to see Peggy in new York and I shall hope to next month. She seems very happy and likes her work.

Do keep me posted on what goes on. Wish you could come down and see me. If you can, just phone that yo u are enroute. I really mean it, I should love having you. Best regards to all there,

Affectionately,

Jane

Love Mr. Byrd hello for me -

Havens

February 6, 1950

Mrs. Henry Havens
2845 Corinthian Avenue
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mrs. Havens:

At the meeting of the Executive Committee February 2, I told the Committee of my regret that the Council had not had sufficient funds to enable it to continue to have the benefit of the work which you have done for us and stated if at a later date the Council had funds, it would be my hope that it would be possible to work out a new employment arrangement with you.

The Executive Committee ordered that a letter be written to you expressing its regret in the circumstances and its hope likewise that it would be possible for the Council later on to advantage itself with your aid.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Havens

RECEIVED
MAY 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

2845 Corinthian Ave.
Jacksonville, Fla.
April 29, 1950.

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

My dear Dr. Mitchell;

Your letter was awaiting me on my return home from New York. I was so happy to have the good news and know that the future was not so dark.

I have not heard from Mrs. White or Bill Gibbs since some time in January. I am writing Mrs. White today to try and find out what they are doing.

Ofcourse, you know the bitter political fight that is being waged in Florida at this time. Unfortunately, I fear, the Florida Board is devided in its activities but as you know, these emotions usually cool off after election. Maybe, after May 2, it will be possible for more to be done.

Please give every one there my best regards. All good wishes to you for your continued success,

Sincerely yours,

Jane Havens.

Mrs. Henry Havens.

Havens

May 25, 1950

Mrs. Henry Havens
2645 Corintnian Ave.
Jacksonville, Fla.

Dear Mrs. Havens:

Here is the Greenville survey!

We owe Greenville's interest very largely to you.

We think that in thoroughness the Jacksonville survey surpassed Greenville's, but this is a useful job and has already paid off handsomely in understanding and progress in the city.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Ha, misc.

Mrs. Henry W. Havens
2845 Corinthian Avenue
Jacksonville 5, Florida

28 April 1952

RECEIVED
APR 29
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell;

Thank you for letting me know that you had received the budgeted contribution from the Home Department, Dr. Wieland Executive Secretary. I feel sure that it was indeed welcomed, while I knew it was coming, I did not know when.

Dr. Wieland is a grand person and we are going to miss his leadership when he retires in the fall.

Hope all is going well with the Council, best regards,

Sincerely,

Jane Havens

VIA AIR MAIL

November 13, 1958

Honorable Brooks Hays
314 Second Street, S. E.
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Hays:

In company with so many people in the South and elsewhere, I was dismayed by the success of the last-minute, extremist campaign against you in the general election. Everyone who believes the solution of our problems must come through moderation and respect for law shared this bitter experience with you.

In conversation with a friend of mine yesterday, I learned that he is planning to call you in the next few days. He is Lawrence Lader, a very able and respected magazine writer, based in New York. I understand that he will be calling to discuss the possibility of an article in which you might present your views on the critical problems of the South.

In any case, this is simply to commend Lader to you as a writer of demonstrated ability, excellent standing with the major national publications, and personal integrity. If his proposal should interest you, I am sure you could not find a better or more conscientious writer with whom to work.

From time to time we hear from George Mitchell, who is apparently faring well in his distant Scottish

retreat. I know he would want me to convey his warm regards and good wishes along with my own.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

ASSISTANTS:
MRS. LURLENE WILBERT
MISS KITTY JOHNSON

LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT:
WARREN I. CIKINS

IN CHARGE OF LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
H. A. EMERSON

November 26, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You could not possibly know how much your heartwarming message meant to me. Actually I have never had, in victory, such assurances of friendship as have overwhelmed me in this situation.

I know you will pardon this short letter. It is just a feeble effort to express my gratitude. I am not disconsolate, and my plans for the future which are gradually evolving are exciting. Perhaps I will have even a larger opportunity for service than I have ever had before.

With regards,

Sincerely,

Brooks Hays

Mr. Lader spent three hours with me yesterday -

File

RECEIVED JUL 15 '59

Copy

July 14, 1959

Hon. Brooks Hays
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Hays:

Harold Fleming wrote me about your visit to our office in Atlanta. I was sure you would be interested in this undertaking and had hoped to talk to you about it at some early opportunity.

Actually I was in Knoxville for a brief stopover when you arrived there to take over your new responsibilities, but it was obviously not a suitable time for a discussion of this problem with you. I had a pleasant visit with Mr. George Dempster there.

I was returning from Little Rock, where I had very fine talks with Hugh Patterson, Sid McMath, Everett Tucker and others. I even had a little talk with Governor Faubus. (Ashmore was away.) In Nashville I talked with Coleman Harwell, of the Tennesseean.

Outside of Virginia I have given most attention thus far to Florida--on account of the warm reception and cooperation which I have had there from Governor Collins and his staff. I am going there again for several weeks in August to talk with suggested individuals in various sections of that state.

On the way South I expect to visit Atlanta and hope to meet Ellis Arnold and others there.

As Harold Fleming probably told you, this personal contact is supplemented by a series of factual reports, emphasizing the practical and economic advantages of orderly adjustment to the law of the land. We are trying also by both methods to relieve apprehensions and make some headway in correcting vastly current misinformation.

My activities thus far have been partly by way of reconnaissance with a view to appraising the possibilities of this kind of activity and planning a systematic program for coming months.

My experience of three months on the job has convinced me that definite good can be accomplished by this quiet approach to influential leaders in the South.

I have a feeling that my aim here is very similar to your own, and I would appreciate any suggestions or advice from you. I shall be in Virginia (with this address) until the end of July. If anything should bring you to Washington during this time, I would appreciate your letting me know, so that I can drive over to see you.

Otherwise, I hope to have a talk with you some time in September, in Knoxville or elsewhere.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

Outlook
Fidelity Union Stan

JC
Harold wants B. Hays put on mailing list for "Reports"
M. F.
Return for filing

July 9, 1959

Mr. Brooks Hays
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Brooks:

Thanks for your kind note and my warm congratulations now that your installation is an accomplished fact.

I am glad you have received the fruits of Morris Abrams' efforts. The carefully worded notes that Phil and I sent out are beginning to produce some returns. You will be hearing from us further before long.

I am very pleased that we had a chance to get together the other morning, and I hope we will have an opportunity for further conversation in the near future. You may recall my mentioning the approaches to Southern decision-makers that Benjamin Muse is making for us. I will be sending you some of the material we are developing in connection with this "leadership" effort. I am also suggesting to Ben that he see and talk with you if a mutually

convenient opportunity presents itself. I think each of you would benefit from a sharing of ideas and information.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. If you would prefer that our mailings come to your home, let me know the address when you are settled.

HCF

Encls: Nashville Tennessean reprint - May 31, 1959
Montgomery Reprint - "Economic Effect of School Closing"
"L" Reports - 1 - 6

Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee
July 7, 1959

Dear Harold:

Just a line to thank you for your great kindness the other morning in meeting Phil and me for an early breakfast. It was grand to be with you. I am grateful for your interest and help. Results are already favorable in the actions of Morris Abram. I will keep in touch with you.

Thanks, too, for driving me to the airport. Sorry I took so much of your time.

Sincerely,

Brooks Hays

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED JUL 29 1959

Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee
July 28, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I know you will pardon the delay in answering your fine letter. Incidentally, I was delighted to have the enclosures and am making good use of the material. I was laid up all of last week with a poison ivy infection and it has certainly slowed me down. I am on the road to full recovery now.

Yesterday I had a wonderful letter from Phil Hammer with a generous check representing the work that you and he have done. I am deeply grateful for your help. You know about Morris Abrams' gift and activity.

I had a very interesting letter from Mr. Muse and I am looking forward to a conference with him at an early date.

I will be reporting to you on some other activities.

With regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Brooks Hays

Washington, D. C.
May 26, 1962

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We hope you can join us at a special breakfast at the Cosmos Club, 2121 Massachusetts Avenue, in Washington, on Tuesday, June 5, at 8 A.M.

Our purpose is to honor the biographers of our late fellow member of the Cosmos Club, Will W. Alexander. Mrs. Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely are the authors of Seeds of the Changing South, which is the story of Will Alexander. The forthcoming book is to be published by the University of Chicago Press. We are acting in behalf of the Press and Phelps-Stokes funds in sponsoring this breakfast, which we hope will be attended by a large number of Will Alexander's friends and former associates in his significant work in the Resettlement Administration.

Please reply to 1005 Dupont Circle Building, Washington 6, D.C., or telephone DUpont 7-7608, to let us know if you can join us for the breakfast. We will plan to adjourn shortly after nine o'clock.

Sincerely,

Brooks Hays

Brooks Hays

Raymond W. Miller

Mr. Paul Anthony
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

January 2, 1945

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
413 Ridge Road - Park Hill
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Henderson:

I want to thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending us clippings from time to time. The story from the St. Louis Post Dispatch about Mr. Samuel C. Klein's racial policies was of particular interest to us.

I remember with pleasure your visit to our office last year just before the charter meeting of the Council. I believe you have the distinction of being the first person to pay dues to the Council.

All good wishes for the new year.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

May 4, 1945

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
314 Ridge Road, Park Hill
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Henderson:

My belated thanks for your note and the clipping of a column by Kenneth Toler. As you say Toler is not a bad fellow, but he does feel called upon to defend the South once in a while.

Our conference on the "South's Postwar Economy" was quite successful. I am awfully sorry you couldn't get here. We are publishing the addresses as soon as possible. I hope we can send you a copy within a month.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

April 18, 1945

Guy Johnson:

Same old line I've heard for years. I'm wondering how long it would take the South to adjust its racial inequalities if no outside pressure were brought...much too long, to say the least.

Thought you'd like to see this. Mr. Toler is C.A. correspondent at Jackson. This is his Sunday editorial column which appeared in the feature section. He's not a bad fellow, ordinarily, but in this case he is following the traditional sectional pattern.

JLH

J. Lewis Henderson
314 Ridge Road, Park Hill
North Little Rock, Ark.

July 27, 1945

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
314 Ridge Road
Park Hill
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Henderson:

I wonder whether you know anything about Mr. Paul H. Clanton, a businessman who lives at Pine Bluff. I am particularly interested in knowing whether he is a man of liberal views and whether he would make a good member of the Southern Regional Council.

Please treat this as a confidential request and let me know whatever you can about Mr. Clanton. I shall appreciate your help.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

from Arkansas Gazette, Aug. 10, 1945

POLICE PRESS
SEARCH FOR
HOODLUMS

Identification of five boys who threw a tomato at Allen Harrison, aged 16, son of Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Harrison of 1801 South Filmore street, severely injuring his left eye, seemed imminent yesterday.

A father told police that his son and four others were out in a convertible car Wednesday night. He said they admitted buying tomatoes which they said they threw only at Negro pedestrians. He assured the police he would co-operate in the investigation, but expressed doubt that his son and his friends were the youths sought. Chief of Police Pitcock admitted he received the call, but withheld the names of the suspects pending an investigation.

Condition uncertain

Young Harrison and several companions were walking home from a show. Near Twelfth and Pine streets a group of boys in a convertible car showed down and, ~~fxxx~~ focusing a spotlight on them, shouted:

"This is for you!"

The tomato thrown from the car struck young Harrison in the left eye. A specialist said it will be six weeks before he can determine whether the injury will prove permanent.

Many Tips Received

Interest in the case seemed widespread. More than a dozen persons telephoned to police yesterday to give information they believed would lead to the arrest of the youths. In one instance a license number was checked. This particular number still remained in the Highway Department, never having been issued.

- - - - -

from Arkansas Democrat, Little Rock, Ark., Aug. 10, 1945

Police action against five youths believed to have been occupants of the convertible car from which a tomato was thrown at Allen Harrison, 16, son of Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Harrison, 1801 S. Filmore, severely injuring his left eye Wednesday night, was being delayed today, pending outcome of a meeting tonight between the youth' parents and Mr. Harrison.

Father of one of the five boys told police yesterday that his son and four other boys were out in a convertible and admitted buying tomatoes which they said they threw at Negro pedestrians. Young Harrison and two companions were parked in their car near 12th and Pine, when the convertible drove up, as one of the occupants shouted, "This is for you!" and threw the tomato. The Harrison youth and his companions said the boys in the wonvertible focused a spotlight on them before throwing the tomato.

The father who reported to Police Chief Pitcock that his son was out in a convertible the night of the indident said he was anxious to cooperate with police in the investigation but he doubted that his son and his friends were the youths sought.

A specialist said it will be six weeks before it can be determined whether the injury to young Harrison's eye will prove permenent.

- - - - -

Copy

314 Ridge Road, Park Hill
North Little Rock, Arkansas

August 10, 1945

Editor,
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Sir:

The report of the tomato throwing incident in which a white Little Rock youth received a serious eye injury leaves a big question unanswered: What charges, if any, were preferred against the gang of rowdies for throwing the tomatoes at Negro pedestrians, which one father admitted the boys did.

What public law or policy would permit one to commit acts of violence against Negroes but not white persons? Is it possible that the Little Rock police condone tomato throwing so long as they are thrown "only at Negro pedestrians?" ...not to mention the country's food shortage!

Yours truly,

J. Lewis Henderson

cc: Chief of Police Pitcock
Little Rock, Ark.

Copy

314 Ridge Road, Park Hill
North Little Rock, Arkansas

August 10, 1945

Run of the News
Arkansas Democrat
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Run:

While doctors are trying to determine the extent of injury to a white youth who was hit by tomatoes thrown by a gang of young hoodlums Wednesday night, what are the police doing about the admitted acts of violence against Negro pedestrians? It is extremely important that this angle of the mystery be cleared up, and soon, else it would appear that law enforcement policy in Little Rock recognizes a double standard.

Yours sincerely,

J. Lewis Henderson

cc: Chief of Police Pitcock
Little Rock, Arkansas

File

314 Ridge Road, Park Hill
North Little Rock, Ark.

August 20, 1945
Rec'd. 8-22-45

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Am enclosing $2.00 in cash for the Council.

I do not know Mr. Paul M. Clanton, of Pine Bluff, Ark., personally and I have not been able to learn anything about him yet, but I hope to get some information for you very soon if possible.

Sincerely yours,

J. L. H.

J. Lewis Henderson

Cash given Mrs Clay -
JBJ

August 27, 1945

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
514 Ridge Road, Park Hill
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Henderson:

Thanks for sending me a copy of your letter of August 22 to Mr. W. J. Smith, Director of Organization, Young Democratic Clubs of Arkansas. It is a good letter. I shall look forward to seeing what the reaction of the Young Democratic Clubs is.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director.

GBJ:IBT

Copy

314 Ridge Road, Park Hill
North Little Rock, Arkansas

August 22, 1945 Rec'd 8-24-45

Mr. W. J. (Bill) Smith
Director of Organization
Young Democratic Clubs of Arkansas
% Governor's Office
State Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Smith:

I have your letter inviting me to join the Young Democratic Club. While I have always voted the democratic ticket at the polls and contributed to the Party's campaign fund, I am somewhat disturbed at some of the reports coming from party leaders.

If my memory serves me right, I recall that the party's executive committee has expressed a determined desire to prevent Negroes from voting in party primaries, regardless of their qualifications as citizens. Just the other day, the papers quoted Governor Laney as saying at Atlanta that he was in favor of keeping the poll tax in Arkansas as long as possible.

I cannot accept these expressions as democratic or desirable. They sound more like theories of certain madmen who have recently been subdued at a cost to the world of 50 million lives and countless billions of dollars in destroyed physical resources.

Since to join the club would require me to subscribe to the pledge on the application card to support the "principles, platform, and candidates of the Democratic Party," I want to know what I am to support. I would like to know:

(1) If it is the principle and policy of the Democratic Party of Arkansas to prevent Negroes, who may be otherwise qualified, from voting in elections to select our public officials?

(2) If the Party is committed to the poll tax principle as a requirement for voting?

If your answers are both in the affirmative I would like to know in what respect the principles are considered democratic?

Sincerely yours,

J. Lewis Henderson

COPY

314 Ridge Road, Park Hill
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Sept. 17, 1945

RECEIVED
SEP 19 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. W. J. (Bill) Smith
Director of Organization
Young Democratic Clubs of Arkansas
% Governor's Office
State Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Smith:

On August 22 I addressed a letter to you to inquire of certain principles and policies of the Democratic Party in Arkansas. To date I have received no reply. Since I have made regular contributions to the Party, and since both my wife and I are qualified voters, I think I am entitled to a reply.

I am withholding my contribution until your reply is received. For your convenience I am re-stating my two questions, as follows:

(1) Is it a principle or policy of the Democratic Party of Arkansas to prevent Negroes, who may be otherwise qualified as citizens, from voting in elections to select our public officials?

(2) Is the Democratic Party of Arkansas committed to the poll tax principle as a requirement for voting?

Sincerely yours,

J. Lewis Henderson

cc: Governor Ben Laney
State Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

September 26, 1945

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
314 Ridge Road
Park Hill
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Henderson:

Thanks for your note of September 19. I hope you did not go to any special trouble to get the information about Mr. Clanton.

We had some further correspondence with Mr. Clanton and he told us a good deal about himself, so we feel we have a pretty good line-up on him now. He is a white business man who seems to be sincerely interested in doing something to help race relations, so much so that he is willing to leave his business and take some special training in order to prepare himself for active work in this field. I suggested some schools where he might take some special courses, but I tried to point out to him that there is a great deal which he can do in his own community without leaving his present business. If you happen to be going to Pine Bluff, I hope you will drop in on him and give him some encouragement.

I am glad to hear that you are going to write a book on southern agriculture. Let us know how everything goes.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Sept. 19, 1945

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have been unable to learn anything about Mr. Clanton. Recently, I was in a party driving through Pine Bluff rather late in the evening. I inquired at two filling stations and the attendants did not know him. A cashier and a waitress at a restaurant did not seem to know him either, but when we consulted the phone directory and found his name, one of the ladies remembered that he operated a beauty shop. They then recalled that he had been seen in the restaurant frequently. Both agreed that he was a "nice man."

This is not much, I know, but I have been unable to do more. Maybe next time I'll turn in a better performance.

I have resigned from FSA and will now devote full time to a Rosenwald study and try to write a book on human exploitation in southern agriculture. I may move to Jackson, Miss. and will let you of any change in address.

Sincerely,

Lewis Henderson

RECEIVED
SEP 21 1945
Southern Regional Council

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 27, 1945

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
314 Ridge Road
Park Hill
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Henderson:

I wonder whether you know anything about Mr. Paul M. Clanton, a businessman who lives at Pine Bluff. I am particularly interested in knowing whether he is a man of liberal views and whether he would make a good member of the Southern Regional Council.

Please treat this as a confidential request and let me know whatever you can about Mr. Clanton. I shall appreciate your help.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

OVER

October 4, 1945

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
514 Ridge Road, Park Hill
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Henderson:

Thank you for sending me copies of the questionnaires which you intend to use in your study of agriculture. You have worked these things out so thoroughly that I have no suggestions to offer by way of improvement.

However, I will make a couple of comments by way of caution. First, you have a heck of a lot of questions and it may be that the interviews will take so much time that you will want to sacrifice some questions. Second, if you intend to interview all paid agricultural workers in your selected counties you are in for a mighty big job. A sampling technique will do just as well as long as it is operated on a purely random basis.

This is going to be a very interesting study. You are in for a lot of fun as well as a lot of headaches. We shall certainly look forward to seeing the results of your investigation.

I am returning your questionnaires herewith.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

Mr. Guy Johnson, Exec. Sec.
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

314 Ridge Road, Park Hill
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Rec'd 10-1-45

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am enclosing copies of three questionnaires and several other forms which I hope you will have time to examine for the purpose of giving me the benefit of your suggestions. The questionnaire "F" is for farmers, "AW" for paid agricultural workers in the counties, and "NF" for non-agricultural civic leaders. The other forms include two special supplements to questionnaires, and six forms, or outlines, for general information to be obtained from the best source on each selected county.

I plan to spend three or four months in field studies in about eight counties in four states, (Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama) for the purpose of interviewing representative farmers, agricultural workers and leading citizens to obtain facts in connection with a Rosenwald study. Later, I intend to tabulate, or summarize, the information and prepare a book-length manuscript for publication.

I want to analyze all of the real problems which handicap low-income farmers, report on the farm organizations and other groups which speak for the farmers, describe the forces that exploit farmers, and make a critical analysis of the various state and federal programs designed to help farmers.

I shall endeavor to interview in each selected county all paid agricultural workers, about 20 to 25 representative farmers, (representative with respect to tenure, race, size of operator) and 10 or 12 non-farm civic leaders, such as editors, bankers, merchants, cotton buyers, school teachers, preachers, lawyers, doctors, who are familiar with general conditions affecting farmers but who are not dependent upon agriculture for a livelihood.

Counties will be selected that have had at one time a large farm organization membership so that the effect of the organization can be measured. Generally, such counties will be found in the delta areas of each state and are characterized by the plantation system, large Negro population and high tenancy rate.

As you will note, some of the questions are asked to establish specific facts, and others are asked to get a line on attitudes. Some of the questions may appear to be "loaded", but I have tried to avoid this as much as possible. I'll admit, however, that I already have strong suspicions that small farmers are being exploited and misrepresented in many ways.

For instance, Arkansas farmers pay the highest average interest rate on farm mortgage loans of any state, and have done so for five years, and yet the dominant farm organizations that pretend to speak for the farmers have ignored the problem. This situation is typical of many that I want to study very thoroughly.

I shall deeply appreciate it if you will return these forms at an early date, along with your suggestions. A self-addressed stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Attached is a list of abbreviations used in the forms and their definitions.

Sincerely yours,

J. L. H.

J. Lewis Henderson

Feb. 26, 1946

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I hope you have had an opportunity to read the report on my study thus far, and that you will let me have any suggestions that occur to you.

If Dr. Mitchell has seen it I would certainly like to have his suggestions too.

Kind regards,

Lewis

J. LEWIS HENDERSON
314 RIDGEROAD, PARK HILL
NORTH LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

March 15, 1946

Mr. J. Louis Henderson
314 Ridge Road, Park Hill
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Henderson:

I am terribly ashamed to be so long in sending your manuscript back to you. I have hoped and hoped that there would be time to make some rather detailed notes, but there just ain't any such thing as enough time.

Dr. Mitchell looked over the document and gave me his opinion in a few words just before rushing away on another trip. Our opinions coincide and can be stated very briefly. You have established beyond any doubt the nature of the agricultural system and the role of various agencies, particularly the Farm Bureau. This part of the picture is fairly complete. The main thing now, as we see it, is to go on to the positive angle of discovering what policies and programs would provide for sound growth toward a new Southern agriculture.

It was good to have a chance to see you in Mississippi last month. I expect to be in Jackson again on March 21 for a state meeting of SRC. I hope you will be there.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

COPY

RECEIVED
MAY 23 1946
Southern Regional Council

706 Hancock St.
Bay St. Louis, Miss.

May 20, 1946

Time,
The Weekly Newsmagazine
330 East 22nd St.
Chicago 16, Ill.

Sirs:

My congratulations to TIME (page 25, May 13) for publishing the picture of the Clement family in honor of Mrs. Emma Clement, American Mother of 1946. Unfortunately, many of the South's biggest (but not the best) newspapers still ban Negro pictures unless they be criminals or professional entertainers.

Sincerely yours,

J. Lewis Henderson

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

September 14, 1946

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
706 Hancock Street
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi

Dear Henderson:

I wonder what response, if any, you got from the Governor of Mississippi as a result of your letter of August 11? Did he call you a Communist, or just ignore you?

Keep up the good work. We must never give up hope.

Sincerely yours,

GBJ

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The governor was in hospital when my letter went to his office, and I merely got an acknowledgement from his secretary ...but I think the letter had some effect, as no special session has been called yet. I sent copies of my letter to a number of others over the state in the hopes that it would bolster up their courage to act too. I hope that by 1948 we can muster some strength among the progressives in this state. Thanks for your note.

Kindest regards,

J L H

COPY

Sent in with dues

(please publish)

RECEIVED FEB 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

706 Hancock Street
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi

February 14, 1947

Editor, Picayune Item
Picayune, Mississippi

I am in hearty accord with your opposition to Communism. And I am sure that Congressman Colmer is opposed to Communism, as all Americans should be. But as I see it, Communism has been accorded more credit than it deserves in your editorial, captioned 'Stay in There 'Bill' and Fight'.

The editorial refers to the proposed fair employment practices act as 'communistic legislation.' Mr. Colmer is quoted as saying the FEPC 'had its origin under the leadership of the Soviet-dominated Communist Party.' Mr. Colmer goes on to say that the proposed FEPC legislation 'is in fact nothing but an objective of the Communist Party.'

If that be true, then both the late Franklin D. Roosevelt and President Truman were guilty of following the Communist Party Line in recommending an FEPC. Furthermore, the FEPC has been passed several times by the House of Representatives--by a majority of Mr. Colmer's associates. Except for filibusters and threats of filibusters, the U. S. Senate might have passed the FEPC. Anyway, the filibusterers thought so, as they were afraid to let the Senate vote on the matter.

Is it possible that a majority of our national Congress has been supporting a measure, which (as Mr. Colmer says) 'is nothing but an objective of the Communist Party?'

I think it is quite clear that Mr. Colmer, in his enthusiasm to make a case against the FEPC, has mistakenly--perhaps unwittingly--attempted to place in the ranks of Communist Party followers many good Americans whose loyalty and Americanism should not be questioned. I think Mr. Colmer gives the Communist Party too much credit in saying that it gave birth to the FEPC idea.

I am willing to believe that any measure which has the support of a majority of our national congress and of two great presidents, must have considerable merit. In fact, one southern congressman who has consistently opposed the FEPC, has told me that the proposed measure probably will be adopted in some form. He explained that our democracy must find some way to curb the widespread employment discrimination being practiced against persons due to race, religion or national origin.

Sincerely yours,

J. Lewis Henderson

cc: Hon. W. M. Colmer
Member of Congress

May 16, 1947

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
706 Hancock Street
Bay St. Louis, Miss.

Dear Lewis:

I greatly appreciate your kind note of the other day.

The nice thing about the Council is that there is no limit to the usefulness it can have. I am satisfied we have got some good ideas and I know we have a great many loyal and hopeful members. There are some 2,000 of them. We do need some more money - say, around $15,000 a year more than we are getting. As we are now, we vegetate but we don't have enough to set fruit - and only the fruit counts.

I await most eagerly what you will print about "farm organizations". When do we get it?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

RECEIVED
MAY 9 1947
Southern Regional Council

706 Hancock Street
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi

May 8, 1947

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

As the first dues-paying member of the Southern Regional Council I want to offer my congratulations and best wishes to you as the SRC's new executive director.

During the years ahead I hope that I can do more to further the SRC's work than I have done in the past. I shall be glad of the opportunity to cooperate with you in every possible way.

Dr. Guy Johnson was a splendid leader. Much good has already been done. But we must now push ahead with even greater determination and speed than before.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis

J. Lewis Henderson

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Poll Tax

C
O
P
Y

706 Hancock Street
Bay St. Louis, Miss.

July 23, 1947

RECEIVED
JUL 28 1947
Southern Regional Council

Editor,
The Daily Herald
Gulfport, Miss.

Dear Sir:

I notice that your editorial column is frequently critical of those who would do away with the poll tax as a requirement for voting. No doubt you favor the poll tax, yet I have not seen any editorial in the Daily Herald which explains why the poll tax is a good tax. Is it possible that you have taken the virtues (if any) of the poll tax for granted without bothering to list them?

In my opinion the poll tax as a requirement for voting cannot be justified in this or any other state. The poll tax puts a price tag on an inalienable right of the free citizen in a democracy. The result of the poll tax is to disfranchise more than half the citizens who would otherwise be eligible to vote.

The poll tax is often defended as a school tax, but its payment is voluntary and it raises only a small fraction of the total school funds. The poll tax makes it easy for political rings to thwart the will of the people. The poll tax breeds corruption of public officials and causes many citizens to lose hope in the democratic processes.

Some would defend the poll tax as a barrier to Negro voting. Here again, the poll tax is a fraud, as more whites in Mississippi are disfranchised than Negroes because of the tax. And besides, we have no legal or moral or Christian basis for denying the ballot to anyone who is fully qualified under the law. The United States Supreme Court has made this fact clear.

We have entered the atomic age. We are called upon to set an example for the rest of the world. The poll tax must go. If the state cannot or will not repeal it, then Congress has no choice but to pass the anti-poll tax bill.

Sincerely yours,

J. Lewis Henderson

(P.S. If you cannot publish this letter in full, please do not mutilate it by cutting vital paragraphs, as you did to my letter of several weeks ago. Thanks...JLH).

J. LEWIS HENDERSON
706 HANCOCK STREET
BAY ST. LOUIS, MISSISSIPPI

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

July 31, 1947

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
706 Hancock Street
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Henderson:

That was a good hard-hitting letter you wrote the Gulf Port Paper. Thank you for sending us a copy of it.

I hope they print it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:EE

Henderson, J. Lewis

COPY

706 Hancock St.
Bay St. Louis, Miss.

October 16, 1947

RECEIVED
OCT 20 1947
Southern Regional Council

Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer
Chairman, SRC, Inc.
1525 Robinson St.
Jackson 26, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

I shall be glad to serve on the nominating committee with Mrs. Ratliff.

The program looks good indeed, except for one speaker, namely, Owen Cooper of the Farm Bureau.

I have known Owen Cooper for at least 20 years, and I consider him a personal friend of mine, having been very close to him in college and having roomed with him for a time. And I know the Farm Bureau only too well. Owen followed me by joining the Farm Bureau when I left the Farm Bureau in practically the same capacity.

Owen is not a bad guy...his intentions are good, and he is quite capable, but he is the tool of a most reactionary group. As you perhaps already know, the Farm Bureau in Mississippi has its principal roots in the delta plantation system. Since about 1940 at least three-fourths of its membership have been Negroes of the delta area, who have been made involuntary Farm Bureau members through a check-off system more vicious and un-American than CIO or John L. Lewis ever practiced. Likewise, Ransom Aldrich, Farm Bureau president, is a tool of the plantation system and holds his job as long as he does nothing to disturb the status quo in race relations as ordered by the plantation interests.

The Farm Bureau nationally is a bad organization, closely aligned with the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Owen Cooper, being a church worker and a good leader, is employed by the Farm Bureau for the same reason that a large utility employs public relations experts who can mix with the folks and take leading parts in Boy Scouts, charities, etc. I shall not bother to elaborate here, but I can document my case if you are interested. I spent a year with the Rosenwald Fund studying Farm Bureau, race relations, plantation influences, etc.

Sincerely yours,

J. Lewis Henderson

J. Lewis Henderson

cc: Dr. George S. Mitchell

Copy

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

706 Hancock Street
Bay St. Louis, Miss.

October 31, 1947

Editor,
Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La.

Dear Sir:

The report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights has aroused the expected round of denunciations from office holders and candidates for public office and from the other self-proclaimed guardians of southern traditions. They are repeating the same old invectives in the customary way.

Acting Governor Oscar O. Wolfe, Jr., was among the first to discredit the "outside interference and meddlers," who, he said, are "misguided people," bent on a scheme to "destroy this nation."

Mr. Wolfe, speaking for "the South," has labeled those of the Civil Rights Committee as "traitors or dupes to the South and to the United States."

Mr. Wolfe certainly does not speak for me. I doubt if he speaks for a majority of the voters, much less a majority of all the people he is pledged under oath to represent. I think his remarks are in poor taste and a discredit to his high office.

Might I, as a native and resident of the South, suggest that all southerners would do w ell to study the committee's report carefully. It is a good report and is in the interest of the great majority of southern people.

Very truly yours,

J. Lewis Henderson

Henderson J. Lewis

June 7, 1948

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
706 Bancock Street
Bay St. Louis
Mississippi

Dear Lewis:

Things must be hot in Bay St. Louis.

Here are two of our recent pamphlets which may be of interest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: April and May '48 New South

GSM:eb

THE SEA COAST ECHO

A CONSTRUCTIVE FORCE IN THE COMMUNITY

Fifty-Seventh Year of Publication
A. G. FAVRE, Publisher

Official Journal Hancock County
Official Journal City of Bay St. Louis

Member National Editorial Association
Member State Press Association

Subscription Terms, $2.00 Per Annum
Always in Advance

Entered as Second Class Matter at the Postoffice, at Bay St. Louis, Miss., under Act of March 3, 1879

American Legion Team Being Sponsored By Local Business Men

Coached By Forster Commagere—Plans Progressing—Last Entry Date June 10th.

Plans for the American Legion Baseball Team for Hancock County boys are rapidly taking shape and entry into the legion league is definitely assured.

Up to the present date, twenty one boys have registered and all registrations must be filed with Coach Forster Commagere not later than June 10. Coach Commagere urges all boys from 13 to 18 years of age who are interested in baseball to contact him immediately Any boy whose birthday is on or after January, 1913 is eligible to play.

The name Rock-A-Chaw has been chosen as the official name for the club, sponsors feeling that this title is representative of this section of the coastal area.

The schedule is arranged by the State Headquarters of the American Legion in Jackson, with no team being responsible for picking its opponent or days of play. ,Winners of each region will meet at Jackson for the state play-off, and the State Champion will enter regional play in Texas, the city as yet has not been designated, and S. W. Regional winners journey to Chicago to determine national champion.

Local sponsors of the Rock-A-Chaws are H. B. Weston, Harry Sumrall, Roger Heitzmann, Gerald Price, Vincent Morreale, Tony Pitalo, Walter Gex, Dick Cue, and Bobby Camors.

HIGHWAY TRAINING SCHOOL DELAYED

Col. T. B. Birdsong, Commissioner of Public Safety, states that due to other Southern States conducting similar Training Schools, we were unable to obtain the type of instructors we wanted until the middle of June.

The Training School for new Patrolmen will begin on June 13th, and run for six wekes. ending July 24.

One group of men were given physical and mental examinations on Saturday, May 8th, and a second group will be examined on Saturday, May 29th.

Col. Birdsong states further that. in as much as the school has been delayed, he will accept a few more applications for good men, provided they meet following specifications. Must have reached their 25th birthday prior to June 13, 1948; must not be over 45 years old, must be at least 5 feet 9 inches tall in bare feet; must weight at least 156 pounds disrobed; must have at least a high school education in order to pass mental examination.

Application blanks are available at the Mississippi Highway Patrol Headquarters, 2550 North State Street, Jackson, Mississippi. Applicants must file with their application, three letters of recommendation, a recent full view picture and Birth Certificate. No applications will be received after May 22, 1948.

—Mesdames A. J. Tognotti, T. T. Robin, W. H. Rusesll, Oliver Radford, F. R. Nelson, Elizabeth Jenkins and C. C. McDonald attended the Zone Meeting of the Womans Society of Christian Service held at Wiggins on Thursday.

County Agents Hold 4 - H Club Picnics In Various Sections

Miss Annie Lois May, Home Demonstration Agent, and H. F. Simmons, County Agent, conducted jointly 4-H Club picnics for Kiln. Dedeaux, Catahoula, Leetown, Logtown and Aaron Academy, in connection with the recreation division of 4-H club wor. At these outings 4-H Club work for this year was discussed and assistance given where needed and questions were answered. Picnics will be held at Waveland and Lakeshore later.

Attending these recreations were 81 boys and girls from Kiln, 51 from Dedeaux, 40 from Catahoula and Leetown, 22 from Logtown, 28 from Aaron Academy.

When these recreations are made available they place the club boys and girls under obligation to complete their project prior to the outing.

The possibility and probability of boys and girls from Hancock County attending Camp Waukaway at Stafford Springs, August 5, 6, and 7 came up for discussion. It is estimated that there will be 60 to go from this county. This is the first camp offered since World War II.

The leaders found the interest manifested in the work and the camp above par.

—The Womans Society of Christian Service of the Carrollton Avenue Methodist Church, New Orleans, is meeting on Tuesday at the home of Mrs. E. N. Carnay in Mandeville, La. Mrs. A. C. Exnicios, Mrs. H. A. Thompson and Miss Josie Miller former members of the church and the society will attend the meeting.

ORTTE THEATER
Wednesday - Thursday

Also Latest News
Plus—Tumbleweed Tempos
A Muscial Everyone Will Enjoy

$500 REWARD

for information leading to the arrest and conviction of anyone spreading false rumors designed to injure my character and reputation. It has come to my attention recently that such rumors have been circulated. I am making a record of all names, dates, and places and statements reported to me.

I have no desire to prosecute anyone, and shall not, except as a last resort, but I shall not hestitate to go the limit to defend myself, if necessary, against that person or persons who have resorted to the low-down, cowardly, contemptible, un-American rumor-spreading, whispering method of trying to discredit my attempts to improve the community in which I live.

I have the highest respect for the vast majority of the people I have had the pleasure of meeting in this wonderful community of Bay St. Louis. I have every intention of staying here. I have no apology to offer for anything I have said or done. I have no intention of retracting any statement made or position taken. I certainly expect

NOTICE TO PUBLIC

False and malicious accusations have been made by certain of my opponents as to the disappearance of certain pipe belonging to the City. A complete answer to this false and erroneous statement could have been found on investigating the City records. The contract which follows has been on file since February 12, 1948, and had my opponents taken the time to investigate the records, they would have found an answer to their false, malicious and erroneous accusations. The contract follows:

The Board of Mayor and Commissioners,
City of Bay St. Louis, Mississippi,
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi.
Gentlemen:

This is to advise you that we have this the 12th day of February, 1948, established a credit on our books for your account in the amount of Eighty-four Hundred Dollars, ($8,400.00) and for which you have delivered to us a certain lot of 6 inch black steel pipe presently stored at the yards of the L. & N. R. R. Company freight warehouse and adjacent to their spur line running in a southerly direction. It is understood that there is approximately 14,000 feet, more or less of the pipe in question. However, this quantity shall not vary in either direction, more or less, than 10% of the total specified herein.

Respecfully submitted:

P. THOMPSON TOOL & SUPPLY CO.
(SEAL) By: Theo. A. Gugert
Accepted this the 12th day of February, 1948.

C. Y. Blaize

Not A Communist

To Whom It May Concern:

Since the Hancock County Progress Association was organized recently, and I was elected its temporary president, it has come to my attention that rumors are being circulated designed to discredit me and to brand me as a Communist.

My first inclination was to ignore the rumors since they were so absurd and ridiculous. But apparently the rumor-mongers have done their work well, and many good people have doubts in their minds. Certainly if the rumors had any basis of truth whatsover, it would be a cause of concern and a possible matter of embarrassment to my friends and to members of the Progress Association. I know of no basis for such rumors, except the apparent desire of one or several persons who may actually fear that some of the goals of the association may be realized.

Here are the association's goals for Hancock County, as recommended by the board of directors, subject to approval or change by the membership:

1. To enroll 1,000 members in the association.
2. More industries and payrolls.
3. Equitable property tax assessments.
4. A farmers produce market.
5. Public road improvements.
6. An adequate drainage system.
7. Extension of electric, gas, telephone and water services.
8. Development of the coastal recreation resources.
9. Regular published audits of county and municipalities.
10. Adequate hospital facilities.
11. Efficiency and economy in county and municipal governments.
12. Every eligible citizen registered and qualified to vote.
13. Greater civic pride through community betterment and clean-up drives.
14. To acquaint the people with the county's great resources and opportunities.

The Hancock County Progress Association was organized and its officers elected at a public meeting that had been widely advertised. All meetings have been open to the public and the usual democratic procedures followed. Any interested person may obtain a copy of the association's by

$500 REWARD

for information leading to the arrest and conviction of anyone spreading false rumors designed to injure my character and reputation. It has come to my attention recently that such rumors have been circulated. I am making a record of all names, dates, and places and statements reported to me.

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I have the highest respect for the vast majority of the people I have had the pleasure of meeting in this wonderful community of Bay St. Louis. I have every intention of staying here. I have no apology to offer for anything I have said or done. I have no intention of retracting any statement made or position taken. I certainly expect to continue my efforts—be they ever so meagre—in cooperation with all good citizens to make Hancock County the best place to live and rear a family.

(Signed)

J. Lewis Henderson
706 Hancock Street,
Bay St. Louis, Miss.

LOOK at America's Leading Trucks—

CHEVROLET Advance-Design TRUCKS

Today, American business that looks ahead looks to the leader's line of Advance-Design trucks for higher standards of value on the job. Today, Chevrolet trucks bring you the features of tomorrow—Advance-Design features—at the lowest prices in the volume field! Look ahead and look at them now—on display in our showroom.

LOOK at the Features...

New heavy-duty Chevrolet 4-speed Synchro-Mesh Truck Transmissions and Splined Axle Hub Connection • New Advance-Design Gearshift Control and Foot-Operated Parking Brake in 3-speed transmission models • Improved Valve-In-Head Engine • Exclusively designed Brakes.

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LOOK at the Cab...

Only Advance-Design trucks have the famous Cab that "Breathes!"* Fresh clean, cool air is drawn in and used air forced out! Air is heated in cold weather. The Cab is Flexi-Mounted, cushioned on rubber, with a fully-adjustable seat and all-round visibility with rear corner windows.*

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Only Chevrolet offers you *the lowest prices in the volume field!* Here are trucks with comparable equipment and specifications that list for *less than competitive makes—some models as much as $150.*

CHEVROLET

*Fresh air heating and ventilating system and rear corner windows optional at extra cost.

GULF CHEVROLET CO.

"See Al Voight Today"

Bay St. Louis, Miss. Tel. 102

pipe belonging to the City. A complete answer to the false and erroneous statement could have been found on investigating the City records. The contract which follows has been on file since February 12, 1948, and had my opponents taken the time to investigate the records, they would have found an answer to their false, malicious and erroneous accusations. The contract follows:

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Respecfully submitted:

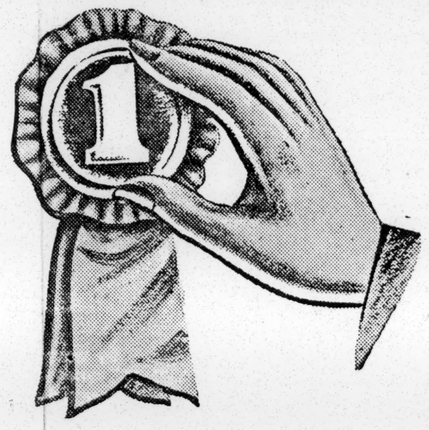
P. THOMPSON TOOL & SUPPLY CO.
(SEAL) By: Theo. A. Gugert

Accepted this the 12th day of February, 1948.

G. Y. Blaize
Mayor
W. L. Bourgeois
Commissioner of Finance
H. Grady Perkins
Commissioner of Public Utilities

It is my hope that this contract sufficiently answers all of the false and erroneous charges made by some of my opponents about the pipe belonging to the City disappearing.

Respectfully submitted,
G. Y. BLAIZE
Mayor.



FOR AIDING
THE AMERICAN HOUSEWIFE-

The commercial laundry gets first prize! For, according to extensive and impartial research, the greatest single task of the housewife is processing the family wash, which takes 52 days out of every 365. While finishing an average washing, a woman using a 6-pound iron lifts 1200 pounds and pushes the iron 6 miles. Besides relieving her of this burden, the commercial laundry

FULLY INSURES WASH
GETS WASH "SURGICALLY" CLEAN
PROVIDES SPECIAL SERVICES

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BAY ST. LOUIS, MISS.

4. A farmers produce market.
5. Public road improvements.
6. An adequate drainage system.
7. Extension of electric, gas, telephone and water services.
8. Development of the coastal recreation resources.
9. Regular published audits of county and municipalities.
10. Adequate hospital facilities.
11. Efficiency and economy in county and municipal governments.
12. Every eligible citizen registered and qualified to vote.
13. Greater civic pride through community betterment and clean-up drives.
14. To acquaint the people with the county's great resources and opportunities.

The Hancock County Progress Association was organized and its officers elected at a public meeting that had been widely advertised. All meetings have been open to the public and the usual democratic procedures followed. Any interested person may obtain a copy of the association's by-laws from one of the temporary officers, who are as follows:

Lewis Henderson, 706 Hancock Street, Bay St. Louis, president;
August Rauxet, Jr., 119 Union Street, Bay St. Louis, vice-president;
Harry Stone, Lakeshore, secretary; and
Edward Fayard, 416 Citizen Street, Bay St. Louis, treasurer.

It is the sincere desire and intention of the present officers to develop the association's activities in a way that will be most constructive and in keeping with the best interests of the entire county. We want to cooperate with every other organization having similar aims.

Since many of the above-mentioned rumors have been directed at me personally, I want to say that I AM NOT NOW, AND HAVE NEVER BEEN, A COMMUNIST, AND I HAVE NO DESIRE OR INTENTION OF BECOMING A COMMUNIST.

I was born at Hattiesburg, Miss., and I have spent practically all of my life in the state. My father, G. L. Henderson, is the justice of the peace of Beat 5, Oktibbeha County having been elected without opposition for five consecutive terms. I was graduated from Mississippi State College, and upon graduation wa elected life secretary of my Class of 1928. I own my home, and I am married and the father of three children.

While the editor of the Scott County Times at Forest, Miss., the paper received the award of the State Press Association for outstanding community service in 1941. While at Forest I was secretary of the Rotary Club.

At Starkville, my home town for most of my life, I was first president (in 1935) of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. I am a member of the Masonic Lodge and the Methodist church. I am engaged in a lawful business in Bay St. Louis. I am 42 years old and I have never been indicted or charged with any crime or wrongdoing whatsoever.

To that person or persons who are attempting to spread false rumors against me, I challenge them to uncover their motives and offer proof. It is unlawful to circulate false rumors designed to injure one's character or reputation. I alread have a list of names. Anyone calling another a Communist without proof is subject to prosecution in the courts for slander. The United States Supreme Court has so held.

Anyone who believes in good government, in a better democracy, in a higher standard of living for the people, in the development of the county's rich resources, in a program for more industries and payrolls, and in a more enlightened citizenship, cannot honestly oppose the Progress Association and its objectives.

I don't flatter myself by thinking that I am so important as to be the sole target of the smear campaign mentioned above. There is ample leadership, more capable than I, in this community, that would insure the success of the association's efforts without me. Obviously, the object of the smear-peddlers is to destroy the effectiveness of any organized attempt to improve conditions here.

This presents a direct challenge to all decent, self-respecting, law-abiding citizens who desire improvements in the community.

I want to take this opportunty to thank my many friends who have refused to be taken in by the malicious rumors, and who are kindly cooperating with me in tracking down the rumors just as fast as they come to our attention.

I am glad to report that, despite the rumors, the membership in the Progress Association is steadily increasing.

(Signed)

LEWIS HENDERSON

December 8, 1948

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
706 Hancock Street
Bay St. Louis, Miss.

Dear Mr. Henderson:

In response to your request, we are sending you several copies of a reprint of the report of our Executive Committee on the civil rights controversy. We usually make a charge of 5 cents each to cover the cost of printing and mailing, and should appreciate receiving this, in stamps if you prefer.

It may be that you would be interested in a subscription to our monthly bulletin, New South, which is listed at $1.50 per year. Won't you let us hear from you further?

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

JBB, - 12-8-48

Nov. 7, 1948

Gentlemen:

May I have a copy of the Sept. issue of your paper containing the report on the civil rights controversy.

If you can spare them, I'd like to have several copies, as I can put them to good use. Thanks.

Sincerely,

J. L. H.

RECEIVED
NOV 11 1948
Southern Regional Council

J. LEWIS HENDERSON
706 HANCOCK STREET
BAY ST. LOUIS, MISSISSIPPI

15- Henderson, J. Lewis

December 17, 1948

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
706 Hancock Street
Bay St. Louis, Miss.

Dear Mr. Henderson:

Thank you so much for your note of December 16 with check enclosed.

It is a matter of regret to me that I do not yet know personally every individual member of our Council. You are indeed one of our earliest members as your card reveals and we want you to know that we do value and appreciate old friends.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary- Treasurer

AM:s

cc: Paul D. Williams

15 - Henderson, J. Lewis

February 8, 1949

Mr. J. Lewis Henderson
706 Hancock Street
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi

Dear Lewis:

Thank you for your letter of February 3.

We have not organized for this February a civil rights meeting. Your files must have misled you into thinking of the 1948 meeting as coming up in February, 1949.

I saw clippings from the Mississippi papers, and shared some of your disturbance as to the clippings. I do not know exactly what occurred, but I had a far more satisfying report of the matter from Mr. Schaeffer, and I am disposed to accept what he sent as against what newspaper reporters quoted the Governor as saying.

So far as I know the Council, it does not defend or promote segregation.

In my view there is room in the South both for agitational movements which express to the full the resentment engendered by the injustices which we all perceive, and for movements which try to improve matters step by step.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

cc: Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer
GSM:t

706 Hancock St.
Bay St. Louis, Miss.

February 3, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
FEB 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I would like very much to attend the southwide meeting on civil rights, to be held at Atlanta on Friday, Feb. 27, but I am afraid I can't make it.

As a charter member of SRC, I wish to express my firm belief that any campaign to preserve the status quo in the race segregation pattern in the South is a mistake. I recall that recent newspaper reports say the SRC officials in Mississippi are doing just that.

It is a fact that the chairman, Rev. Schaeffer, did not invite any of us, who oppose the present segregation pattern, to visit the governor with him recently.

During a recent visit with Dr. Rex. Tugwell, he said that it was his opinion that the Rosenwald Fund made the mistake of not attacking the segregation pattern. I agree with him.

I believe that the segregation pattern is the core of the trouble with race relations here in the South. Any attempt bring relief to Negroes--within the framework of segregation--is bound to fail.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis

J. Lewis Henderson

cc: Rev. Brent Schaeffer

15-Henderson, J. Lewis

March 8, 1949

Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer, Chairman
Mississippi Division
Southern Regional Council
1525 Robinson St.
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Brother Schaeffer:

Your recent letter to members of SRC is commendable and sets forth a very fine basis for working to solve the problems relating to racial conflicts. I agree that the matter of segregation should not be brought into the fight at this time, except that this should not be taken that we are satisfied with the present pattern of segregation, but simply that there are so many more urgent and obtainable objectives that need attention.

Your statement is greatly appreciated because it clears up an erroneous impression carried in the press that the proposed inter-racial commission was committed to the pattern of segregation as the proper relationship to be desired between the races.

I want you to know that I deeply appreciate your leadership in the SRC group. I think you have done a fine job, in the face of powerful opposition. Keep up the good work.

Here's hoping that Governor Wright will make good his promise to appoint the commission to study racial problems at an early date.

Sincerely yours,

J. Lewis Henderson

CC: Governor Wright
Geo. Mitchell

RECEIVED
MAR 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

J. Lewis Henderson
706 Hancock St.
Bay St. Louis, Miss.

Service Men's Writing Room
Grace Methodist Church
Wilmington, N. C.

Dec. 14, 1944

Dr. Guy Johnson
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear friend:

Thinking over the little Conference we had together last week I remember the question of Dr. Read, as to whether or not I could be released for a period of three months. My answer was that I thought such was impossible. On the otherhand if I entered this work I should be glad to enter on a basis of a three months trial period — to see if I liked the work or the work liked me — failing in either case I should plan to go to Howard or Yale for some further definite preparation for the work — in the field of racial problems.

In all of these matters I must frankly reiterate that it might prove most difficult for me to be released from my work until fall — that would have to be up to my Bishop. Thanks you —

Fraternally — J. F. Herbert

Applicant
Student

Dec. 26, 1944

The Rev. J. F. Herbert
Grace Methodist Church
Wilmington, N.C.

Dear Mr. Herbert:

This comes to you later than it should for several reasons — the pressure of work just before the holidays, my determination to spend a few days with my family, and some complications in our S.R.C. budget. This latter item is as follows: Since we came through this year with a small balance, the Rosenwald Fund is probably not sending us the fourth quarterly payment on their 1944 grant as we had expected. We had counted on this as a good "nest egg" to use for an immediate enlargement of program for 1945. The Fund will, of course, send us the 1945 appropriation, beginning January 2, and will probably underwrite any deficit which we run during the year, but there has not been time to check up for sure on this.

Since you are willing to consider a trial proposition for three months, we are inclined to believe that this would be the best thing

all around. This would, as you say, give us a mutual trying out, and it would give us time to see just what the intentions of the Rosenwald Fund are.

If you are willing, then, we should like for you to come for a minimum of three months, with remuneration at the rate of $5100, or $425 a month. After a preliminary period of familiarizing yourself with the program, you would travel a good deal, working with state and local interracial committees, speaking to other groups, such as civic clubs, chambers of commerce, etc., where opportunity arises. The work with interracial committees would involve general stimulation, encouraging them to follow through on S.R.C. programs, advising them through visits and letters, arranging for their affiliation with S.R.C., etc.

The question of family living quarters here is difficult. Did I tell you that I was here eight months before I got a house, and had to buy one at that? However, some people are much more fortunate than I was.

We want your help very much and as soon as possible, and we hope that all problems can be worked out satisfactorily. Would you like to come down, at S.R.C. expense, to talk over any details

(over)

further? If so, call or write me as soon as possible. The office phone is Walnut 7963. My home phone is Cherokee 9675.

I hope that you have had as good a Christmas as one can have in these days of war. With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Guy B. Johnson

Dear Friend: Dr. Odum told me to present expense acct. of my visit to him at Chapel Hill — also to the Council Mtg. The Chapel Hill acct. came to $12.42. If convenient kindly send to me as it will help Santa Claus the immediate day. The Council trip expense is much larger of course. I think I have a friend who will pay it, as his contribution to our cause. If he doesn't I'll itemize it and send to you.

I believe a better time for me to talk with my Bishop will be right at the first of January when he comes to my church, so if you need more time to consider matters, just get me a reply by about Dec. 25th.

Cordly. J. T. Herbert

S.B.G. wrote Herbert a note from Louisville, Dec. 12/44.

This expense acct. to Chapel Hill was turned over to Miss Clay.

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
Wilmington, N. C.

J. F. HERBERT, PASTOR
RESIDENCE: 221 N. 4TH ST.

ROGER MOORE
CH'M. OFFICIAL BOARD

MRS. WINIFRED BENSON
PASTOR'S SECRETARY AND
DIRECTOR OF YOUTH

A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

December 26, 1944

Dr. Guy Johnson
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I judge there will be a letter from you in the next few days. Meanwhile I should like to let you know some things that are passing through my mind, in reference to the question at hand.

As the weeks pass I realize the more that the proposal to leave the work here poses more difficulties, yet I am willing to leave if from the Council standpoint it seems wise, and if my Bishop and Church will allow it. We have on just now the financial phase of our Crusade for Christ, a Methodist movement that you are doubtless acquainted with. My church here is asked for $6200. I have asked the people to set their minimum goal at $10,000 so must certainly stick by them until they have given pledges or cash to that amount. This must be done bewteen now and about March 1st. The people have set their goal as I have suggested and we are working at the task. The earliest I feel it can possibly be finished will be February 1st. In considering the possibility of a mid-year change of residence I have looked upon Feb. 1st or thereabout as the most desirable time because it represents about the half-way mark in the school year for my three scholars.

Bishop W.W. Peele, before whom this matter would have to be placed for his judgment, will be in my home and in my pulpit on January 1st, for a Crusade rally. That will give me the opportunity that I will need to talk over this matter with him. If a proposal is to come from you I should like it therefore to be in my hands before that time.

My own family registers a good deal of objection to my leaving the pastorate (I refer to my mother and brothers and sisters). My wife wants me to do what I feel is the thing for me to do, and is glad to enter this service with me if it should so transpire. The whole matter is a spiritual thing with me (I hope that is not an overstatement). I feel that here is the greatest missionary challege of all and the least responded to. For years I have considered the matter, but have only of late found myself entirely willing to take the venture if it should present itself. I was greatly delighted with the Atlanta meeting. It was the most encouraging experience that has come to me in many months.

It is quite possible that the larger executive meeting will consider the matter of a salary, if the position should materialize, and if the matter of salary has not already been settled. I have expressed my willingness to serve for $5,000 if that is all that the Council feels available. Such would represent a considerable sacrifice for me, and we find very little left over when our needs are met and insurance paid. My present salary is $4800. The perquisites of my job brought in very close to $700 last year. A beautiful home, furnished, is provided rent free.

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
Wilmington, N. C.

J. F. HERBERT, PASTOR
RESIDENCE: 221 N. 4TH ST.

ROGER MOORE
CH'M. OFFICIAL BOARD

MRS. WINIFRED BENSON
PASTOR'S SECRETARY AND
DIRECTOR OF YOUTH

A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

Any reasonable estimate on my pastoral income therefore would readily place it as over $6000. If Bishop Moore is in the executive group, I rather thinkghe would testify to this, as I believe he knows my situation here. I should therefore be pleased if the council would offered me give consideration to this matter. It is the work that I am deeply interested in. If I cannot support my family at it my Conference will take me back in alright. And I am able and willing to take the risks involved. I shall hope however that the Council will make the salary as generous as possible within the areas as suggested above, for I shall not quibble over the salary if I believe I can live on it. A part of the work will naturally be to solicit funds. As I see it ev-every community visit should have this as a part of its purpose. The negro leadership in each community will know what men and women of both races have money to give and will give it to this cause. Surely an intelligent approach to this matter will bring ample results, surely supporting the field man and making for enlarging income for the Council work. As stated in your office however, this to me is an essential AMERICAN crusade. Someone has to do it and sacrifice for it. If $5000 is all the position can offer I shall not refuse it on a financial basis.

I have tried to make clear heretofore that it is more likely that I can be liberated for part time than whole time service. It may be top that this is the best approach to this matter. I shall look to hear from you before January 7th, and shall write you as soon thereafter as is possible.

Cordially yours,

J. F. Herbert

J. F. Herbert

Dear Dr. Johnson - Your special delivery letter came this morning - I mailed a letter to you last night. You may disregard the letter's references to salary - as obviously that matter has already been duly considered. It will mean a $100 per mo. cut for me which is quite a slice - but I have been determined not to quibble over salary. Maybe I have been making too much money (?). - Please disregard references to salary in my letter.

I am having to work on a sermon to-night - and will have to reply to your letter upon return from a visit to my mother. I shall write you fully therefore on Friday night.

Sincerely, J. F. Herbert

221 N. 4th St. Wilmington, N.C.

Wed. Dec. 27-44

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
Wilmington, N. C.

J. F. HERBERT, PASTOR
RESIDENCE: 221 N. 4TH ST.

ROGER MOORE
CH'M. OFFICIAL BOARD

MRS. WINIFRED BENSON
PASTOR'S SECRETARY AND
DIRECTOR OF YOUTH

A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

January 15, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I sent you a telegram tonight whose general import was the I could go to Florida next week if you still thought such advisable. In my own mind I rather think the more advisable thing is to wait until Bishop Moore's return to Atlanta in the early part of February. This would give us an opportunity to talk the matter through thoroughly, for me to talk with Bishop Moore and for the three or four of us to talk together. Bishop Peele insists that I talk with Bishop Moore about this matter, as he feels that Bishop Moore will understand the matter from the standpoint of the church as well as the standpoint of the Council. I shall await your telegram with interest however, and be guided by its suggestion. I must not keep coming to Atlanta at the expense of the Council, as this runs rapidly up into money. I see a considerable advantage in waiting for the Bishop and spending even as much as two or three days in Atlanta to see this thing through thoroughly. I am sure it is natural that you should want me to come to the position at once. Immediate liberation here is not just to the church however, as most important things are now underway.

Hoping to see you soon, I am, sincerely yours,

J. F. Herbert

J. F. Herbert

Tentative

P.S. Feeling that you will hardly advise my going to Florida, I have written to Bishop Moore asking him for an appointment in Atlanta on February 13th. If I do not go to Florida I want to come to Atlanta at that time to see you both. Will you be there the week of the 13th? The afternoon train from Wilmington on the twelfth would put me in Atlanta on the thirteen in time for a morning Conference. I should prefer to stick around a or two so as to consider the matter through to the end of definite conclusion. As stated above my Bishop insists that I see Dr. Arthur Moore.

January 22, 1945

The Rev. J. F. Herbert
Grace Methodist Church
Corner Grace and Fourth Streets
Wilmington, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Herbert:

Your letter of January 15 has arrived during Dr. Johnson's absence from the city. As far as I can tell from Dr. Johnson's present calendar he will be in the office the week of February 12, at least until February 16, and would be available for a conference with you at that time. Of course, if you decided to go to Florida for a conference with the Bishop, he will still be glad to see you on the 25th and 26th of this month.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
Wilmington, N. C.

J. F. HERBERT, PASTOR
RESIDENCE: 221 N. 4TH ST.
ROGER MOORE
CH'M. OFFICIAL BOARD

MRS. WINIFRED BENSON
PASTOR'S SECRETARY AND DIRECTOR OF YOUTH
A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

January 24, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear friend: —

I had mailed a letter to you to-day only about a half-hour when the letter from your secretary came. It seems to confirm appointment for Feb. 13th or 14th — this in case I can have at the same time or period an appointment with Bishop Moore, for which I have written, but from which letter I have as yet received no reply.

There are several men in this city and state whose names I feel should be on our Council membership — especially our local Episcopal Bishop, the leading Episcopal pastor here, one

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TREASURER

of the outstanding Methodist ministers, and the Y secretary here — all vitally interested in Interracial matters, and most intelligently so. What is the process of presenting their names for membership?

I am sending my membership dues herewith.

Sincerely yours,

J. Herman Herbert

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
Wilmington, N. C.

J. F. HERBERT, PASTOR
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PASTOR'S SECRETARY AND DIRECTOR OF YOUTH
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TREASURER

P.S.

After my trip to Atlanta I wrote you that a friend of mine had stated he would pay the expenses of that visit to Atlanta - as a contribution to the work. I regret that so far he has not done so. If agreeable therefor kindly send me $46.00 for the expenses of that trip - as I borrowed the money to come on. I still believe the friend will send the money - in which case I shall then return the $46.00 to you.

-19-

January 25, 1945

Dictated January 24

Mr. J. F. Herbert
221 North Fourth Street
Wilmington, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Herbert:

Your telegram has just arrived and I expect your letter tomorrow.

We have asked the directors of the state interracial organizations to meet in Atlanta on February 1 at 10:30 A.M. in the Council headquarters. It seems to me that it would be extremely important for you to meet with this group if you possibly can, since the purpose of the gathering is to discuss several questions as to the future of the state committees and the relationship of the Council to them. If you can combine this trip with your conference with Bishop Moore and me, well and good, but I certainly hope that you can attend this meeting regardless of whether you can see Bishop Moore at that time or not. The Council will bear your expenses, of course.

I have just returned to Atlanta from a week at Memphis, Asheville, and Chapel Hill. I have been so much on the go between here and in the field that I have not done justice to your last two letters. Just let me reiterate the fact that we want you on the Council staff, and that we want you as soon as you can possibly come.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:M/j

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

QA85

Q LJ219 9=WILMINGTON NCAR 24 1140A

DR GUY B JOHNSON, ROOM

432=63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST TU ATLA=

HAVE HAD TO POSTPONE TRIP COMING SHORTLY LETTER FOLLOWS=

J F HERBERT.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

January 17, 1946

Mr. J. F. Herbert
221 N. Fourth St.
Wilmington, N. C.

Hope you can go to Florida Monday at Council expense. Bishop Moore can be reached care Rev. R. L. Allen, First Methodist Church, St. Petersburg, Fla. by wire. Glad to see you here 25 and 26.

GUY B. JOHNSON

PAID

Charge to
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Ship Radiogram

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QJ96

Q. GKA 489 NL PD=WILMINGTON NCAR 15 1945 JAN 15 PM 7 50

DR GUY JOHNSON=

WESLEY MEMORIAL METHODIST CHURCH BLDG ATLA=

FIND CAN GO TO FLORIDO NEXT MONDAY IF YOU ADVISE SAME AT COUNCIL EXPENSE RETURN VIA ATLANTA FOR CONFERENCE WITH YOU ON 25TH AND 26TH IF SO AUTHORIZED KINDLY WIRE BISHOP MOORE'S PRESENT TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS OTHERWISE WILL WAIT FOR BISHOP'S RETURN TO ATLANTA IN EARLY FEBRUARY KINDLY WIRE=

J F HERBERT.

25 26..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Charge to the account of ~~Southern Regional Council~~ $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM	X	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	
SPECIAL SERVICE		SHIP RADIOGRAM	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206-B

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

January 10, 1945

Mr. J. F. Herbert
221 N. 4th Street
Wilmington, N. C.

Bishop Moore in Florida until Feb. 9. Suggest you contact him care Dr. R. L. Allen, First Methodist Church, St. Petersburg, and try to arrange conference with him in Florida. I am away January 16-20, but I can see you any other time.

Guy B. Johnson

PAID

Charge to:

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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.QJ42

Q.GKA521 NL PD=WILMINGTON NCAR 9 1945 JAN 9 PM 10 40

DR GUY JOHNSON=

WESLEY MEMORIAL METHODIST BLDG ATLA=

I WANT AN APPOINTMENT YOUR OFFICE FRIDAY JANUARY 19TH BISHOP PEELE DESIRES I SEE BISHOP ARTHUR MOORE ALSO I HAVE TELEGRAPHED HIM FOR APPOINTMENT SAME DAY. KINDLY CONTACT HIM WIRE ME IF CAN SEE BOTH OF YOU THAT DAY IF NOT WHAT EARLIEST POSSIBLE DAY SEE YOU BOTH=

J F HERBERT..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM	X	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	
SPECIAL SERVICE		SHIP RADIOGRAM	

Patrons should check class of service desired, otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206-B

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

January 5, 1944

The Rev. J. F. Herbert
221 North Fourth Street
Wilmington, North Carolina

YOUR INTERPRETATION CORRECT. ADEQUATE FOUNDATION SUPPORT

VIRTUALLY CERTAIN. LETTER FOLLOWS.

Guy B. Johnson

PAID
Charge to:
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
432 Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

January 5,1945

Mr. J.F. Herbert
Wilmington, N.C.

Dear Mr. Herbert:

There are so many things going on around here right now that I hardly know whether I am coming or going. There is more than twenty-four hours of work that needs to be done every day, but I can't do better than ten or twelve, and so you see how things pile up.

I hated not to make an immediate reply to your letter of Dec. 30, but I kept hoping to get the financial angle cleared up with Rosenwald Fund in time to get a letter to you before Saturday. I think that things are pretty well cleared up now, but it was so late that I wired you this afternoon so that you would rest assured on the point raised at the end of your last letter.

When I wrote you last week, I was probably a bit confused. Certainly I was depressed and just a bit angry at the foundation for telling us that since we had not over-spent for the year they would not send us the fourty quarterly payment of their appropriation, or words to that effect. I thought I saw most of our plans just flying out of the window. Well, we have assurances now that we need not worry, that we should go ahead and do whatever we need to do, that support will be forthcoming. Dr. Odum told me today that he would see that the Rosenwald Fund sent us the additional amount for 1944. (Confidentially, Dr. Embree has been out of the country, and someone else at the Fund evidently took it upon himself to make the decision referred to above.)

And so, as it stands now, we want you with the Council, and we'd like to have you full time. Let's forget the three months trial period, as far as we are concerned, and think in terms of appointment for one year, with permanency if mutually satisfactory.

As for part-time, the more I think about it, the less I like the idea. You see, our biggest problems, as far as the state and local interracial committees are concerned, are in the Gulf states. So much time would be lost in ~~xxxx~~ travelling back and forth from Wilmington that there would be little chance for sustained work in Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, etc. Therefore I hope and pray that Bishop Peele is willing to release you and assign you to this new work on a full time basis -- and as soon as possible !

Sincerely,
Guy B. Johnson

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
Wilmington, N. C.

J. F. HERBERT, PASTOR
RESIDENCE: 221 N. 4TH ST.

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MRS. WINIFRED BENSON
PASTOR'S SECRETARY AND
DIRECTOR OF YOUTH

A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

December 30, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Johnson: After a trip into South Carolina with my family, for a night with my mother, I am back at the study again, and will make some effort to answer your letter.

Most essential thing to say is that Bishop W.W. Peele under whose appointment I serve will be in my home and in my pulpit on next Sunday morning. I have waited for some definite matter from you before I have cared to bring the matter before him. I will not venture as to his attitude on the matter, except that he is a truly great man and I am sure will give the matter his careful attention. I cannot go contrary to his counsel as to leaving my pulpit here. If he says I must stay till fall so must I. Indeed if I go with S.R.C at all it must be by his appointment. If he does not think it wise for me to leave my work here at the present time it does seem to me that we might work something out in the nature of part-time service to S.R.C. that might be quite acceptable to us both. I remember that Dr. Odum thought well of such a proposal. The idea that I might give every other week to this work until I can be liberated seemed to appeal to him strongly. I do not believe that we discussed that possibility. Anyway we will see what the Bishop's attitude is.

There is one matter that I want to mention to you. The proposal of a three months ~~mutual~~ period of mutual trial I take it means from your standpoint that it will offer an opportunity to see if my personality, talents, and ideas fit into this task, to discover in a word whether or not I am the man to do this work. Such a period of discovery is quite reasonable I think, especially in as much as we know so little about each other. My conclusion is that if on my part I prove acceptable to you as the man for the task, the position is available to me for continuance. A reference in your letter however that "by that time we can see what the Rosenwald Fund" will do is not so reassuring. It leads me to this question: Is the support indicated assured to me <u>if</u> I prove the man for the position? I think you can readily see that neither my Bishop nor I will feel I should cut loose here <u>if</u> the funds for my support are uncertain. In all reason I am confident that you refer to the former question when you speak of the period of trial...that you refer I mean to my suitability for the position and its suitability to me. I feel that is a question I must clear up however. I should appreciate an answer to this question as soon as is convenient to you.

Meanwhile I shall bring up this matter to my Bishop on next Saturday afternoon.

Most sincerely yours,

J. F. Herbert

J. F. Herbert

My I wish you a very Happy New Year.

Your interpretation correct. ~~Well~~
adequate ~~foundation~~ support virtually certain. Let's follow.

January 26, 1945

The Rev. J. F. Herbert
221 North Fourth Street
Wilmington, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Herbert:

Your letter of the 24th has just arrived. I shall not make any out-of-town engagements for the week of February 12 in the hope that you Bishop Moore and I can get together sometime that week.

In the meantime, if you do find it possible to be with us at the meeting of state interracial committee heads on February 1, we can have an opportunity to talk further about future plans. This meeting would give you an opportunity to meet a number of people with whom you might be working later on, and a chance to gain considerable insight into the problems and activities of the state committees.

Since it seems unlikely that you can get released any time soon, I have been wondering whether we might now work out an arrangement whereby you could give a little time to preliminary explorations in places which can be reached from Wilmington with relatively little loss of time in travel. I have in mind, for example, that you might spend some time with Bishop Penick and Rev. Ernest Arnold so as to familiarize yourself with the problems and methods of the North Carolina Interracial Commission; that you might visit a number of local interracial committees in order to see what they have or have not done and why and how; and that you might experiment with approaches to chambers of commerce, civic groups, etc. In other words, this might serve as a preliminary "training" period, which would be of much value to you and to the Council. We can talk about this further when we come together.

Very cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
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J. F. HERBERT, PASTOR
RESIDENCE: 221 N. 4TH ST.

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PASTOR'S SECRETARY AND
DIRECTOR OF YOUTH

A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

January 24, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I should have written this letter several days ago, but did not do so, so telegraphed this morning in order that you will not be expecting me tomorrow and the next day (25 and 26).

As you have apparently not reacted favorably to the idea of my giving any sort of part-time service to the Council, and as I have not seen the possibility of immediate release from my work here for full time duties, it has not seemed to me that I would be justified in going to Florida at the expense of the Council, when by waiting a bit longer I can see you and the Bishop together in Atlanta. I was confused at first in this matter, but this seemed to me to be the only proper conslusion to come to, even though I appreciated your confidence in authorizing the Florida trip at Council expense. As it turned out a funeral appeared which would have delayed the trip this week, so I am content that it was wise not to go to Florida. It was most tempting opportunity, for I have not been ever to Florida and it would have been an interesting trip from a selfish standpoint.

Before telegraphing you for authorisation to go to Florida I had written the Bishop asking him to give me the first possible appointment in Atlanta after his return there. Inasmuch as you have stated he will be back there on the 9th of February, which is Friday, I suggested that I could come down on Monday Feb. 12 and have appointment with him on the 13th. If I do come down at that time, which is my desire, it will give me opportunity to stay several days and work this thing out to conclusion, a thing that would not be possible by a Florida-Atlanta trip that would consume a large part of the week in transit. I am waiting now reply from the Bishop. His Atlanta office has sent me a card saying that he was in Florida (I used the Atlanta address) and that my letter had been mailed to him, and that I should be hearing from him after a brief delay.

Bishop Peele has insisted that I go into this matter thoroughly with Bishop Moore before coming to a decision. It is therefore my desire to come to Atlanta on the week of the 12th if the Bishop will see me on 13th or 14th. I shall communicate with you as soon as I hear from him. Meanwhile kindly give some thought to the idea of being there yourself during that period as my thought is to see both of you of course, and Dr. Read if possible.

There has been no change of heart on my part in this matter. Practical problems of release here, and living situations there, with a desire to be sure I understand the whole situation, press

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A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

pon me of course as the connection becomes imminent.

Sincerely yours,

J. F. Herbert

J. F. Herbert

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
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A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

Jan. 29 '45

Dear Dr. Johnson –

On account of another trip I must take out of the city, I cannot be with you on Feb. 1st.

I now expect to come to Atlanta about Feb. 14th. The Bishop will be in his office on the 16th. By coming mid-week I can go thoroughly into this matter with ~~them~~ you first and then with the two of you on the 16th. I shall probably spend the week-end there. I must come tho when you are there too, of course. What is your schedule? The Bishop is leaving on night

1.

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TREASURER

of the 12th, to return for the 16th. I cannot get there until morning of the 13th on acct. of wedding on afternoon of the 11th. I will therefore wait until about 14th to come, hoping to see you on ~~14th or~~ 15th, Bishop on 16th — and remaining over the week-end if necessary.

Hurriedly —

J. F. Herbert

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
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TREASURER

January 9, 1945

My dear Dr. Johnson —

Thank you for the letter of Jan. 3rd. It came in after my Conference with Bishop Peale, but I do not believe its contents would have added anything to our Conference, tho they meant much to me.

Bishop Peale was entirely sympathetic with the proposals that I put before him. I knew he would be so for he is in the very first rank among American churchmen, and I could not conceive anything but a most comprehensive Christian attitude on his part. I will say that to me our conference literally strengthened my determination that I should enter this special field of service. Walter Peale is a great man.

A matter of grave importance to me was whether or not this service was such that it would surely fall under the classification of extra-Conference (Methodist Conference) activities to which Bishop Peale could appoint me. This he feels confident of — and he is entirely willing to do it. The only matter at stake is the question of <u>when</u> — both to Dr. Peale and to myself. He wonders if it can possibly wait until next fall. That is the natural time of change with us - November. Due to the scarcity of preachers just now (with

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TREASURER

thousands of them at war) the proposed appointment poses the serious problem of finding a successor for me here. He said to me however: "If this is the door you feel you should enter I shall not close it to you. I shall not insist on your waiting till fall if, after talking over this matter again with Dr. Johnson and Dr. Reid and Bishop Moore, you feel you should go earlier than Conference".

He is particularly anxious for me to talk with Bishop Moore. I am suggesting therefore that I accept your invitation to come to Atlanta again at SRC expense at such a time when both you two men and Bishop Moore will be there. It may be that I shall telegraph you to-day asking telegraphic reply so that I can make an appointment that will fit into my situation here. We are fearfully busy in our effort to meet fully the demands of the Crusade for Christ. My church is asked for $6200. Our goal is $10000. My personal goal is $12400.00 this must be raised before March.

Most sincerely yours,

J. F. Herbert

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
Wilmington, N. C.

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P.S. — I should like for us to have together a morning and an afternoon appointment if that is possible. This will give me time to think things over at lunch by myself — then to come back for clarification.

I believe it would be profitable too, to explore the possibilities (TRIPS) existent in making some things for the Council until such time as release is justly possible — justice here referring to my church and my obligation thereto. I could not find happiness in leaving my church in obviously incompetent hands — such is not meeting either situation well. My Bishop was particularly interested in this possibility — until Fall or until such time previous to Fall that a proper man could be found.

February 9, 1945

The Rev. J. F. Herbert
221 North Fourth Street
Wilmington, North Carolina

Dear Friend:

Thank you for your letter of February 6. I am glad that you will be here on Thursday, February 15. However, it looks as if I will not be able to see you that morning. I have a speaking engagement at Emory University at 10 A. M., which means that I leave the office at 9 A. M. and will not be back until 12 or later. I suggest that we have lunch together at the Piedmont Hotel at 1 o'clock and continue our discussion in the afternoon.

I sincerely hope that you and Bishop Moore and I can work out something mutually satisfactory.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

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TREASURER

Feb. 6, 1945

My dear Irene —

I am planning to come to Atlanta, to be there not later than next Thursday morning. If it is agreeable to you I will plan to meet you in your office on Thursday morning at 10:00 o'clock. I see no reason why I should ask you to see me before then. I have asked Bishop Moore to see me the next day, Friday 16th, at 10:00 oclock.

I am coming down to examine the whole matter with you and see if the thing cannot be worked out to our mutual satisfaction. With Bishop Moore I am hoping to find ~~that~~ I may

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be able to supplement the proposed income by some pulpit service. I wish also to discuss with him the whole matter as it relates to the church.

I am coming, earnestly desiring to find the way clear to serve in this field. I am not coming however with the feeling that I am already committed definitely, except in the desires of my heart and mind. It is my understanding that the SRC will meet my expenses. By the way I have not received the other checks.

Fraternally

J. F. Herbert

SPECIAL DELIVERY

March 2, 1945

The Rev. J. F. Herbert
221 North Fourth Street
Wilmington, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Herbert:

At our Executive Committee meeting day before yesterday, we were advised against making the additional allowance of $75.00 a month toward housing and living expenses. I know that this is a great disappointment and that it confronts you with a real dilemma.

In view of your letter of February 24, I am afraid that this means you will feel that you can not accept our previous offer. Knowing as I do now something about your family obligations and the very real loss of income which you would be taking, I can not urge you to come with us at the $5100 salary, however much I would like to see you on our staff. Indeed it might almost seem a sin against your loved ones to subject them to the sacrifices which would be involved.

Whatever your decision is, I am sure that you will maintain your interest in interracial problems and that sooner or later you will find some means of giving substantial expression to your earnest desire to serve in that field.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

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A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

February 24, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I believe you told me that an Executive meeting of the Council would be held on the 28th. I believe therefore that this letter comes to you im ample time for consideration by that group.

Mrs. Herbert and I have gone over this matter of salary very thoroughly since my return from Atlanta, and have not hurried to get the letter off, desiring rather to give it the most careful attention. I stated some time ago that my Bishop, Dr. W.W. Peele, had insisted that I have a conference with Bishop Arthur Moore before reaching a final conclusion on this matter, feeling that the latter could advise me "on the grounds". I realized of course that Bishop Moore would know living conditions in Atlanta, also as to the Council's work and future prospects, and, most important, could advise me as to whether or not there would be pulpit supply work there, to supplement the Council salary. I had not desired however to go to Florida to see him, not feeling justified to spend so much of the Council's money beofre a definite understanding was reached.

Bishop Moore most heartily endorses the work of the Council, giving high commendation to its leadership. In the matter of pulpit supply work however he said that he saw no encouragement in that direction whatever. He frankly stated too that he did not feel I would be wise to come to Atlanta and into this work unless there could be added to the proposed salary an allowance of $75 or more for "housing". You will understand that in our Conference brotherhood we travel about a good deal and are provided with furnished homes in which to live. This situation therefore finds me without the necessary furnishings for an apartment or house, which adds greatly to my difficulty.

I must therefore say that I am willing to make the venture into this service for the $5100 or $5000 if I may have an additional $75 per month for what I might call housing; that is an additional sum of $75 per month, not to be considered part of my salary, but to be paid by the SRC toward rental or otherwise as will be called upon by the circumstances under which we will be living, the entire sum to be available monthly however and to be paid out according to my request. In as much as I had alfeady approved the $5100 salary, with whatever reluctance, I regret this change, but Mrs. Herbert and I do not feel we can make it otherwise. I am very anxious to join you in this work and I do not find satisfaction in being so practical about it. Even at that however I am still holding the ideal above the practical, for with the additional allowance I shall still not be meeting my present income, including its perquisites and privileges, by a considerable annual sum.

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
Wilmington, N. C.

J. F. HERBERT, PASTOR
RESIDENCE: 221 N. 4TH ST.

ROGER MOORE
CH'M. OFFICIAL BOARD

MRS. WINIFRED BENSON
PASTOR'S SECRETARY AND
DIRECTOR OF YOUTH

A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

I can come to Atlanta on or about June 1st or can wait until early fall if such is desired. Furthermore I am very anxious to come and give my efforts to this work. In the brief opportunity offered I have learned greatly to respect you and your work, and shall be most glad to work with you if such is the decision.

Most sincerely yours,

J. F. Herbert

J. F. Herbert

P.S. I am sending herewith my check for $9.41, representing a savings on my estimated expense account for the Atlanta trip last week. The savings was due to my inability to obtain Pullman passage to Wilmington.

In as much as my first contact concerning this work was with Dr. Odum, I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to him.

I shall appreciate as early a reply after the 28th from you as is possible.

April 16, 1945

Mr. J. F. Herbert
Grace Methodist Church
Wilmington, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Herbert:

I have been completely snowed under during the past month and have not even acknowledged your note of March 9. I hope you will forgive me.

I am sorry that things had to turn out as they did and I want you to know that we appreciate your continuing interest in our work.

We have just been through a conference on The South's Postwar Economy which was quite successful. I am enclosing a copy of the program. Later on we shall publish the addresses which were delivered at the conference and make them available to all Council members.

Very sincerely,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j
Encl.
Conference program

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
Wilmington, N. C.

J. F. HERBERT, PASTOR
RESIDENCE: 221 N. 4TH ST.
ROGER MOORE
CH'M. OFFICIAL BOARD

MRS. WINIFRED BENSON
PASTOR'S SECRETARY AND
DIRECTOR OF YOUTH
A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

March 9 - 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear friend - Your Special Delivery came on Sunday - and has found me without secretarial help and otherwise disorganized.

As you will know I had hoped that the additional allowance for quarters could be made for me - and I am deeply disappointed that it could not be worked out, as for the present at least it closes the door to me.

I certainly hope you have found a satisfactory man. You may be sure my sincere interest in the Council will continue and perhaps I might be with you yet.

Is there anything I can do for the work up this way now? Sincerely,

J. F. Herbert

Excerpt from letter from:

The Rev. J. F. Herbert
Wilmington, North Carolina

April 23, 1945

"Here we've had a good deal of interracial interest lately. I resigned from the Civil Service Commission because they refused to try a policeman who, in drunken condition, mistreated a Negro man. Situation caused no little stir. The Negroes have been so grateful to me for my stand. There is no semblance of substantial justice for them. Good deal of stir here yesterday over the election of city councilmen. Two Negroes offered -- neither had a very good run though."

April 30, 1945

The Rev. J. F. Herbert
221 North Fourth Street
Wilmington, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Herbert:

Thank you for your letter of April 23. I am glad to know that Mrs. Herbert's health seems greatly improved.

We have recently made arrangements to use the services of Mrs. Henry Havens of Florida and Mrs. M. E. Tilly of Atlanta to help us out with the state and local interracial committees and with other projects. If this plan works out satisfactorily, we may continue it indefinitely. Our chief personnel problem now is to get hold of someone who can do editorial and publicity work.

I note with much interest your resignation from the Civil Service Commission because of its refusal to discipline the policeman who had mistreated a Negro. I would appreciate any further details or any news stories about the incident so that we could make note of it in the Southern Frontier. The police situation is generally discouraging, and I am afraid that there is going to be a good deal of racial violence in the post war days because of the behavior of the police.

All good wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
Wilmington, N. C.

J. F. HERBERT, PASTOR
RESIDENCE: 221 N. 4TH ST.
ROGER MOORE
CH'M. OFFICIAL BOARD

MRS. WINIFRED BENSON
PASTOR'S SECRETARY AND
DIRECTOR OF YOUTH
A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

April 23, 1945

Dear Dr. Johnson —

Thanks for the note, received several days ago. I appreciated it. I am wondering if you have filled the position yet — and who has taken it. I had a great disappointment about that position as I earnestly wanted it. Nor was it the salary that caused one to turn it down — but Mrs. Herbert's health — my fear I could not be assured of her welfare, at such reduced income, when I would be away so much.

Even at that my interest is not relinquished. Does a man go on that job in June? Mrs. Herbert has come back recently from Duke and gives some promise

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A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

of better health & vigor. What's the set-up? Maybe these questions seem idle ones — but I'd like to know if you have a good man lined up.

(Here we've had a good deal of inter-racial interest lately. I resigned from the Civil Service Commission because they refused to try a policeman who, in drunken condition, mistreated a negro man. Situation caused no little stir. The negroes have been so grateful to me for my stand. There is no semblance of substantial justice for them. Good deal of stir here yesterday over the election of City Councilmen. Two negroes offered — neither made a very good run though.)

With high esteem —

J. F. Herbert

September 27, 1945

Rev. J. F. Herbert
221 N. Fourth Street
Wilmington, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Herbert:

I was pleased to get your letter some time ago and was glad to have a copy of your letter to Dr. Alexander.

I think it is splendid that you have difinitely made up your mind to launch out into a new field of work and I am sure that you feel much better now that you have crossed the Rubicon.

It is quite hard to decide, I am sure, just what is the best place for getting the kind of training which you want. Boston is probably a very good place, and you should find many good contacts and much stimulation both inside and outside the universities. However, there is one thing which you will discover about sociologists at Harvard and nearly everywhere else, and that is that they have such a bias toward "objectivity" that they are not willing to say much about social action. This is probably less true of sociologists at Yale and Columbia than it is at Harvard.

Are you acquainted with Dr. McNiel Poteat, who used to preach in Raleigh and who is now President of Rochester Seminary? I know that he is a very liberal man and is deeply concerned over the problem of race relations. It may be that if you are not concerned over accumulating formal credits for courses, you will find it very helpful to divide your year between two or three universities or seminaries.

Whatever you do I certainly want to keep in touch with you. Our best wishes go with you in your new venture.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

September 15, 1945

Rev. J. F. Herbert
221 N. Fourth Street
Wilmington, North Carolina

My dear Doctor Herbert:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to Dr. Alexander. Your decision is a bold one and must take a great deal of courage. I have done that type of thing in my life but I was a great deal younger then than I am now. The cautions needed here are not in the rightness of your judgment, nor in the need of your services, but in the fact that our work is not yet geared to an economy which has its organizations and endowments for human resources comparable to what we do in technology, science and industry. In our field of human relations, too, we are always differing among ourselves as to methods and principles. This is not new, because we have always done that in religion, labor and politics but in these other fields, we have standard institutional organizations and endowments, whereas in the field of race relations, we are still volunteerists and experimentors.

In a year or two, I believe we shall be able to offer a man like you something quite adequate. I am doubtful, however, we could justify your confidence this year. Dr. Vance will not be teaching from November to February, now will Prof. Groves. Our new distinguished anthropologist will not come until spring or perhaps next fall, and our Division of Planning will be ready to start only next fall.

I shall appreciate it if you will keep me posted on your plans, and I hope you will find those avenues of service that you so much wish wide open. I hope we all do, and I am committed to trying more and more to achieve the desired ends.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:JC
CC: Dr. W. W. Alexander
Dr. Guy B. Johnson

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
Wilmington, N. C.

J. F. HERBERT, PASTOR
RESIDENCE: 221 N. 4TH ST.

ROGER MOORE
CH'M. OFFICIAL BOARD

MISS MARGARET SMOOT
DIRECTOR OF MUSIC AND YOUTH ACTIVITIES

A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

RECEIVED
SEP 15 1945
Southern Regional Council

September 11, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Atlanta, Gerogia

My dear Dr. Johnson:..

The inclosed letter and clipping speak for themselves. I would be glad if you would read them and pas s on to me any suggestions that you may have for me. The statement to Dr. Alexander is a ratherfulsome one, so I will not repeat it here and requite you to read the same letter twive.

I hope you are getting along fine in every way.

Most sincerely yours,

J. F. Herbert

J. F. Herbert

P.S. I also sent a copy of the letter to Dr. Odum.

Dr. Johnson

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
Wilmington, N. C.

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DIRECTOR OF MUSIC AND YOUTH ACTIVITIES

A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

September 10, 1945

Dr. W.W. Alexander
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Alexander:

The inclosed clipping is from the September 8 edition of the Wilmington Journal, local negro paper. It reports with measurable accuracy an announcement I made in my pulpit last week. Some of its statements are inaccurate but no so intended. I do not remember saying that I would find a better way to foster the Brotherhood of Man outside the pulpit, though maybe there would be some merit to such a statement, especially in the field of inter-racial relations.

For many years I have considered doing this thing. I have reached the age of fifty now, and it was time to act or quit thinking and talking about it, so I crossed the Rubicon.

I want to spend at least a year under a good graduate sociology faculty, maybe more than a year, and then launch out in the work up to my chin. I have been hampered up to this time and possibly am still hampered by the health of my wife. In final analysis that is why I could not go with the Southern Council last Spring. I found that if I had to be away from home so nearly all the time I would have to employ someone to be there to take the burden off my wife. That is why I asked for an additional allowance, for I knew such would cost me $100 per month, providing for salary, an extra room, etc.etc. I am very happy to say that Mrs. Herbert's health is improved and promises greater improvement, thanks to the application of effective serums from Duke Hospital. My use of the word "hampered" above is not good, for my wife is the intellectual and spiritual inspiration of life to me. I merely mean that to take proper care of her is my obvious first duty.

I wish I could sit down and talk to you for I need your counsel. My action is a rather drastic one I know. I am leaving apartments that still clings to more service from me. My family is at a time when I should be spending my money on their education. My daughter leaves for boarding school next week, tuition and board reaching $875...other children to follow right along for many years. I leave an income here which reaches just about $6700 this year, counting my furnished home, and other income incident to my work aside from the salary, which latter is $4800. I am entirely aware that there is not such an income for me out there in inter-racial work. But that is what I want to do, and I have found it surprising how well the needs are met and provided.

Dr. Johnson

Grace Methodist Church
CORNER GRACE AND FOURTH STREETS
Wilmington, N. C.

J. F. HERBERT, PASTOR
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DIRECTOR OF MUSIC AND YOUTH ACTIVITIES

A. S. TRUNDLE, JR.
TREASURER

I do not find however that I am ready for the work without better training, and that is what I want to talk to you about. I was in Boston Mass, this summer with these things in mind. Our Boston University there (Methodist) is a fine institution, but I am not sure it is just what I want. Exchange classes with Harvard are available. By doing my work in sociology through the Seminary there I get the instruction for practically no cost in tuition. I am also corresponding with other seminaries. I have saved just about $6000 and have in mind borrowing $2000 of it (insurance savings), to tide me over while I get on my feet. It has been a struggle to save this money and I hate to dissipate it, but that is part of this game I guess. I shall be able to find a great deal of help by finding a small church that willsupport me in part. Are there any scholarships available for one who wants to be well prepared for such work as this? My main hope of course lies in the pulpit for the present (I mean for support). I believe it is right to say that the people like to hear me preach..that is frank but I believe is true..and for such there is always a place to preach. In the North the opportunities are far greater, that is why the North is best for me now. I will of course remain a member of the N.C. Methodist Conference under special assignment. The thing in the way of ~~employment~~ assistance that would be most acceptable to me would be some service in the bi-racial field that would give me some remuneration. Is there such in New York, in Baltimore?...

Well there's my problem. I wish I could sit down and talk to you. Have you any suggestions to offer? I am starting off by requesting a Sabbatical Leave from my Conference, beginning on or about November 1st. This is already fixed.

Fraternally yours,

J.F. Herbert

P.S. In my opinion the best place to go would be to Chapel Hill , to be under Dr. Odum, surely the greatest of the teachers in this field. Chapel Hill would offer me no opportunity however to care for my family. I shall be giving up my church and home here in seven weeks. Please write me as soon as is convenient. I shall probably send copies of this letter to Dr. Odum and Dr. Guy Johnson to let them know what I am about.

Liberal White Minister Will Leave In Fall

From the Wilmington Journal (negro publication) 9-8-45

Wilmington Negroes will lose a friend when the Rev. J. F. Herbert, pastor of Grace Methodist Church, leaves the city in the fall.

Rev. Herbert made the announcement at Sunday morning's services.

The white minister said that he is interested in improving racial relations in this country, and he plans to re-enter some university to prepare himself for this field. When his training is completed, he will go directly into the field of inter-racial relations where he will get a greater opportunity to foster the "brotherhood of man."

Rev. Herbert has been at Grace Methodist Church for the past six years, the longest pastorate in the history of the church. He came here in 1939 from First Methodist Church of Rockingham, having previously pastored at Roxboro and Raleigh.

Rev. Herbert's first charge was in Chicago, where he was assigned upon completing his graduate studies at the University of Chicago in 1924.

He graduated from Wooford college in Spartan, S. C. and took his theological studies at Emory University in Atlanta, and completed his studies at Northwestern University.

The minister has been active in local inter-racial work. He was one of the organizers and early presidents of the Wilmington Inter-Racial Ministerial Alliance, which stressed better relations between the races.

Rev. Herbert was so sincere in his attitudes on inter-racial relations that he resigned his post as a member of the City Civil Service Commission in protest against a decision of that body which was unfair to Negroes. He is widely recognized as a liberal among local Negroes and through the state's Negro press, he has attracted the attention and interest of many prominent Negro leaders of North Carolina.

Bishop Oxnan Intolerance A

A plea for Americans to beware of the seedlings of intolerance, bigotry and greed prevalent in the United States is made by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, in a signed article in the October issue of The American Magazine.

Bishop Oxnam say he wishes it were so, as "we contentedly imagine now that Germany is destroyed and the vicious leaders of the Nazi party dead or imprisoned, that Nazism has perished from the face of the earth." But, he writes:

"The Nazis aren't all licked yet. They masquerade in Sunday-go-to-meeting coats as well as brown shirts.

"Nazism is not merely a political philosophy or a system of government. It is a condition of the human heart, a state of mind. It is man's inhumanity to man masquerading in a brown or a black shirt, or even in the white collar of respectability. This state of mind breeds sin, bigotry, intolerance, selfishness, greed, cruelty, Godless-laying the foundation for lynchings, riots, and the enslavement of his fellow man."

The Methodist Bishop relates that when his secretary recently telephoned a railroad ticket office to get him a reservtaion she was asked "is the bishop white or colored" by the clerk who explained that "colored people can't ride in the parlor car." He adds:

"That is Hitlerism, the voice of super-race, religious intolerance, cruelty, beware of it."

Rather a co-incidence these two articles being run together -

Liberal White Minister Will Leave In

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Bishop Oxnam Denounces Intolerance And Bigotry

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"The man who excludes a Negro from any of the privileges of this democracy, who connives with a real-estate agent to exclude a few from a neighborhood, who sets up barriers against any human being of his race or his creed, is a Nazi. He is an oppressor of peoples, an enemy of freedom, a bigot. He is laying the foundation for lynchings, riots, and the enslavement of his fellow man."

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"That is Hitlerism, the voice of super-race, religious intolerance, cruelty, beware of it."

Rather a co-incidence these two articles being run together -

July 27, 1945

The Rev. J. F. Herbert
221 North Fourth Street
Wilmington, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Herbert:

Thank you for sending us the letter from Mr. Jervay. It is good to be reminded that one's efforts have not gone without notice or appreciation. I am returning the letter as you requested.

We feel that things are looking better for the Council. We have several new staff members, and we can go forward much more effectively.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

H - Musical

July 31, 1951

Mrs. William H. Hogue
5319 Cherokee
Houston 5, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hogue:

Here is a copy of a letter I finally had from Bishop Smith and my reply.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Ho

August 11, 1952

Mrs. William H. Hogue
5319 Cherokee
Houston 5, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hogue:

I send you separately twenty more copies of the June-July MEN SCOUT. Nobody better to get them out than you.

We still don't know what our future is, but we continue to be hopeful. It's going to be hard pulling for the last three months of this year, but if we make that, I think we can expect to keep going and to expand in the right way.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMjsc

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

5319 Cherokee
Houston 5, Texas
August 9, 1952

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Your New South describing the Birmingham Conference is offered in — as, indeed, all of the issues are! Mine has been given to a very strategic person, and I do not wish to be without one — so may I have another?

Gratefully, and with all good wishes for you and the S.R.C.

Olivia Hogue.

Ho —

February 5, 1953

Mrs. William H. Hogue
5319 Cherokee St.
Houston 5, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hogue:

On page 4 of this January issue of NEW SOUTH is the new table on voting figures. You will see we settled for 175,000 for Texas.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

RECEIVED
APR 6
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. William H. Hogue
5319 Cherokee St., Houston 5, Texas

April 4. 1953

Dear Dr. Mitchell.

I shall consider it a real privilege to serve on the Nominating Committee and will study carefully the list you send me. I've already begun a list of suggestions, some of which you may want to use.

Attendance at an Annual Meeting of S.R.C. has been an eagerness of mine for some time, and I hail the prospect with keen anticipation. The $20,000 is a wonderful boost!

Gratefully

Vivian Hague

SRC = 6 = 5

March 31, 1953

Mrs. William H. Hogue
5319 Cherokee St.
Houston 19, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hogue:

Here comes a matter of a nominating committee, to pick Board members for SRC.

Such a committee is chosen every year, usually by the Executive Committee. Last September the following committee was named: Chairman, Gadsden Shand, Columbia, South Carolina; Ernest Neal, Tuskegee Institute; Ocie Lee Smith, Little Rock; Louis Regenstein, Jr., Atlanta; Rev. Edward G. Mackay, Oxford, Georgia; and Mrs. Hogue.

We've been so uncertain as to an annual meeting that I slackly didn't notify everybody back there. But our uncertainties are eased with the grant a few days ago of $20,000 from the Ford Foundation to "sustain and expand" the Council's work during 1953. And so far as we know, the grant is without prejudice to our major application to the Fund for the Republic.

Being thus sure of ourselves, the Executive Committee has summoned the annual meeting to occur here in Atlanta May 13 and 14. Board on the 13th, membership on the 14th. And we can pay the expenses of the members of the nominating committee, so as to get them to convene in the late afternoon of the 13th and work up a slate.

I expect this year the by-laws will be amended to enable the choice of a whole new Board. That would be forty to fifty nominations. Not that they have to be brand new people, by any means. It just means that we have to pick our forty or fifty best advisers and supporters.

I do hope you can take on this job, which I believe you have taken on before, and with good results!

In any case, I will write you soon with more lists. And it has the happy plan in it of getting you up to Atlanta for the meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Nominations

January 11, 1952

Mrs. William Hogue
5319 Cherokee St.
Houston 5, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hogue:

Your nice Mrs. Rauschkolb wrote that she was engaged in so many activities at the present time that she couldn't be on the Board. For which we are sorry. But Mrs. Rayzor said she would be on the Board. For which we are glad.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

Same letter to : Bob Thompson, Nat Welch, Ocie Lee Smith, Mrs. V. Carter Mason

BdMem

December 18, 1951

Mrs. William Hogue
5319 Cherokee St.
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hogue:

I continued to be grateful at the meetings the other day for your kind attention to serving on the nominating committee.

In the end the membership decided that they would stick to the present form of organization, but instead of filling the Board out to its full 72 elected members would just about replace the ones who were having to be dropped this year as having completed their allowable periods on the Board.

So the final slate brought in by the nominating committee was:

Harry Ashmore	John Page Williams	Ed H. Weyler
Mrs. E. J. Rauschkolb	Alexander Kline	Paul Williams
Ben J. Massell	A. Maceo Smith	Guy Johnson
Josephine Wilkins	Paul Christopher	Harold Trigg
Mrs. J. Newton Rayzor	L. E. Thomas	

All of these people were elected to the Board.

The other committee made almost a clean sweep of officers. The new slate:

President--Marion A. Wright
Vice-Presidents--Carter Wesley, Gordon Hancock, A. W. Dent, Alfred Mynders
Counsel--Leonard Haas

And the new executive committee:

Charles Johnson, chairman	Rufus Clement
Mrs. Cassandra Maxwell Birnie	Paul Christopher
Rev. V. J. O'Connell	John Griffin
Harry V. Richardson	

I do thank you sincerely for puzzling on the complicated lists we sent you and for giving us so many good names. We have kept them all, and

the whole list can be available for whatever changes come in the future.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Perhaps you intend to limit the length of Board membership on all three suggested Boards. If not, I suggest that you consider doing so or else some other means of eliminating "dead wood" and infusing "kindling". This is particularly important. It seems to me, in plan III where you have such a small board if you use only 17 members.
Olivia Hogue

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia
November 14, 1951

RECEIVED
NOV 23 1951
Southern Regional Council

LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE TO MAKE NOMINATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP ON THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Dear Mrs. Hogue:

KDD

The following are the members of the Committee to Make Nominations for Membership on the Board of Directors:

Bob Thompson, Atlanta
Nat Welch, Montgomery
Art Levin, Atlanta
Ocie Lee Smith, Little Rock
Mrs. William Hogue, Houston
Mrs. V. Carter Mason, Norfolk

Of these, we have had opportunity to consult, in person or by mail, all except Mrs. Mason.

Based upon the recommendations and advice of the members of the Committee, the staff of the Council has put together the following lists:

I. In the event that the membership meeting should direct a complete reorganization of the Council, altering it into a self-perpetuating board.

F. D. Patterson	College President	Tuskegee
William Mitch	Labor Leader	Birmingham
Truman Hobbs	Lawyer	Montgomery
Harry Ashmore	Editor	Little Rock
U. S. Bond	Businessman & Planter	Madison, Ark.
Mrs. E. J. Rauschkolb (Correct initials: Mrs. E. J.)	Church Leader	Little Rock
L. A. Davis	College President	Pine Bluff
Herbert Davidson	Editor	Daytona Beach
L. E. Thomas	Lawyer	Miami
G. D. Rogers, Jr.	Businessman	Tampa
R. P. Daniel	Lawyer	Jacksonville
Arthur J. Moore	Clergyman	Atlanta
Harry V. Richardson	Seminary President	Atlanta
Rufus E. Clement	University President	Atlanta
Morris Abram	Lawyer	Atlanta
Benjamin E. Mays	College President	Atlanta
~~Richard Rich~~	Businessman	Atlanta
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton	Social Worker	Atlanta
Josephine Wilkins	Organizational Leader	Atlanta
Rufus B. Atwood	College President	Frankfort
Hugh Brimm	Clergyman	Louisville
A. W. Dent	University President	New Orleans

V. J. O'Connell	Clergyman	New Orleans
Florence Sytz	Social Worker & Dean	New Orleans
Felton Clark	College President	Baton Rouge
Jacob L. Reddix	College President	Jackson
Alexander Kline	Rabbi	Clarksdale
A. D. Stewart	Businessman	Amory
Howard W. Odum	Professor	Chapel Hill
Clyde Milner	College President	Guilford College
Marion A. Wright	Lawyer	Linville Falls
O. D. Duncan	Professor	Stillwater
A. Maceo Smith	Housing Official	Dallas
Will W. Alexander	Farmer	Chapel Hill
J. M. Dabbs	Farmer	Mayesville, S. C.
James L. Coker	Businessman	Hartsville
Mrs. C. C. Withington	Church Leader	Greenville
Charles S. Johnson	University President	Nashville
E. W. Palmer	Businessman	Kingsport
Mrs. E. U. Robinson	Church Leader	Franklin
Paul Christopher	Labor Leader	Knoxville
Z. A. Looby	Lawyer	Nashville
Carter Wesley	Editor	Houston
Stanley Marcus	Businessman	Houston — I do not know of him, so can express no opinion.
W. L. Clayton	Businessman	Houston
Mrs. J. Newton Rayzor	Church Leader	Houston
Maury Maverick, Jr.	Lawyer	San Antonio
John G. Pollard	Farmer	Somers
Arthur W. Mitchell	Farmer	Petersburg
Alonzo Moron	College President	Hampton
Virginius Dabney	Editor	Richmond
Gordon Hancock	Clergyman & Professor	Richmond

This is a total of 19 Negroes and 33 whites. By profession, the breakdown is: 4 church leaders, 4 farmers, 8 businessmen, 4 editors, 10 professional men, 6 clergymen, 14 academic persons, and 2 labor leaders.

This is a total of 52 persons. Presumably, a Board of this kind would have as additional full members approximately 24 persons serving ex officio on this Board, by virtue of their positions as top officials of State Divisions or State organizations of the Council.

II. In the event that the membership meeting should wish merely to bring the existing Board up to full strength, it would be in order to make 30 nominations to the 30 vacancies on the Board as at present constituted. If so large a number should be elected, it would be desirable to arrange for staggered terms. (Agree)

Harry Ashmore
William Mitch
U. S. Bond
Mrs. E. J. Rauschkolb — note Mrs. E. J. Rauschkolb
L. A. Davis
G. D. Rogers, Jr.
R. P. Daniel
Richard Rich
Josephine Wilkins

Hugh Brimm		
V. J. O'Connell		
H. Brent Schaeffer	Clergyman	Jackson
Alexander Kline		
A. D. Stewart		
Mrs. C. C. Withington		
Z. A. Looby		
Morton Tendler	Physician	Memphis
A. Maceo Smith		
Mrs. J. Newton Rayzor		
R. O'Hara Lanier	University President	Houston
W. L. Clayton		
E. A. Johnson	State President, NAACP	Natchitoches
~~Isadore Frenablau~~	~~Rabbi~~	Bristol
A. S. Turnipseed	Clergyman	Montgomery
Mrs. A. A. Hardy	Church Leader	Thomaston, Ga.
Ernest Neal	Professor	Tuskegee
Harold DeWitt	Social Worker	Richmond
Harry W. Roberts	Professor	Petersburg, Va.
Mrs. Henry Havens	Church Leader	Jacksonville
Paul Christopher		
J. M. Dabbs		

III. In the event that the membership meeting directs the collapsing of the present Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee into a single, small Executive Board (17 members ~~has been discussed~~).

F. D. Patterson
~~Harry Ashmore~~
Herbert Davidson
~~Hagey V. Richardson~~ Chas S. Johnson
Rufus E. Clement
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Rufus B. Atwood
Hugh Brimm
A. W. Dent
V. J. O'Connell
~~Florence Sytz~~
Jacob L. Reddix
Howard W. Odum

~~John H. Wheeler~~	~~Businessman~~	~~Durham~~
~~Charlotte Hawkins Brown~~	College President	Greensboro

J. M. Dabbs
~~Carter Wesley~~
Gordon Hancock

IV. In the event that, in addition to a small Executive Board, there should be established a large Advisory Committee:

All of those listed under (I), above, not listed under (III), above.

If you will send back your comments, it should be possible to have another composite list available for such members of the Nominating Committee as are present at the membership meeting December 12.

Use your pencil freely for crossings out or additions, please.

On the advice of those members of the Nominating Committee who could be consulted in person, the above lists have been made up on the supposition that all of the Council's longtime friends will continue to be interested in it, whether they are on the Board or not. With this in mind, many names of persons greatly interested in the Council are not on the lists, and in their stead are names of persons whose knowledge of and sympathy with the work of the Council may be as yet small, but whom it is believed would become earnest and helpful in the Council's work. (see below)

Good if we could have your comments by November 25.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell E.C.
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence.

In the case of the two larger Boards, you may be able to follow this course safely, provided there is a sufficiently large number to keep wise and forward-looking decisions from wreckage, while Board persons farther back are moving along. In the case of the III Board, perhaps with only 17 members, I think it wiser to select persons of insight, courage and wisdom, unless you carefully chose the Advisory Committee and they have some powers than just those of advising. In my opinion, the South needs leadership over a large area such as the SRC that can raise the local level, not a leadership that has to be provided by the more progressive local groups. In the last event, you could make it difficult for your present friends to support, or rather endorse, S.R.C. locally.

Of course, I recognize that the above comments are dependent somewhat upon the future functions of SRC, but a strong case would have to be made, before I could withdraw them.

On all boards, I think more labor representatives, well-chosen, should be used.

Olivia Hague

October 15, 1951

Mrs. William H. Hogue
5319 Cherokee St.
Houston 5, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hogue:

Very many thanks for your letter of October 9 with its most helpful list of names.

I will be in touch with you when we can shake all the names together and down.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Mr. WILLIAM H. HOGUE
5319 Cherokee Street
Houston 5, Texas

OCT 12 1951
Southern Regional Council

October 9, 1951

My dear Dr. Mitchell.

Here are my suggestions for consideration by the Nominating Committee, with a very simple "Who: Who". If you want further information or more names, I'll certainly try to meet your request. Every good wish — Olivia Hogue

South Carolina

1. Judge Waties Waring — I think he should be asked again. (The issue of the "New South" containing his minority opinion may have helped to change his mind)

2. Dr. Rosamond Boyd — Professor of Sociology, Converse College, Spartanburg, S.C.

Arkansas

3. Mrs. L. J. Rauschkolb, 5316 Stonewall Road, Little Rock. (Past Pres. Y.W.C.A. there, and of Arkansas Council of Church Women)

Texas

4. Dr. John C. Granberry, 3305 N. Ashby St. San Antonio, 1, Texas (Editor, The Emancipator, he and his wife recent honorees at State-wide dinner, headed by Labor representatives, and attended and endorsed by a cross-section; ordained Methodist minister, and formerly professor at a prominent Texas college — Between 60 and 70 yrs. old)

5. Dr. J. L. Clark. (just retired from Professorship (perhaps Chairmanship) of Dept of Social Science) State Teachers College, Huntsville, Texas.
Since 1921, prominently connected with Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation; recently given testimonial dinner at Huntsville, widely beloved and with excellent State and professional connections for SRC

6. Mr. Thomas S. Friedman, Sealy Building, Houston, Texas
(Southwestern Area Director, Jewish Community Council; active here in inter-racial matters, excellent approach)

7. Rabbi Wm S. Maier, Congregation Beth Yeshurun, 3501 Southmore, Houston, Texas
(Pres. Ministers Association of Greater Houston, prominent in Religion and Labor Fellowship here, and in Council on Education in Race Relations, Houston; is very community conscious)

8. Mr. R. C. Farnsworth, 1407 Kirby Drive, Houston
(Either present or former Board member of Julia C. Hester Settlement House; I understand from a Negro minister friend of mine that his attitudes are excellent)

9. Mr. J. L. Crossland, 6801 Keller St. Houston
(Secretary of the Local Oil Workers Union in Pasadena, Texas; well suited to SRC by attitudes and personality)

WILLIAM H. HOGUE
5319 Cherokee Street
Houston 5, Texas

10. Mrs. J. Newton Rayzor, 3207 Groveland St. Houston
(Deeply interested in Race Relations; active in this and other community activities; has international consciousness. Member of a large Baptist church and of Board of the Houston Council of Church Women. Her husband is on the Board of trustees of the Rice Institute)

11. Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, President of Texas Southern University, 3201 Wheeler St. Houston.

12. Dr. H. A. Bullock, Prof. Sociology, above University
(Both Dr. Lanier and Dr. Bullock, formerly of Prairie View, widely known, and very helpful in inter-racial work here)

13. Mr. W. L. Clayton, 5300 Caroline St. Houston.
(Former Ass't Sec'y of State, and previously Chairman of Board of Directors of Anderson, Clayton and Co.'s State Chairman of the Atlantic Union group. He and his wife have been recent donors of several hundred thousand dollars to a slum clearance project for Negroes. Spoke briefly at the Commencement at TSU, is a member of the Board of trustees)

(I know that you wish now as much as I do that I could be present! Please pardon errors. O.H.) (over)

P.P.S. Since writing this last night, have checked with well-qualified person re Mr. Clayton. He resigned from the Board of Trustees of T.S.U., but my informant does not think his resignation was due to lack of interest and thinks he would be an excellent person for S.R.C.

SRC - Nominations

Hogue

Sept. 11, 1951

Mrs. William S. Hogue
5319 Cherokee St.
Houston 5, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hogue:

Many thanks for your note back in August. I am glad you will work on the nominating committee.

I am trying to explain all the complications to the several Atlanta members before a joint meeting of those members in Atlanta September 17. For your own information, here is the letter I sent out to the Atlanta ones.

As soon as they have talked it over, I will get out a letter to the full nominating committee. The main thing is to have eight or ten names of really able people.

You are paid up in dues through September. They tell me a bill will come to you for '51 dues in ordinary course in October.

We had a mighty hard July and August, with salary checks backing up on the books. But things have done a lot better in the last couple of weeks. The Quakers obtained for us from elsewhere $5,000, of which two thousand has been paid over. The Steel Workers came through with one thousand. One of Paul Williams's friends gave us another thousand. And we held a meeting of leading Negro citizens in Atlanta who will probably raise us $1,500 or so. With these and what else we know will come in, we will make it to the end of the year in better shape than usual. But unless we get the Ford Foundation help, I don't know how we'll keep going after that.

On the other hand, I feel encouraged that the Ford people will help us. But we won't know until nearly the beginning of the winter—if then.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

5319 Cherokee Rd
Houston 5, Texas
August 25, 1971

RECEIVED
Southern Regional

Mitchell,

Thank you very much for the privilege of serving on the Nominating Committee for members of the Board. I am happy to accept and am preparing a list in anticipation of

further information.

I am so glad you heard from Bishop Smith. Speaking generally and as the ministers, I think the Methodists are your best hope (I should say "our") in the Protestant group, with the Baptists apparently coming along at a good rate.

Is it too much trouble for you to ask the treasurer

if I am paid up on my dues? I certainly don't want to be delinquent!

Congratulations on your issue regarding the South Carolina situation!

With high hopes for the continued great usefulness of the Council, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Olivia Hague

Hogue

August 22, 1951

Mrs. William H. Hogue
5319 Cherokee St.
Houston 5, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hogue:

The last meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council authorized the President, Mr. Paul Williams of Richmond, to name the customary nominating committees for members of the Board and of the Executive Committee. Paul wants you to be on the committee of members to name people to be on the Board.

The others named are: Bob Thompson of Atlanta, chairman, Nat Welch of Montgomery, Art Levin of Atlanta, Ocie Lee Smith of Little Rock, Mrs. W. B. Suddeth of Atlanta, and Mrs. V. Carter Mason of Norfolk.

If it is all right with you to serve, I hope you will begin thinking now about suitable people to be on the Board. We will send you a little later on a list of those who have at one time or another served on the Board. Board members serve ordinarily for four years and are eligible for reelection to a second successive term.

I am asking the several Atlanta members of the nominating committees to meet here in the next few days, and on their behalf, we will be in touch with you about the specific number of nominations.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Hogue

June 9, 1953

Mrs. William H. Hogue
5319 Cherokee St.
Houston 5, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hogue:

You were a grand member of the nominating committee and a most helpful person all around. I do wish you were within easier reach, and we would draw on you for advice and facts.

In the note you wrote the night after the meeting there were two or three requests.

I believe Emily Calhoun sent the packets, including the TENTH MAN.

There are no Southern mayor's committees. New Orleans is talking about one, but hasn't done anything. Kentucky once had a State committee appointed by the governor, but it did nothing. Maryland has a State committee, but it's no good. Gould Beach, as you doubtless know, now works in the mayor's office in Houston. We wrote him at great length a couple of months ago all about mayor's committees. The best one I know anywhere is Cincinnati, where a man named Marshall Bragdon runs it and it does a lot of good.

The truth is, instead of a mayor's committee you ought to do some kind of a survey of the Negro community, and out of doing the survey comes spontaneously the cooperative corrective effort that does all and more than a mayor's committee would. Models: Jacksonville, Greenville, Shreveport.

I don't know of any radio broadcasts that would be usable in Houston.

I am going to be in Baltimore this week and will try to reach Miss Kunreuther by phone and see if we could get something from her for NEW SOUTH.

I have not quite yet written all the letters inviting people to be on the Board, but am getting to the remaining ones within a few days. I am much helped by all your careful notes and the addresses.

Mrs. William H. Hogue, June 9, 1953

Chief item of news from North Carolina. In Greensboro the Negro member of the City Council was re-elected last month. They have a city manager, and by custom, the councilman receiving the highest vote is mayor. The Negro councilman got the highest vote, but said, "Thank you very much, let somebody else be the mayor."

I hope the coming months will bring me to Houston and I can sit down with you and Mrs. Crate and really learn things about your city.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

May 21, 1947

Mr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Ettrick, Virginia

Dear Mr. Jackson:

I am delighted that you can help us with the pamphlet. The obligation laid on us by the November meeting of the Board was as follows:

> That a pamphlet be issued by the Council which would discuss voting in the Southern States and the effect of extending the franchise to various groups; this pamphlet to include statements of prominent people, newspaper editorials, and signatures of responsible citizens for the purpose of allaying the fears which many people have concerning voting by Negroes.

We do not have to stick literally to that description of a pamphlet. I am working toward a series of pamphlets taking up such phases of should-be civilized life in the South as health, housing, farm ownership, cooperative organization, technical and other education, etc. If my ambitions are fulfilled, I want each of these pamphlets to measure the standing of the several Southern States within such a functional field. Therefore, I would like this political pamphlet to measure, also - which would mean trying to rank the Southern States from the point of view of political participation by the people, and particularly by Negroes. This may be impossible to do, but I don't think so.

I have had Mr. James O. Slade giving a certain amount of attention to such a pamphlet and he and I have talked at length about what it ought to be. He is on a northwardly trip just now and plans to stop at Petersburg to impart to you his and my thinking about the pamphlet. Meanwhile, next time I go north I will stop to see you, too.

To confirm our conversation over the phone: We would like to use you for as many weeks as you can spare between now and November 1, to produce by or before November 1, a pamphlet as above described. We would expect to

pay you whatever is the weekly amount of your present salary, plus expenses. I believe you were of the opinion the other day that you could give us some three weeks in early summer, three weeks or more in midsummer, two weeks or so at the end, and bits of time in the early fall.

It is most encouraging to us that you are willing to put your knowledge and judgment into this job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

August 6, 1947

Mr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Jackson:

I like your new title very much.

We hope you will be coming through Atlanta before so long.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM: EE

RECEIVED
JUL 31 1947
Southern Regional Council

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia
July 29, 1947

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Inasmuch as I already know Mr. Heard, he having had a conference with me here shortly before you engaged me, I have already written him for a date at Tuscaloosa, or University, some time during my three weeks period in that section of the South. As you suggest and as I told him in my letter, I shall send my questions ahead in order to facilitate my interview with him there. One item I wish to know is whether the registrars of Alabama and other southern states discriminate against white persons for one cause or another as they have frequently done with Negroes. Since you do not approve the pamphlet carrying a title which suggests a treatment of Negroes only, I am thinking that Mr. Heard will be especially helpful to me.

It seems to me that our proposed pamphlet should lay stress on the change which has come in the minds of registration officials in recent years all laws and all disfranchising devices to the contrary notwithstanding. Twenty-five years ago they were unyielding. If my thinking is correct on this point and other aspects of suffrage I offer as a tentative title the following: Race and Suffrage in the South since 1940. Shall write you again just as soon as I hear from Mr. Heard and as fast as my thoughts mature on my vital topic.

Sincerely yours,
Luther P. Jackson
Luther P. Jackson

August 22, '47

Dear Mr. Jackson,

Fine to hear of your progress.

I'll be out of Atlanta until late Wednesday afternoon, August 27. If you can only be in Atlanta that day, call me at home (Dearborn 5961) and we can get together. If you can find it convenient to be in Atlanta next day (Thursday) we could talk more at leisure, at the office.

Sincerely,

GSM

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia
August 20, 1947

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

For the past ten days I have been delayed in writing to you because of my failure to hear from Mr. Heard the second time I wrote to him. I have now located him in Nashville, Tennessee and I am scheduled to hold a conference with him there on Monday the 26th. I consider this gentleman to have more to offer on my problem than perhaps any other ndividual at present. For this reason I thought it best to see him first and then proceed immediately to Atlanta for a conference with you.

Within twenty-four hours I shall be sending you a resume of my proposed pamphlet and a statement of the expenses I incurred in June in the course of my travel in the Carolinas. Off hand I know that of the $150.00 you sent me then I now have a balance of about seventy-five dollars. This amount will be quite sufficient to carry me until I see you. Is Tuesday or Wednesday of next week agreeable to you?

Sincerely yours,
Luther P. Jackson
Luther P. Jackson

RECEIVED
AUG 25 1947
Southern Regional Council

RACE AND SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1940 - A SUMMARY OF A PAMPHLET TO BEAR THIS TITLE

by Luther P. Jackson

Following the year 1900, or thereabout, in most communities of the South less than a dozen Negroes voted in local and state elections. The number who voted in presidential elections was also exceedingly small. Disfranchisement covered the region not only for Negroes but to some degree for the whites as well. Discriminatory registration practices, the poll tax, and the white primary were among the factors which caused this condition. But happily the South was not destined to exclude a large portion of its citizens from participation in elections always.

Beginning about 1930 in the upper section and 1940 in the lower, disfranchisement lost some of its force. A change of policy came not because of new registration laws but because of the rise of a more favorable public opinion. For thirty years every Negro, regardless of his training, found it exceedingly difficult to register; now a considerable number were enrolled on the books by registration officers who drew no color line.

At one time eleven southern states levied a poll tax as a requirement for voting. Today the number has been reduced to seven. With no poll tax whatever to pay in four states, and with only a small, non-cumulative sum to pay in three other states, this celebrated requirement operates as a barrier to voting of less importance than the general public realizes. Registration is a greater obstruction. In at least one state large numbers of persons of both races make no attempt to register after paying the fee.

But what does it profit a Negro to register and pay the poll tax if he can not vote in the white primary, the only election in the

South which counts. Here again the bars have been let down over a considerable part of the southern area. In five states the white primary has become a mixed primary, either by court decisions or by the adoption of more liberal views by the whites. In the six remaining commonwealths the fate of the primary now hangs in the balance by virtue of the recent South Carolina federal court decision.

The suffrage laws have no doubt played a part in making the South a land of little voting and the one-party system has likewise contributed. But lying deeper still is the factor of illiteracy and the lack of understanding by most of the people of the duties of citizens in a democracy. Thousands of Negroes over large areas of each of the states may now register, but they fail to make application. It appears, then, that although the region has retracted to some extent from its fixed position of a short time past, many of its citizens fail to advance on the new ground given.

In the light of the advance to greater racial equality in the suffrage in parts of the South as portrayed in this writing, it seems advisable that the public at large should be given the facts in the situation. On the subject of suffrage the American people have been presented with many publications already. Most of these, however, treat the period of time when, through the instruments of both law and public opinion, ninety-nine per cent of the members of the minority race were barred from casting ballots on election day. In perhaps a majority of the counties of the states of the lower South this condition still prevails; but the fact that a change has come in the region - slight in one area and decided in another - is evidence that still greater improvement may come in the future.

It is with this thought in mind that the Southern Regional Council offers to the public the pamphlet Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940. By drawing a comparison of conditions in one state with those of another state, this pamphlet should serve the purpose of stimulating the more backward states to a state of mind whereby they will more rapidly advance to the democratic ideal of government by the consent of all governed.

September 25, 1947

Mr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

That is a most interesting report on your long trip. Any other man would have described the journey as a most arduous one.

Perhaps I can get my mind at ease about the new title you propose, but just now I continue to remark that the boundaries of the franchise have expanded lately for white people as well as for Negroes. The new title hardly stretches to cover that.

Incidentally, I have tried to get from people traveling and interviewing just such notes that you kindly gave in your remarks. Thanksyou.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:EE

RECEIVED
SEP 23 1947
Southern Regional Council

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia
Srpt. 21, 1947

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing copy of my itinerary of my recent trip. It will at least give you a bird's eye view on what I attempted to accomplish. To me my journey was most satisfying in every respect. I saw most of the persons I started out to see; secured the desired information; and was well received by white and colored. Found it necessary to use your letter of introduction only once. Travel conditions for colored people have improved immensely since I was a boy, so that I experienced no discomfort on this score. My places of board and lodging were the very best. Again I ran into personal relationships thereby reducing some of the cost of the trip.

In a few days I will send you a financial statement. Off hand it appears that of the $310.00 you advanced for the five weeks, I spent $304.00 or a balance of $7.00 to the good.

I am tempted to change the title of my pamphlet to "The Decline of Racial Barriers to Voting in the South." I will of course submit you the manuscript and get your criticism. Or I any say "The Recent Decline of Racial Barriers to Voting in the South." My findings heavily incline me to this title in spite of all previous literature on resctrictions. The rural South is still largely unchanged while the urban South has changed considerably over the old days.

If it is aggeeable with you I may spend up to forty or fifty dollars additional in short trips to see those persons whom you recommended for comments to be printed in the pamphlet. I have reference to such individuals as Ex-governor Darden and Horace Edwards, mayor of Richmond and state chairman of the Democratic party.

Sincerely, Luther P. Jackson Luther P. Jackson

ITINERARY OF LUTHER P. JACKSON
August 24-September 15
1947

PLACE	DATE	PERSONS INTERVIEWED AND OFFICES VISITED	REMARKS
Nashville, Tenn	Aug. 25-26	Z. Alexander Looby	Attorney and recent candidate for city council
		Alexander Heard	Held session of 3½ hours.
		M. W. Day	Newspaper editor and president of Tennessee NAACP.
		Registrar's office, Davidson County	
Atlanta, Ga	Aug. 27-28	Grace Townes Hamilton	Informative as usual.
		A. T. Walden	Short interview, but valuable leads for entire state.
Tuskegee, Ala	Aug. 29-30	Charles Gomillion	Instigator of suit against registrar; long and valuable conference.
		Vera Chandler Foster	Secured writing on Boswell amendment.
		William Varner	Probate judge of Macon county; reactionary.
Montgomery, Ala	Aug. 30-31	J. E. Pierce	Professor, Alabama State College; one of the best authorities on situation in Alabama; long conference.
Decatur, Ala	Sept. 1	Dr. Newman Sykes	Negro physician; gloomy report.
Huntsville, Ala	Sept. 1	Drake	President A&M College.
		Leroy C. Harris	Leader among veterans.
		E. F. Hamilton	Civic leader in Huntsville.
Montgomery, Ala	Sept. 2-2	Aubrey Williams Gould Beech	Interviewed together; very valuable.
		Office of "Montgomery Advertiser"	In search of back numbers.
		Office of governor and of secretary of state	Failed to see governor, but secured list of registrars for entire state and other data.
		City library	Searching for newspapers.

ITINERARY OF LUTHER P. JACKSON

PLACE	DATE	PERSONS INTERVIEWED AND OFFICES VISITED	REMARKS
Birmingham, Ala	Sept. 3-4	Malcolm Dobbs	Very good.
		Emory Jackson	Newspaper editor; well informed on every detail.
		Dr. E. W. Taggert	Civic leader; sound judgment.
		Dr. Douglas Hunt	Editorial staff, Birmingham Age-Herald.
		Florence Castile	Southern Negr Youth Conference.
		Arthur D. Shores	Attorney; spearhead in suits on suffrage system.
Tuscaloosa, Ala	Sept. 4-5	Frederic D. Ogden	Bureau of public administration, University of Alabama; good for poll tax. Other instructors away at the time.
		E. S. Smith	Well informed Negro citizen; active in getting Negroes registered.
		J. P. Shelton	Probate judge and member of board of registrars; member of legislature; liberal; made one of the most significant statements on the entire trip.
		H. H. Mize	Attorney; member of legislature; voted against Boswell amendment.
New Orleans, La	Sept. 6-7	Daniel Byrd	Crusader for NAACP and one of the best informed on conditions in several states; wife equally vigilant.
		Clarence Laws	On staff of "Louisiana Weekly." Secured a number of newspaper articles from him - all very pertinent.
		James Dombrowski	Short conference.
Jackson, Miss	Sept. 7	Percy Green	Fiery editor of Negro newspaper; acquired national prominence for his defiance of Bilbo. Good conference.
		T. D. Davis	State capitol; member of SRC. Offered valuable interpretation of situations.
		Ruby E. Lyells	Officer in Mississippi division of SRC.
		State archives	In search of back numbers of newspapers. Well received

ITINERARY OF LUTHER P. JACKSON

PLACE	DATE	PERSONS INTERVIEWED AND OFFICES VISITED	REMARKS
New Orleans, La	Sept. 8	Benjamin Quarles	Dean Dillard University; back in New Orleans for few hours only.
Houston, Texas	Sept. 8	Carter Wesley	Vice-president SRC; well informed on entire state.
		R. R. Grovey	Plaintiff in "Grovey vs Townsend"; very intelligent; one of the most valuable interviews on entire trip.
		Dr. Lennie Smith	Plaintiff in "Smith vs. Allwright."
		Dr. W. M. Drake	Old citizen; participant in long fight to overthrow Texas white primary.
		W. L. Davis	Retired school principal; good on teachers of Texas.
New Orleans, La	Sept. 9	————	Back to pick up luggage at Dillard University.
Mobile, Ala	Sept. 9-10	John LeFlore	Leader par excellence in civil and political rights of Negroes in Mobile; an intelligent and well informed man; one of the most devoted in entire South; suffered threats on his life.
		Mobile County Court House	In search of historical data.
Jacksonville, Fla	Sept. 11-12	Theodore Redding	President NAACP.
		E. D. Koelman	Regional Director of C. I. O. Well informed.
		F. Henry Williams	Leader of Republican factio among Negroes of Jacksonvil
		Porcher Taylor	Newspaper editor.
		Registrar' office	Secured accurate data and valuable comments; very cordial.
Savannah, Ga	Sept. 13-14	John McGlockton	Grocer; one of the most conscientious political leaders in entire South; getting excellent results; privilege to see him.
		Rev. R. M. Gilbert	Baptist minister; faithful ally of McGlockton and recognized leader in his own right.
		Sol C. Johnson	Editor Savannah Tribune; highly respected.

Jackson, L. P.

NOV 14 1947
RECEIVED
Regional Council

V. S. C. Petersburg, Va
Nov. 12, '47

Mr. Mitchell:

Send me about ten of your formal invitation envelopes. I find that this device gets results. I am using these "bids" along with a personal letter. Mr. Williams sent me a few but not enough. My third membership came from Dr. Charles Dodd which he sent direct to you; my fourth is the Rev. W. W. Leathers, pastor of the First Baptist Church, white. Find his check for two dollars enclosed.

Am indeed sorry that I could not make the meeting of the board of directors. Only two weeks ago I was away from the college several days attending the annual meting of the Assn for the Study of Negro Life and History. I could not, then, ask to be away again so soon. By all means I wish to retain my membership on the board.

L. P. Jackson

11/19/47

Jackson, Luther P.

November 18, 1947

Mr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

Thank you a lot for the new memberships from Mr. Francis and Dr. Jacobson. We will be proud of your ten.

Our Meeting went all right, but we missed you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

V. S. C., Petersburg, Va
Nov. 10, 1947

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing two memberships fpr SRC: Attorney Robert J. Francis, Union Trust Building, Petersburg, Va., and Dr. Philip Jacobson, 18 Liberty Street, Petersburg, Va. This was my first try out among white citizens for a membership of any kind. It appears that I will succeed in securing my quota of ten. I have made so many appeals to my colored friends of one kind or another that I am going this time among my white friends altogether. You will be ineterested to know that the judge of the court and the superintendent of schools hesitated to join on the grounds of their office. The judge wrote me a cordial letter saying that he would not.

Sincerely yours,

Luther P. Jackson

Luther P. Jackson

Jackson L. P.

November 21, 1947

Mr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Jackson:

Dr. Mitchell has requested that I send the attached check covering one half the amount due you for the research which you have been doing for the Council. We are all looking forward to seeing your manuscript. with a great deal of interest and pleasure.

With kindest good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McCoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

AM:EE

Jackson, Luther P.

December 12, 1947

Dr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Jackson:

As the end of the fiscal year draws near this office is performing the usual tasks incident to clearing outstanding items and closing our books for the year.

In this connection I note that a total of $240.00 has been issued you in travel advances for which as yet we have no supporting travel vouchers. May I ask, therefore, that you will let us have this information on the attached forms, so that our books may be ready for the auditor on the 1st, or soon thereafter?

With every good wish for the holidays, and for the coming year, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Encs. AM:ee

Travel Advances:

6-6-44	150.00
paid 8/28/47	70.00
	80.00
8-28-47	100.00
	180.00
9-12-47	60.00
	$240.00

Jackson, L. P.

January 6, 1948

Mr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Jackson:

Thank you so much for returning to us so promptly your expense account covering your travel, with check for $1.69 to balance previous advances.

Thank you especially for your contribution of five dollars, given towards the operating deficit of the Council. These are both of material help and we are most grateful for your kind thought.

With every good wish for the New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

RECEIVED
DEC 29 1947
Southern Regional Council

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia
December 24, 1947

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
S. R. C.
23 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I am sending enclosed my expense account for the three weeks trip, August 24-Sept. 14, 1947. Kindly note that the total amount is $238.31 or $1.69 less than the $240.00 advanced. I am returning the $1.69 by check enclosed as the refund. In addition I am making a contribution of five dollars to the Council beyond the membership I paid this year.

Sincerely yours,
Luther P. Jackson
Luther P. Jackson

Jackson, Luther P.

January 6, 1948

Mr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

Where does the manuscript stand?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:s

Jackson, Luther P.

January 23, 1948

Dr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Jackson:

We have need of certain information on voting in the southern states--

What percentage of potential voters in the poll tax states voted in the 1946 (or 1944) elections, by state by race?

What is the status of the white primary in Arkansas?

What is the status of the white primary in Mississippi--in particular, what is the "pledge" which voters or registrants must sign?

Does Louisiana have any special device for keeping Negroes from voting (as Boswell amendment, South Carolina plan)?

Dr. Mitchell says you probably have collected such material for the study you are doing for the Council. If so, we are wondering if you can make it available to us? Our need for it is rather urgent, so we will appreciate whatever you can do for us.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

Jackson, Luther P.

January 28, 1948

Mr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Jackson:

I am delighted with your letter of January 22. You were wise to keep working on the manuscript until you got it into a shape that would satisfy you.

The title I would choose of the three you suggested is "Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940."

We will wait eagerly for the manuscript.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia
January 22, 1948

Mr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your recent letter of one sentence carried more weight than the average letter of a whole page. I realize that I am running behind in the completion of my manuscript but perhaps my tardiness is explainable.

I returned to work on the 15th of September and since then my activities have been as heavy or heavier than in former years. During the fall I had to attend four or five state and national conventions because of my leadership in them, and I had to prepare a paper or make a report for each. I have had to keep my column going in the Norfolk Journal & Guide, and of course have had to carry my usually teaching load here at the college. To add to my obligations, I had already made one committment for a piece of writing before you engaged me last spring which I had to fulfill this fall. This was my article on the Daniel family of Virginia published in the Negro History Bulletin, December number.

But in the meantime I have by no means been idle with my paper for you. I have been engaged chiefly in doing the big job of checking on the number of voters in each state. To this end I have exchanged letters with Mr. Gray, secretary of state for Florida, and I have corresponded with each of the sixty-seven boards of registrars in Florida. On a smaller scale I have corresponded with registration officials in Alabama, but since they, unlike Florida, were not inclined to answer, my task with them has not been as great. I have likewise been corresponding with many of the persons I contacted on the tour this summer. In like manner I have been receiving each week a half-dozen Negro newspapers of the region and making clippings of pertinent articles. My trip to Oklahoma City in October was especially fruitful in that I got a line on the situation in Oklahoma and Arkansas, the two states which I did not visit.

As a result of my efforts I will be able to turn out a more accurate study than I would have if I had rushed it through earlier. I shall be almost completely accurate for Florida and Louisiana; fairly accurate for eight other states; but a little undertain about North Carolina and Tennessee. These last two are the most decentralized and most variable among the states of the South. I am embracing twelve states in all including Oklahoma. For the making of the charts I am calling upon R. R. McDaniel, professor of mathematics here, to assist me.

My manuscript is nearly complete now, at least in the rough stages, and I am working hard to get the entire job completed early in February. I should add here that I lost some time during the Christmas holidays which I had planned, but instead of having those two weeks clear, I had to go to Lexington, Kentucky to be at the bedside of my oldest brother who finally died.

January 22, 1948

As regards the title for the pamphlet it may assume any one of the three following:

Decline of barriers to voting in the South
Decline of racial barriers to voting in the South
Race and suffrage in the South since 1940

Or if you think of a title still more suitable and in line with the general theme running through the paper I want you to feel free to use it. Indeed I want you to feel free to make any changes in it. However, I think I am producing a work which will serve the purpose you originally planned and will be helpful to the general public in assessing the suffrage situation between the races as of where it stood about 1940 and where it is today.

Sincerely yours,

Luther P. Jackson

Luther P. Jackson

LPJ/lfj

Jackson, Luther P.

March 17, 1948

Mr. Luther Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

Soon?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

H. Fleming

RECEIVED
APR 8 1948
RECEIVED
National Council

V. S. C., Petersburg, Va.
April 7, 1948

Jackson, Luther P.

Mr. Mitchell:

Manuscript will reach you no later than Monday, April 12th. It is running about forty pages including three pages of charts and notes. The introduction and the charts which follow are so written and prepared that the busy person can get the gist of the pamphlet in five minutes.

I know you have felt like wringing my neck off for this long delay. My only excuse is that my duties on the campus and off the campus have been so strenuous that I have been unable to do better.

Sincerely yours,
Luther
Luther

Jackson, Luther P.

OK
HCF

April 20, 1948

Mr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

Your manuscript is of very high quality. I think it remarkable that you were able to get the amount of fact into that you did. It is balanced and careful, and it will be very useful.

We have touches of editing to do here and there and are proceeding with that. We will send you back copy before we send it to the printer.

HCF

I turned over to Mr. Fleming the new pages which you sent with your letter of April 15.

Here are two checks, one for the $312.50 due you, and the other for the expense account of $31.80.

I think the Council was most fortunate to have your services for that Summer, and for all the vexed days of writing out the material.

I am glad that you have stepped up your field from just Virginia to the whole Southern area.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: Two checks
GSM:eb

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia
April 15, 1948

Dear Mitchell:

I am submitting herewith two pages of my manuscript as substitutes for two I sent the other day. These are 37 and 40 and 41. Destroy the originals and insert these in their places. You will note that an extra paragraph has been added for each of these pages.

I am taking the position that this pamphlet is your property and that you are at liberty to make such changes or revisions as you think necessary. In particular I am thinking that you may wish to add one or more paragraphs at the very end on page 40. I hope my diction is good. If you can improve upon it at places, feel free to do so.

You will note that I have failed to do at least one thing you suggested. I have reference to statements from prominent public officials. After the row over the civil rights proposals started I felt a little timid about seeing such persons as Tuck or Edwards, chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee. On the other hand, they may be more willing now than ever to prove that they believe in some forms of justice for the black man.

You have paid me $312.50 or half my honorarium already. The other half is now due. In addition I am submitting an expense account* of $32.81 which embraces pay for clerical service and ten dollars for R.R. McDaniel, professor of mathematics, who drew the charts.

Sincerely yours,
Luther P. Jackson
Luther P. Jackson.

RECEIVED
APR 19 1948
Southern Regional Council

* Given to Mrs McKay 20 Apr 48. LB

Jackson, Luther P.

V. S. C., Petersburg, Va
June 14, 1948

Dear Mitchell:

Soon?

Luther
Luther

18 - Jackson, Luther B.

June 15, 1948

TO: Dr. Luther P. Jackson

FROM: Harold C. Fleming

Please forgive the roughness of this copy, as it was typed with more regard for haste than for neatness.

There are two points to which I might call particular attention:

(1) There seems to be a discrepancy in the two charts with respect to the number of qualified Negro voters in Tennessee in 1947; Chart I indicates 80,000 qualified, while Chart II gives the figure 45,000.

(2) It would be helpful to have the exact figures for 1940 represented by the black bars on Chart I; it is a bit risky to try to determine exact figures from a bar chart, and the press will no doubt want these comparisons.

You will notice that we have chopped the manuscript off at the end. If you think this ending too abrupt, we would be glad to have you append a concluding paragraph.

Let me add my thanks for the fine job you have done. I am looking forward to much favorable attention from the press when the pamphlet is published.

June 15, 1948

Mr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

Mr. Fleming has reworked your MS., and here it is. He and I have conferred from time to time on this or that touchy point, and I have agreed to the more important condensations and to any changes that seemed more than just textual. He appends a memo on a couple of points.

I hope we have not taken more liberties than you will approve, but it is your MS, and we will be glad to make the revisions and clarifications that you think necessary.

Speed is important, for this is the JUNE New South, and we should like to get it back here and to the printer in four or five days, if you possibly can.

We think it a pamphlet that will be useful and popular, and thank you for the travel and the good writing.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

RECEIVED
MAY 10 1948
Southern Regional Council

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia
May 8, 1948

Dear Mitchell:

I am writing to let you know that I was made extremely happy by your last letter in your statement that "your manuscript is of a very high quality." I must admit that my son, Luther, Jr., gave me some help on the paper by his devastating criticisms. He is actually in the criticizing stage of life and can tear anybody's writing to pieces. He has read very widely.

I am just as anxious to receive the editorial changes of Mr. Fleming as you were to receive the manuscript in the first instance. I have in mind that since the recent Supreme Court action on the South Carolina primary matter that my account of this state should be changed to bring it up to date. My discussion is found at the bottom of page 19 and extends to the top of page 20.

I have a carbon copy of the entire work. If you want to, you may send me your criticisms by lines, paragraphs, and pages instead of sending the original copy. Again let me say that I am mighty glad that I satisfied you.

Sincerely yours,

Luther

Luther P. Jackson

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia.

18 — Jackson, Luther P

July 2, 1948

Mr. Luther Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

Your manuscript is in nice shape and should go today to the printer. We are very pleased with its appearance and we hope you will be.

It was kind and thoughtful of you to send me the list of people who helped you. We shall send each of them a copy, and I also am taking the liberty of writing each of them who is not a member of the Council and asking him to come along and join.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

18 - Jackson, Luther P.

July 9, 1948

Mr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

Here is your pamphlet, just in from the press today.

I send you by parcel post today a hundred copies, which are yours personally for free.

Mrs. McKoy will send you Monday 250 copies for distribution to your Virginia Voters League and she will bill you for them. We can't set the price today; it takes logarithms. But t'won't be terrible.

We all greatly appreciate your hard and good work on this job. We think it is nice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: 2 copies June-July '48 New South

P. S. We already have typed and will mail on Monday the letters to those who helped you on it.

GSM

GSM:eb
Dictated but not signed

18 - Jackson, Luther P.

July 14, 1948

Dr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Jackson:

Please accept my heartiest congratulations on your excellent pamphlet. We are delighted with it and the timing as well.

You have probably received ere this the 100 copies which Dr. Mitchell has sent you as author. We can let you have any number of extra copies that you wish. We have not received our bill from the printer as yet but think that the price on this will run about 25 cents. We shall be glad however to quote you a special price, as author, of 20 cents.

Please let us know how many you would like.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

18 - Jackson, Luther P.

July 19, 1948

Mr. Luther Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

We are rejoicing just now over a full column and a quarter in the Chattanooga Times of Friday, July 16, about your pamphlet. It was written as a New York Times story, and we assume that, therefore, it is in today's New York Times.

It is a fine story, done by our good friend, John Popham.

Meanwhile, here is a letter back already from one of your Savannah friends.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: Ltr, sgd Dr. R. M. Gilbert,
dtd 15July48

GSM:eb
Dictated July 16

Dear Mitchell:

V. S. C., Petersburg, Va
June 23, '48

I am considering myself a lucky man to have written this report with such few changes by you and Mr. Fleming. It appears that I have learned how to write only after long years of effort at it. I can not describe to you how many times I went over certain pages of this manuscript.

Your greatest omission was my discussion over the hesitancy of mynfellow college professors to "crash" white public officials in their communities on the suffrage question as well as many others. I deplored this omission at first but after all I suspect you were wise in ruling it out. I was tempted to speak freely as I did partly because about a year ago you had an article in New South by a white person who expressed the view that the Negro college has a role to play in the solution of many of our southern problems. If I had remained inactive, neither the Southern Regional Council nor many other organizations would have had any use of my services at the present time.

Here at the last minute I see that I still have one error on chart 1. For Alabama in 1940 I should have 2,000 rather than 1,500. Let Mr. Fleming make this change. McDaniel isn't with me at the moment. If I touched it, I am afraid it would show up badly.

I count this my service to you as one of my richest experiences. I wonder if you will consider the publication of two or three hundred extra copies for sale to my Virginia Voters League? I would like to send it out along with my annual Virginia handbook which will come fro the press about the same time as the New South. Quote me the price please.

Sincerely yours,

L. P. J.

Luther P. Jackson

Mrs. Jackson was out with me when you came. One son had just gone to Norfolk that morning and another to Chicago for the vacati period. I think my married daughter was out also. So that you struck us at an unlucky time.

Dear Mitchell:

RECEIVED
Aug 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

V. S. C?, Petersburg, Va
August 24, 1948

How sorry I was that I was not at home when you called yesterday. Could have been there with all ease if I had known you were coming. I was out on one of my usual jaunts of planning meetings around the counties to arouse a voting consciousness. I thought the newspapers of the country had about had their say on my pamphlet when low and behold the clipping which I enclose came from President Martin Jenkins of Morgan College. Kindly return. You certainly did a swell job of getting my little writing before the country.

You have my sympathy in the death of your father. Would have certainly attended his funeral had I not had an engagement in Lunenburg County Sunday on my usual mission.

In all probability I shall be able to attend the annual SRC meeting on November 10th. With highest regards to Mrs. Mitchell, I remain, yours truly

Luther

L. P. J.

18 - Jackson, Luther P.

October 11, 1948

Mr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

Thank you very much for the $2.00. Ten copies heading your way.

Somebody ought to give you a plaque for enhancing the voting status all over the whole South!

I am glad that Gomillion was pleased with the pamphlet.

Don't forget that we want you here for the annual meeting November 10, and for the Board meetings on that and the following day.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Separate cover: 10 copies of "Race and Suffrage in the South"

G.S.M.
10/12/48

V. S. C., Petersburg, Va
Oct. 5, 1948

Dear Mitchell:

This letter will be of special interest to you. Kindly return it. You recall I was critical of Tuskegee in my pamphlet. Perhaps the distribution of which Gomillion speaks will do some good.

On Saturday, Oct. 2nd, at Staunton, Virginia the Virginia State Conference of branches of the NAACP in a special ceremony gave me a plaque for my consecrated service in "enhancing the voting status of Negroes in Virginia." You may see some reference to it in the papers.

(Kindly send ten copies of Race and Suffgage in the South)

Enclosed find check for two dollars in payment.

Sincerely yours,
Luther
Luther

RECEIVED
OCT 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

Was in company with Lucy Mason at a banquet the other night in Richmond - the Southern School for Workers of which I am a board member

Dec. 22, 1948 Jackson

Dear George,

Shall be glad to contact Miss Carrie Sharpe. She is a close friend of ours - almost like a relative. Yes I do keep terribly busy, yet I find time to get in some good licks wherever I think they are necessary. Before the school year is gone I plan to get in a few for our Southern Regional Council. The white pepple here are slow, but I do not mind approaching them (perhaps the colored too). I suppose you have read about the series of court cases in volving school equalization, which we have been winning recently. We have in Hill, Martin, and Robinson three of the most brilliant lawyers in the South. They are fearless in any court. Kindest regards to Mrs. Mitchell.

Sincerely, Luther Luther

GSM:t

December 20, 1948

Professor Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

You have there in Petersburg the head of the Virginia branch of the National Association of Colored Women. She is Mrs. Connie M. Sharpe, 452 A Harding Street, Petersburg.

They ought to be a good prospect for using some of the Council's pamphlet materials.

I know you are a busy guy, but I also know that if you could get in touch with Mrs. Sharpe for us, there would be a very good possibility of getting a good flow of our things in her direction. Would you be so very kind as to take this on?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

March 28, 1949

Dr. Luther Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Jackson:

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee on March 16, members of the nominating committee of the Board for bringing in nominations to the Executive Committee were chosen by the Executive Committee as instructed by the Board in November.

Dr. Forrester Washington of the Atlanta University School of Social Work was chosen as chairman of this Committee, and other members named were yourself, Mr. John Griffin of Emory University, Miss Florence Sytz of the Tulane School of Social Work, and Mrs. Alice Spearman of Newberry, South Carolina.

I do hope you will find it possible to serve on this Committee. May I not hear from you?

Sincerely yours,

Agnes McKoy

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

RECEIVED
MAR 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

This is O.K.
L. P. Jackson
3/30/49

HCF: Note & File

18 - Jackson, Luther P.

V. S C., Petersburg, Va
April 19, 1949

Dear George,

This is to remind you that I sent in my ten dollars four days ago before your note of this morning came reminding all members of this duty. Let me congratulate all of you for the excellent "New South" of March, 1949. It is one of the most informing issues which I have ever yet received. Havebeen placed on program of the Virginia Social Science Association (white) for one of the four papers on Virginia and the Civil Rights Program at the University of Virginia on April 30th. It appears that my campaign for a better South never ceases. Shall send you copies of letters I am sending out over the State very soon.

Yours truly,
Luther P. Jackson
Luther

RECEIVED
APR 20 1949
Southern Regional Council

LUTHER P. JACKSON
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

PETERSBURG
SEP 10
8 30 AM
1949
VA.

18 - Luther Jackson

Dear George,

Since you were so pleased with the last clipping I sent you, I am sending you another along the line of racial advancement. We have our hats off to Hill. Was in Alexandria the other day and heard arguments in the Arlington County school case. A colored girl of the Hoffman-Boston high school of Arlington is suing for facilities equal to those of Washington-Lee(white) or otherwise be admitted to the white school. She has a battery of good attorneys in the persons of Hill, Martin & Robinson with Leon Andrew Ransome as the chief. You know it is mighty hard for anybody to lick these fellows on the school cases. Shall endeavor to send you clippings on this court fight. The King George case was a sweeping victory for us in every detail. I was present up there for the dedication of the Ralph Bunche High School.

Am now editing a manuscript for the Univ. of Virginia library. This is a very good omen, so unlike the points of view of the old day. Several of us are likewise teaming up with the Southern Hist. Ass'n.

I was carried away with Charles Johnson's address. Please send me additional copies if you have them to spare. Also let me know the date of the S. R. C. annual meeting. I have a pretty full round of activities for October and November including speaking engagements at Nashville, Tennessee and another at New York City. The first is for the Tennessee State Teachers Assocation and the second is for the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

Stop by to see us whenever you and Mrs. Mitchell have a chance. Virginia State now hangs in the balance with regard to the choice of a president. Practically all of us faculty members want the dean of the college, James Hugo Johnston, but we are not dead sure whether the State Board will appoint him. There is always the possibility of a southern white board picking a man of second rate ability. In this instance there are several second rate men striving for the position which might give them the chance of selecting one of them.

Sincerely,
Luther P. J.
Luther.

18 Jackson, Luther P.

May 23, 1949

Mr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

Thanks a lot for the suggestion about Overman. You will see that I have written him.

Leyburn wrote back that he was new and officially busy and wouldn't have time to put in the Council, and didn't like to be inactive in groups he was in, et cetera et cetera. Maybe you can work on him sometime.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

18- Jackson, Luther P

September 7, 1949

Mr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

How nice that was of you to send me the story on the wind-up in King George County.

The fact that they now have a Ralph Bunche Negro High School will go into my speech.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

18 - Jackson, Luther P.

October 19, 1949
Dict. October 17

Dr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

How very interesting to see your good letter to Virginius and his good reply! Here they are back.

I am looking for the fur to fly in the Commonwealth when you get your engine into action on RACE IN THE NEWS.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

18 - Jackson

VSC Petersburg, Va
Oct. 27, 1949

Dear George,

This literature explains the plight we are in in Virginia and what we are trying to do to defeat the proposed amendments to the Virginia constitution.

Luther

Luther P. Jackson

RECEIVED
OCT 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
OCT 12 1949
Southern Regional Council

V.S.C., Petersburg, Va
Oct. 11, 1949

Dear George,

This [illegible] the we were talking about at my home the other evening. Kindly return these two ;etters right away.

Luther

Luther

I have just called a close friend of mine by the name of Mrs. Cooley who once worked at the Progress-Index as the editor of the Colored Dots, Negro column in this paper. She and I can go there to see them just as soon as I come from under the hammer. I am sure we will achieve success.

VIRGINIA CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATION
2423 Lamb Avenue
Richmond, Virginia

October 25, 1949

Dear Citizen:

At long last you will find enclosed materials to be used in an all-out effort to defeat the so-called "Campbell Amendments." These materials were delayed because we could not obtain a sample ballot earlier. They are being sent to you through the combined efforts of three organizations dedicated to the service of our race in Virginia; namely, the State N.A.A.C.P., headed by Dr. J. M. Tinsley of Richmond; the Virginia Voters League headed by Dr. Luther Jackson of Petersburg; and the Virginia Civil Rights Organization headed by Dr. H. T. Penn of Roanoke.

While the dangers of the proposed constitutional amendments are a threat to the liberties of all Virginians regardless of race or party, it is up to us to get out the Negro vote to defeat the amendments because we must fight our own battles as far as possible and not count on others to do for us what we can do for ourselves.

Urge your fellow-citizens to vote AGAINST the constitutional amendments for they are loaded with danger. They would give any and all future legislatures blanket authority to change or to set up new voting requirements. It is no reflection on the legislature of 1960 or 1970 to say we do not trust them for no one knows who will be in the legislature then. We cannot afford to give unknown legislatures blanket authority to restrict our right to vote in whatever manner it chooses. It is better by far to have the present constitution, even with the Poll Tax, than to get rid of the Poll Tax by losing all our present safeguards. At least we can vote now by paying a dollar and a half. Unless we defeat the Campbell Amendments by voting "AGAINST" them on November 8th, we may not be able to vote five or ten years from now AT ANY PRICE.

We urge you to:

1. Consider yourself as a committee of one to organize your county or community in cooperation with other leaders to get out the vote on November 8th. Be sure that every qualified voter in your vicinity actually goes to the polls on November 8th and votes "AGAINST."

2. Talk about this danger at your churches, lodge meetings, P.T.A. meetings, social clubs, and wherever two or three are assembled. If possible, arrange a mass meeting in your community to arouse the people and to urge them to vote on November 8th.

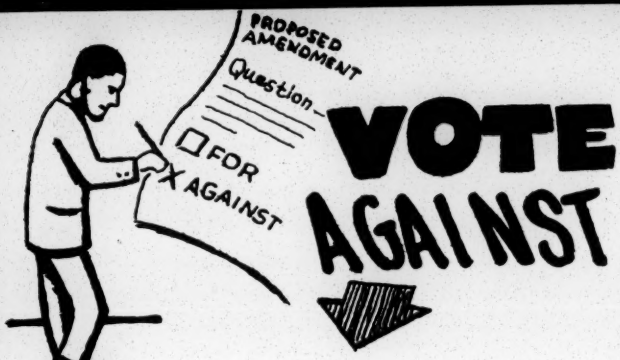
3. Remember you are not alone in this fight, for it is not a political matter in the partisan sense, but a civic matter. The Virginia Council of Churches, several bipartisan organizations, and the overwhelming majority of the newspapers of Virginia are with you <u>but we must do our part</u>. Our children's children are counting on us; we must not let them down.

Yours for real Democracy,

VIRGINIA CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATION

Thomas H. Henderson

Thomas H. Henderson, Secretary



The Suffrage Amendment

on November 8

The Suffrage Amendment will abolish the **Poll** *Tax...BUT*

It makes possible a $3.00 yearly state head tax and a $1.00 yearly county head tax...

It puts in the hands of the Virginia Assembly power to set up Literacy Tests...

It closes Registration Books 120 days (4 long months) before each election...

It sets up a State Election Board (appointed by the governor) which would control your Local Board.

It would compel you to Re-register each year in order to vote.

WE WANT THE POLL TAX REPEALED BUT...

WE DON'T WANT THESE *UNFAIR* TERMS!

THE NAACP, THE VA. VOTERS LEAGUE *and* THE VA. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE URGES YOU TO VOTE *AGAINST*.....!!

COPY

Luther Jackson

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia
January 14, 1950

Miss Jean W. Donnelly
Legislative Reference Service
Library of Congress
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Donnelly:

The pamphlet which I wrote for the Southern Regional Council carries the title Race and Suffrage in the South since 1940. It was published by this organization and copies may still be secured from them at their headquarters 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. It sells for twenty-five cents per copy. Mr. George S. Mitchell, executive director, will gladly furnish you all the copies you wish.

Sincerely yours,

Luther P. Jackson
Professor of History

January 24, 1950

Dr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

One of the satisfying things in life is our annual report of the voting status of Negroes in Virginia. It always comes through, it always seem to be on time, it is always neat and full and clear - and written with dignity and restraint.

And, what powerful levers those black bars must be, county by county.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

J.

January 25, 1950

Dear Luther:

Thanks a lot for the Library of Congress letter. I have written the good lady as enclosed.

Thanks also for your comments on the local papers. They will help us.

Our Petersburg members are enclosed.

The clippings were most helpful to us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Dr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Va.

18 - Luther P. Jackson

April 25, 1950

Mrs. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

The Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council met April 22.

They were greatly grieved in noting the loss of Mr. Jackson, and directed that the following resolution be sent to you:

> The South has suffered a tragic and irreplaceable loss in the death of Dr. Luther P. Jackson, of Virginia State College. His untiring service in the cause of a common citizenship has been of great benefit to his State and the entire Southern region.
>
> The Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council wishes to express its deep sorrow at the loss of one of its members who worked so devotedly for the principles which we share.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

1a

January 19, 1953

Mrs. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Va.

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

We are sending you up fifty copies of Mr. Jackson's good pamphlet.

I do hope that on some early trip I can stop and have a visit with you and your mother.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia
January 16, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 19
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,-

One of the things that makes my lot easier, is the "continuing appreciation" of Luther's many friends who remember how hard he worked.

I am sure the Virginia Voters' League will be glad to use fifty or more of his pamphlets,- and since their president lives this side of Richmond, I can trust my '40 Plymouth to deliver them.

Many thanks for remembering! My mother joins me in every good wish for you and Mrs. Mitchell.

Sincerely,
Johnnella F. Jackson

January 7, 1953

Mrs. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Va.

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

Mr. Harold Fleming in our office had occasion the other day to work through Mr. Jackson's pamphlet done for the Council in 1948, called RACE AND SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1940. We were both pleased to see what a competent and prophetic piece of work it was. That was a most difficult assignment that your husband took. Traveling about from State to State and collecting information which is often hard to come by, and then making up an analysis and certain recommendations. He saw and put into his manuscript the already beginning trend of apathy in the matter of voting; a particularly keen piece of looking ahead from the facts as they stood.

I wanted you to know how well the work has stood up.

We've got flocks of extra copies of it and would gladly send you a bundle of a dozen or of fifty, for free, if you would have any need for them.

In continuing appreciation,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

January 21, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy Johnson:

I have your wire about Miss Noreen Dunn. She can be reached by addressing a letter to Scarritt College in Nashville.

She strikes me as the type of person who could go far toward garnering the interest of the Southern Methodist women, as well as others, in the new program of the Council.

Miss Louise Young, also of Scarritt College, can give you a thorough and useful estimate of her. I suggest also that you get in touch with Dr. Margaret Forsyth, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, and with Dr. Ina C. Brown, who can be reached at Scarritt College.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

January 23, 1944

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
95 Fairlie Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy Johnson:

I had another talk with Miss Louise Young about another matter, and she brought up the question of the possible availability of Dr. Ina Corrine Brown for consideration in connection with the program of the Southern Regional Council. She has been at Scarritt on a two-year arrangement revolving the three schools, Scarritt, Vanderbilt and Fisk. This arrangement has been supported by the General Education Board, and there is no certainty that it would continue after this year. Incidentally, Miss Brown has excellent standing with the General Education Board.

I am returning the form letter prepared for the calling of the meeting of the Board, in February, without change, and authorizing my signature on it. Since I may be late for the meeting on Wednesday, February 16th, because of the difficulty of getting from Chicago to Atlanta following an urgent session of the Institute for which I have some responsibility, I am placing in your hands my proxy on the chance that a vote may be necessary before I arrive.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-h
enc. 3

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

February 1, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

I enclose a proxy blank as promised in my telephone conversation on yesterday. I shall insert the date of the meeting after we find out when it will be possible to get the three Atlanta Incorporators together. Believe it or not, there are only about three days on which we can possibly get these three men together, and there is no assurance that three of the five will be on hand on the morning of February 16. I hope that Ralph McGill will not have to dash away on the days that the other two are here. It will be a great relief to get this formality disposed of and to know that we can be born as a legally organized corporation and not a bastard one!

All of this would be funny if it did not take so much time from the more important things. However, we are making good progress on the things which we were instructed to do before the February meeting.

Thank you for your letters of January 21 and 23. We have shall have both of them on our mind.

Sincerely yours,

Guy B. Johnson

Encl.

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

February 3, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy Johnson:

I have signed the proxy and am sending it on, even though it is my intention to be present for the second day of the meeting, February 17th.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

February 12, 1944

Dear Guy Johnson:

I am sending on a copy of a letter from Mr. L. Maynard Catchings, Secretary, Southern Field Council of the National Student Y.M.C.A., which is self explanatory. I have told Mr. Catchings that this matter is being referred to the Southern Regional Council through you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

I have discussed this at some length with Mr. Catchings here.

GBJ

SOUTHERN FIELD COUNCIL
OF
NATIONAL STUDENT Y.M.C.A.

706 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

December 22, 1943

Mr. Howard Odum
Mr. Charles Johnson
Co-chairmen, Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

On behalf of the Southern Councils of the National Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A I want to submit a suggestion to your council. In our fall meeting we discussed among other things the projection of our inter-racial conference. It was revealed in the discussions that one of the handicaps to the progressive success of such a conference is that there are few places in our region where such meetings may be entertained. Most frequently they are on Negro grounds. Both the Negro and white participants feel that the effectiveness of the conference would be improved if it could be held alternately on white and Negro grounds, or more consistently on neutral grounds.

Since we feel that there are other groups in the South that face the same problem and since we know that it is too large a problem for us to solve alone, we solicit your help. It is our suggestion that as you construct your program that you will devote attention to the securing of places under the supervision of organizations such as the Southern Regional Council, made up of white and Negro people, for holding inter-racial conferences in the South.

If you have information of any places such as Government camps, in the South which have facilities for entertaining a group of approximately 300 persons for five or six days the early part of June, please acquaint us with their directors.

Sincerely yours,

L. Maynard Catchings
Secretary

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.-710Standard Bldg. $

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WESTERN UNION

1206-B

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

March 6, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Very important that we have Executive Committee meeting to elect president and to decide upon questions of membership, budget, program, etc. Will you as chairman of Special Committee authorize calling Executive Committee for all-day session March 16 or 17.

Guy B. Johnson

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(34).

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
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QA49

1944 MAR 7 PM 5 49

NHB260 DL=NASHVILLE TENN 7 503P

DOCTOR GUY B JOHNSON=

:SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 703 STANDARD BLDG ATLA=

:UNFORTUNATELY HAVE COMMITMENTS FOR 16 AND 17. IS 25 TOO LATE OR COULD MEETING PROCEED WITHOUT ME. AS CHAIRMAN OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE WILL GLADLY AUTHORIZE CALLING MEETING FOR ANY DAY YOU INDICATE=

:CHARLES S JOHNSON.

16 17 25.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

file for Reid

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches

287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

FRED L. BROWNLEE
GENERAL SECRETARY

RUTH A. MORTON
DIRECTOR OF SCHOOLS

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR OF RACE RELATIONS

March 13, 1944

Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Reid:

I was sorry that I was not able to see you after the meeting Saturday. I inquired several times during the evening at the hotel, without success. Early Sunday morning I left for an engagement in New Bedford, Massachusetts, and did not get back until about 2:00 A. M.

I am obliged to you for leaving the copies of the revised manuscript of "Manners and Minorities", along with the other notes. Mr. Brownlee has one of the copies and I am taking the other with me to Chicago.

Regarding the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta on the 23 and 24, I sent you this wire:

"March 24 a possible date if I can reach Atlanta from engagement in Dayton, Ohio, on the 23rd. If not, will try adjustment on Dayton engagement."

I was afraid many of the boys would not understand the list of persons invited to the Chicago conference on the 21st. There were two objectives back of the selection. One was to get persons who had not previously been closely associated with race relations but who had importance in their respective fields rather than have another meeting of outstanding representatives of programs and organizations. Another was to draw the persons almost exclusively from the North and West and, in a sense, to block out those problems as being in the context of a different type of situation from the South. Since the Southern Regional Council set the pattern, really, for a regional organization, the new group is rather deliberately following that lead and using the Southern Regional Council as a model.

This made it inappropriate to draw upon the majority of persons connected with the Southern Regional Council. There are probably two or three exceptions to this rule for reasons other than their southern residence. Odum is a Board member of the Fund. P. B. Young is, or rather was, a member of the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee. There are two other names -- Mark Ethridge and Virginius Dabney -- which, I presume, are included for special reasons in addition to the fact that they are newspaper editors and can perhaps do some interpreting back to the southern audience. Practically all of the good southern names, thus, are missing. This may be good or bad, but the idea at least was innocent enough.

Best wishes,

Charles S. Johnson

csj hd

1206-A

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TELEGRAM		FULL RATE	
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NIGHT LETTER		SHIP RADIOGRAM	

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WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

March 16, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Calling Executive Committee meeting 10 A. M. March 22 as this seems only date this month on which we are assured of quorum. Hope you will find it possible to attend.

Guy B. Johnson

PAID
Chg. ~~Kill~~
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE.

March 17, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

We have been more or less tearing our hair over trying to get a date for the Executive Committee meeting on which we would be sure of a quorum. It seems to boil down to a question of having it next Wednesday, March 22, or putting it off until the middle of April. There are so many unsettled problems that I thought it best to get the Committee together as soon as possible and so I used your authorization and sent out telegrams yesterday calling the meeting for March 22. I hope you can disentangle yourself from other engagements and attend the meeting because we certainly need your help and advice.

I am enclosing the agenda sheet for the meeting.

Hoping that you can be present, I am

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

Encl.

GBJ/j P.S.. Got your wire just after this was written. We can go ahead without you, but we hate like everything to do it. I have been busy on the phone this afternoon trying to clear March 25, but no luck. Expect a couple of wires in the morning, and will then decide whether to postpone until after Easter. Reid and I may get in touch with you Sunday by telephone and discuss some of the most important things on the agenda, so that if we do go ahead with March 22 we will at least have the benefit of your suggestions.

GBJ

1206-A

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WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE, PRESIDENT
NEWCOMB CARLTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Atlanta, Ga. March 17, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Ill.

Please call us at Walnut 7963 at your convenience on Sunday. Reid and I want to discuss some important matters with you. Please wire Reid care Walnut 6963 as to time you expect to call.

Guy B. Johnson

Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Bldg.
Wa. 7963

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE.

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WESTERN UNION

(20)

A. N. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT
NEWCOMB CARLTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
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QA02

1944 MAR 17 PM 2 46

CA487 17=H CHICAGO ILL 17 103P

DR GUY B JOHNSON=

710 STANDARD BLDG ATLA=

IMPOSSIBLE ATTEND ATLANTA MEETING MARCH 22 BECAUSE OF CHICAGO MEETING SAME DAY OF WHICH I AM SPONSOR=

CHARLES S JOHNSON=

22

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1206-A

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

March 20, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Deem it imperative that your name be proposed for chairmanship Executive Committee Southern Regional Council. May we take this liberty? Wire reply Atlanta University.

Ira DeA. Reid

PAID
Chg. Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE.

April 5, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Director
Social Science Institute
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of March 30. I shall be glad to hold open two or three days during the week of July 10-15 for the Institute which you are planning to hold at Fisk University. As for topics which I would prefer, I suggest that one of them be a discussion of the work of the Southern Regional Council and that another, which might be spread over two days, be concerned with the general question of minority group movements and strategies. If you would rather have me present something else, please suggest some other topics which you think I might handle.

We have had the March of Time man on our necks for several days. Yesterday was the "shooting" day, and it took from 2 to 7 P.M. to make shots of the audience and of three speakers who read only a few lines each. Of course it is hard to predict just what March of Time will do with the Council material when it comes to integrating it with a great many other shots on race problems, but I hope that the net effect is going to be for the good.

We are going to need a Council Board meeting as soon as possible. We want to be sure that you and Dr. Odum can be present and it looks as if the earliest clear time will be during the first week of May as far as Dr. Odum is concerned. Could you be present for a whole day and perhaps an evening during that week? If not, what other dates do you have clear early in May? A Board meeting will ease our mind a great deal because there are so many things which need to be implemented by definite machinery on the authorization of the Board.

Looking forward to seeing you soon, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ;m

FISK UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

RACE RELATIONS DIVISION
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

CLIFTON R. JONES
HAROLD KINGSLEY
HERMAN H. LONG
MARGARET MCCULLOCH
HENRY A. MCDOWELL
IRA DE A. REID

March 30, 1944

Dear Guy:

We have been urged by a number of persons interested in race relations, and either working or planning to work in social, religious, and educational fields that require some knowledge of race and methods of dealing with racial situations, to develop, during the coming summer, an institute that would deal fairly intensively with the problems.

In view of the increasing urgency of these problems and the need of many persons for practical orientation to the broad field, and the new angles of pressure, we are planning to undertake this intensive course during the month of July. Much will depend, of course, upon the lecturers and consultants available for the period of the Institute. It will be held at Fisk University, July 3rd to 21st. It is hoped that the lecturers will be able to spend from two to four days (more if they can), and would lecture and lead seminar or discussion groups in their specific fields.

The Institute is under the sponsorship of the new Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association, and the setting will be the Social Science Institute at Fisk University, which has a number of facilities (libraries, social laboratories, etc.) that might prove useful to both lecturers and students.

We are very anxious to have you as one of the lecturers for the Institute, both because of your contributions in this field and because there has already been expressed a desire on the part of the prospective members to have you here.

Would you be good enough to indicate if you could be available for any period in July, within the time limits set. And if so (as I personally very much hope) what special topics you would prefer to present in two to four lectures.

There will be provided entertainment while here, a moderate honorarium and, of course, transportation. You will note that I am just attempting to find your open dates instead of taking a chance on your unavailability for a specific date in a predetermined schedule. Will you let me hear from you at your early convenience. I think you will find the place and the people interesting.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

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DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
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WESTERN UNION

1206-B

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

My error about date. Meeting should be April 28, not May 5.

Guy B. Johnson

PAID
Chg. Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

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NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	
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Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206-B

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

May 5 seems best after all for Council Board meeting because of conflicting trustee meetings at Atlanta University on April 28.

Guy B. Johnson

PAID
Chg. Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

April 13, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson: Thank you for your letter and your promise to send me the list of active interracial committees in the South. We shall look forward to receiving it as soon as it is ready.

Dr. Johnson is expecting to hear from you about the date for the executive committee meeting in May.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Allen

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

May 12, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Under another cover we are sending you fifteen announcements like the one enclosed, with the thought that you would have in mind some interested individuals to whom they might be mailed.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

Charles S. Johnson

csj-h
enc.

ANNOUNCEMENT

OF THE FIRST

INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES

OF THE

RACE RELATIONS DIVISION

OF THE

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

One problem of our modern world, perhaps at the moment the greatest problem, has arisen from the necessity of curing ourselves, as far as that is humanly possible, of every form of blindness which makes it difficult for us to communicate, to achieve understandings, and to act effectively with others in the interest of a common cause.

—Robert E. Park

AT THE

SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

JULY 3RD TO 21ST, 1944

THE purpose of the Institute of Race Relations is to provide an intensive and practical course of study of the problems and methods of dealing with racial situations. This is in response to needs expressed for information and guidance on current problems of race relations made acute by the war. The Institute is open to experienced persons in various fields—educators, social and religious workers, labor and civic group leaders, members and staff workers of inter-racial committees, employers, journalists, advanced students and certain lay persons.

•

Course of Study

Under the guidance of a distinguished and experienced staff of lecturers, consultants and seminar leaders, the Institute will include the following areas of interest:

Race and Racial Theories

Anthropological and psychological aspects of race and race relations; comparative race relations in North and South America, the Caribbean, Africa and India; race and culture problems in modern society; racial attitudes, rumors and public opinion.

Racial Aspects of Social Problems

Racial tension areas in the United States; problems of racial adjustment and integration in industry, labor organizations, housing, educational institutions and the church; the management of tensions; the social education of children; the problem of race and race relations in the urban community; rural race problems; the interpretation of cultural background factors in the adjustment problems of Negro migrant families; social planning for minorities in the framework of city planning; post-war problems of readjustment.

Methods, Techniques and Community Planning

Review and analysis of methods and practices in dealing with racial situations, i.e. official and citizens' committees, Institutes, pressure groups, legislation, self-surveys, the preparation and use of educational materials for schools, religious and labor groups; work camps; use of radio and visual education; use of music, art and poetry; programs of special organizations.

The Role of Personal Religion in Human Relations

Resident Faculty, Lecturers and Consultants

Will W. Alexander
Formerly Director, Farm Security Administration; Chief Minorities Section, War Manpower Commission; Co-Director Race Relations Division, Julius Rosenwald Fund

Margurite E. Bicknell
Professor of Sociology and Economics, LeMoyne College; Director, Friends Service Work Camp

Cleo W. Blackburn
Superintendent, Flanner House, Indianapolis, Indiana

Fred L. Brownlee
General Secretary, American Missionary Association Division of the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational and Christian Churches

Ina C. Brown
Visiting Professor of Social Anthropology, Scarritt College; formerly Senior Specialist on Social Studies, Division of Higher Education, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

Countee Cullen
Poet; Author of *Color, Copper Sun, Caroling Dusk, The Ballad of the Brown Girl, The Black Christ and Other Poems, One Way to Heaven* (novel) *The Medea and Other Poems.*

Allison Davis
Assistant Professor of Education, University of Chicago; Author: *Children of Bondage: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South*

Edwin R. Embree
President, Julius Rosenwald Fund; Chairman, Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, Chicago; Author: *Brown Americans* and *Thirteen Against the Odds*

Ellsworth Faris
Emeritus Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago

William J. Faulkner
Dean of the Chapel, Fisk University

Lester Granger
Executive Secretary, National Urban League

Charles A. Houston
Attorney; Member of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice

Giles A. Hubert
Professor of Economics, Fisk University; Consultant, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration; formerly Senior Agricultural Economist, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council; formerly Associate Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina; Member of staff of Carnegie-Mydral study of the Negro in America.

Otto Klineberg
Professor of Psychology, Columbia University; Co-Director, Institute of Race Relations, Swarthmore College

Frayser T. Lane
Civic Director, Chicago Urban League

Z. Alexander Looby
Member, National Legal Staff, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Frank S. Loescher
Professor of Sociology, Randolph-Macon College; Director Summer Work camp (Nashville), American Friends Service Committee

Ruth Morton
Director of Schools, American Missionary Association

Liston Pope
Assistant Professor of Social Ethics, Gilbert L. Stary Foundation, Yale University

Arthur Raper
Senior Social Science Analyst, Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Robert Redfield
Dean, Division of Social Sciences and Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago

Ira DeA. Reid
Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University; Associate Director, Southern Regional Council; Author: *In a Minor Key; (With Arthur Raper) Sharecroppers All*

T. Lynn Smith
Head, Department of Rural Sociology, Louisiana State University

Hugh Stuntz
President, Scarritt College for Christian Workers

Charles H. Thompson
Dean, Howard University; Editor, *Journal of Negro Education*

Williard Townsend
Member, Executive Committee, Congress of Industrial Organizations; International President, United Transport Service Employees of America

Robert C. Weaver
Director, Chicago Mayor's Committee on Race Relations; formerly Chief, Minority Group Services, War Manpower Commission

Louis Wirth
Professor and Associate Dean, Social Science Division, University of Chicago

John W. Work
Assistant Professor of Music Theory, Fisk University

Living Accommodations

Members of the Institute can be comfortably housed in Residence halls and University houses, and have their meals, at reasonable cost, in the Cafeteria of Jubilee Hall or at the Student Union.

Rates

Tuition	$25.00
Room rent—3 weeks	10.00
Board (estimate for three weeks)	20.00
Room deposit (returnable)	5.00
Library deposit (returnable)	3.00

Students desiring academic credit can receive 3 semester hours for this course.

Location

The University is located in Nashville, which is one of the important educational centers in America. Among the outstanding institutions of learning located in the city are Vanderbilt University, George Peabody College for Teachers, Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State College, Meharry Medical College, Scarritt College, and David Lipscomb College. Fisk University enjoys close relationships with most of these institutions and arranges for an interchange of lecturers and facilities for research students.

Library

The University Library will be available to members of the Institute for study and research. It includes space for over 300 readers and has a book collection of 76,340 volumes, exclusive of uncatalogued government documents. Three hundred and fifty (350) carefully selected periodicals and forty daily and weekly newspapers come to the library regularly.

The most distinctive group of books in the library is the Negro collection, which is considered one of the best selections of material by and about the Negro in all countries and all periods. This collection comprises 13,000 pieces of material, including 7,000 books.

Through an inter-library loan service the University Library draws upon the 650,000 volumes found in other Nashville libraries, and upon those in other cities.

The Social Science departmental library has been carefully built up to the end of providing exceptional materials in the field of race relations. The ROBERT E. PARK Collection on Race and Culture consists of 1,500 volumes dealing with problems of race and culture the world over. About 200 volumes from the library of DR. C. LUTHER FRY are another valuable collection. Approximately 5,000 catalogued and classified pamphlets, bound volumes of magazines dealing with social problems and Negro life are available for ready use.

Recreation

The Institute will offer opportunities for fellowship through group discussions, evening lectures, and other informal activities.

The library, of collegiate Gothic architecture, with the Aaron Douglas murals, the Baldridge African Collection, the Rockwell Kent originals, and spacious and comfortable reading rooms, offers a pleasing retreat for study and reading. In addition there will be opportunity for tennis, hikes, outings, recitals, and Little Theater programs.

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION is a Division of the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational and Christian Churches. The Association, formed nearly a century ago, represents a constructive social program among the disadvantaged groups of America—particularly the Negro, Indian, Puerto Rican and Southern Highlander. It pioneered in establishing the first schools for Negroes in the South following emancipation, including Fisk University.

Recently the work of the American Missionary Association Division was expanded to give added emphasis to the problems of race and caste in America through the organization of the department of Race Relations.

FRED L. BROWNLEE
General Secretary

RUTH MORTON
Director of Schools

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
Director of Race Relations Division
and the
Institute of Race Relations

For Further Information Address the Director

Institute of Social Sciences

Fisk University

Nashville 8, Tennessee

The peace will bring nothing but problems, one mounting upon another, and consequently, new urgent tasks for social engineering.

—Gunnar Myrdal

May 15, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I shall count on being at Fisk University on July 13, 14, and 15. Just prior to that I shall be at Chapel Hill going through the very deadly process of packing and moving, but I hope that I will have enough strength left to speak intelligently when I get to Fisk.

When the additional announcements arrive I shall be glad to mail them out to persons who might be interested in the Institute of Race Relations.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

May 11, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
703 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Following up on the matter of the Institute of Race Relations, I would like to suggest that your lectures fall on the 13th, 14th and 15th. The topics which you suggested are entirely agreeable. We are especially interested in the question of minority group movement and strategy, and I hope, without too much strain on you, that it will yield two lectures.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

TENTATIVE OUTLINE OF COURSE OF STUDY

Institute of Race Relations

July 3 - 21, 1944

GROUP I -- RACE AND RACIAL THEORIES July 3-8

Anthropological and psychological aspects of race and race relations; comparative race relations in North and South America, the Caribbean, Africa and India; race and culture problems in modern society, racial attitudes, rumors and public opinion.

GROUP II -- RACIAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS July 10-15

Racial tension areas in the United States; problems of racial adjustment and integration in industry, labor organizations, housing, educational institutions and the church; the management of tensions; the social education of children; the problem of race and relations in the urban community, rural race problems; the interpretation of cultural background factors in the adjustment problems of Negro migrant families; social planning for minorities in the framework of city planning; post-war problems of readjustment.

GROUP III -- METHODS, TECHNIQUES AND COMMUNITY PLANNING July 17-21

Review and analysis of methods and practices in dealing with racial situations, i.e., official and citizens' committees, institutes, pressure groups, legislation, self-surveys, the preparation and use of educational materials for schools, religious and labor groups; work camps, use of radio and visual education; use of music, art and poetry; programs of special organizations.

GROUP IV -- THE ROLE OF PERSONAL RELIGION IN HUMAN RELATIONS July 3-21

June 13, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

You will be interested in the following excerpt from a letter from the Rev. Frank S. Persons, Episcopal minister, Christ Church Rectory, Bastrop, Louisiana:

> "Today's May copy of "The Southern Frontier' caused me to sit down and write to inquire about the Institute of Race Relations to be held at Fisk University; I am hoping that I can arrange to go, and to take Mrs. Persons and our daughter, a pre-medical student at L.S.U. It appears to be most worthwhile."

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

CSJ

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

June 14, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for sending me the excerpt from Reverend Frank S. Persons' letter. I have received a note from him, and further information concerning the Institute of Race Relations has been sent on to him, by way of encouraging him to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

July 5, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

This is just a final note of confirmation with regard to your scheduled lectures at the Institute of Race Relations.

Thursday, July 13 - 3:00 to 4:00 p.m.
"Minority Group Movements and Strategies"

Friday, July 14 - 9:30 to 10:30 a.m.
"Minority Group Movements and Strategies"

Saturday, July 15 - 10:30 to 11:30 a.m.
"Program of the Southern Regional Council"

We have a room reservation for you on the campus, and we are looking forward with a great deal of eagerness to your coming.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

One of our members, Rev. Parsons, Rector of an Episcopal Church in Louisiana hoped that you would have something to say about the Smith-Redding

July 21, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your kind words about my lectures at the Institute of Race Relations. I enjoyed the contacts there very much, and wish that I had had the time to stay for at least a week. Thanks also for the check.

Reid has just called me and said that you are not going to be able to attend the Finance Committee meeting after all. I am awfully sorry to hear this, for we certainly need your wisdom in planning our financial future. We shall give you a full report on the decisions of the Committee.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENN.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Your lectures were just what we had hoped for. They were clear-cut, deliberative and authoritative. Thank you for taking time out from your busy schedule to make the trip to Nashville.

I am enclosing a check covering your travel expense along with a moderate gesture of practical appreciation for your valuable contribution.

With cordial good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 24, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

There are a number of things which might need the attention of the Executive Committee some time soon, such as plans for the fall meeting, details of our action program, our relation to state and local groups, etc.

Would you like to call the Committee together some time in August, preferably after August 12? If you want to set a date, I will be glad to call the Committee together upon your authorization. Two of our members, Bridges and McNamara, find it difficult to attend on Wednesdays.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

July 30, 1944

Dear Johnson:

The Southern Frontier would like to carry a story on the Institute of Race Relations, which was held at Fisk University during the month of July. Will it be possible for some member of your staff to prepare a special story on this subject for us? We shall be very pleased to receive it and will publish it in the August issue. The story should be about 1200 words.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha
C: Dr. Guy Johnson

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

July 31, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I was sorry not to be able to attend the Committee meeting on the 22nd. In fact, when you first notified me that the date could not be changed, I tried to secure reservations to Atlanta for the night of the 21st. However, the final closing down of the Institute made the trip impossible, and I passed on to Dr. Alexander such scattered notions as I had at the time on the matter of financing.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-a

August 11, 1944

Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Department of Sociology
Atlanta University
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Reid:

I have been reading the minutes of the meeting of the Finance Committee of the Southern Regional Council which met in Atlanta on July 22nd. I note references to (a) my verbal assurance of an appropriation of $1,000 from the A.M.A. to the Council; (b) a discussion which Dr. Alexander was to have with me regarding the A.M.A. appropriation and; (c) a proposed conference which you are to have with Mr. Brownlee in New York regarding funds from the A.M.A.

On the matter of the first item, the increase in the appropriation to the Council was to come from the Race Relations Division of the A.M.A. With regard to the second item, although I did ~~not~~ see Dr. Alexander in Chicago after the Atlanta meeting, the matter of A.M.A. finances was not brought up by him.

I have a note from Guy Johnson about the possibility of a meeting in August. This is, I believe, not going to be very convenient for me because there seems to be some insistence that I get out of reach, certainly the latter part of August, for some vacation.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

August 18, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Department of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I think that we should not try to hold the Executive Committee meeting during the month of August. The meeting is not absolutely necessary, and we might as well postpone it to some time in September.

If anybody ever deserved a rest it's you, and I hope that you get away for a real vacation some time soon.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

August 14, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I owe you an apology for this belated reply to your letter of July 24th. It so happened that an emergency trip called me to Chicago, with the subsequent piling up of many very important matters.

However, you have probably already learned from Dr. Reid that I do not believe a meeting of the Committee on Finance would be convenient for me during the month of August since there seems to be some insistence that I get out of reach, certainly the latter part of the month, for some vacation. By this I do not mean, of course, that the meeting should not be held, for I do not have any illusions about the absolute necessity for my presence.

should be Executive

GBJ

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

August 23, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Johnson:

Thank you ever so much for the story on the Institute of Race Relations. We are carrying it in the September issue of the Southern Frontier.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

August 24, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Since Dr. Johnson is out of the city this acknowledgment is being made of the receipt of your letter of the 18th informing him that no Executive Committee meeting will be held during the month of August.

Very truly yours,

H. M. Perry

H. M. Perry

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER	X	NIGHT LETTER	
SPECIAL SERVICE		SHIP RADIOGRAM	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206-B

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

August 30, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

CHANCES OF GETTING SPEAKER FOR ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING BETTER IF WE WAIT UNTIL AFTER ELECTION. WILL YOU AUTHORIZE ME TO POLL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON POSTPONING MEETING TO MIDDLE OF NOVEMBER?

Guy B. Johnson

CHARGE TO: Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

,, QA87 1944 AUG 31 PM 2 55

LE372 DH DM=ATLANTA GA 31

GUY B JOHNSON=

SOUTHERN REG COUNCIL INC 710 STANDARD BLDG HY ATLA=

YOUR TELEGRAM AUG 30TH TO DR CHARLES S JOHNSON FISK UNIVERSITY NASHVILLE TENN IS UNDELIVERED. TELEGRAM WAS FORWARDED TO NEWPORT NEWHAMPSHIRE WHERE R JOHNSON WAS SAID TO BE BUT HE HAS LEFT CITY=

=WESTERN UNION WAL 2100 EXT 227.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

October 1, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

This will introduce Mr. Davis P. Platt, of Philadelphia, a student at present of Columbia University, who plans as a career to go into the field of race relations. During the past summer he has been one of the most active and stimulating members of the Friends Work Camp here in Nashville, and is getting his first acquaintance with the South.

For his visit to Atlanta, it occurred to me that it would be most helpful to him if he could get his general bearings from you, and, accordingly, I ask for him such courtesy and assistance as you can give.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

Fairfields,
Paoli, Penna.

Mail package of lit.
Bill for $1.00
E.K.-10/2/44.

October 4, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Johnson:

Will it be possible for the Southern Regional Council to use the monthly copy of "The Front Page", which is prepared for the bulletin on race relations as one of its monthly releases? If you and the Julius Rosenwald Fund will permit this use, we shall be very glad to give Fisk and the Fund the requisite credit.

Please advise us if you will agree to this sort of arrangement.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha

CSJ approved
for Wayne

October 11, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I noted with much interest your correspondence with Dr. Reid concerning the possibility of the Southern Regional Council's cooperation in the promotion of a series of institutes on race relations in the various Southern states. I should like to see us get to work on this project as soon as possible so that the institutes could be started early in January. Dr. Reid and I shall be thinking about it and will want to discuss it with you at your convenience.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

October 13, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Doctor Johnson:

Dr. Guy B. Johnson and I have talked over the proposals of your letter of September the 30th on the possibilities of holding a series of Institutes on Race Relations in certain Southern States, particularly in Georgia. The proposal meets with our complete approval and we should like very much to cooperate with you in the establishment of these Institutes, and, if possible to further their development within the southern region.

If you will let us know the arrangements under which such cooperation could be effected, and that will include the potential funds for promotion of the conference in the several states. We shall be very glad to probe further into the very practical arrangements that the Southern Regional Council could perfect. I may say that we are willing to undertake this program on a wide scale on or about the first of the year.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

September 30, 1944

Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Department of Sociology
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Reid:

One of the suggestions from responsible Southern leaders growing out of our Institute of Race Relations during the past summer was that there might be considerable benefits to the regions if there could be a series of State institutes of race relations. These institutes would, of course, be of briefer duration but would keep to a high standard with respect to leadership, lecturers and membership.

A proposal has come to assist on the organization of such an institute in Arkansas. It occurred to me that there might be a great deal of value in exploring the situation in Georgia. I would like to get your opinion about the feasibility of such a venture. Do you think the Southern Regional Council would like to collaborate on a thing of this sort in Georgia, or do it itself.

We could offer some technical assistance in the organization of such an institute through the Race Relations Program of the American Missionary Association. The experience in working out details, through the same personnel that worked on the AMA institute, could be provided for the work with the local leadership.

In addition, I have some indication of the possibility of funds for State groups, to cover the expenses of lecturers and essential fellowships for persons who could spend the required period of intensive work in the institute.

The institute could be held at any time regarded as appropriate by the State group. One suggestion that seems to have merit was that the lecturers and consultants might be divided in this way -- one-half from qualified persons in the State; one fourth from qualified persons from anywhere in the South; and one-fourth from qualified persons from the North, if this were necessary in order to get the country's best specialists in certain fields.

The State group would handle the arrangements, select the setting and invite persons in to membership in the institute.

This is merely a rough outline of the possibility, and I would be pleased if you would let me have your own thinking about it, and perhaps talk with such persons as have an interest in this field.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

October 20, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I have your letter of October 11th. Regarding the possibility of the Southern Regional Council's cooperation in the promotion of a series of institutes on race relations in the various Southern states, we hope to follow this up in a conference with you and Ira Reid as soon as possible. If there is a meeting in Atlanta in the near future which we are expected to attend we can take it up then. If you are going to be in this neighborhood or could come we could meet here, or in some other city if our paths can cross, and discuss the details.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-h

I have said substantially the same thing to Reid

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

November 6, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy Johnson:

I have a note from Miss Belle Boone Beard of Sweet Briar College, asking about 100 copies of the Southern Frontier (strange to say) for my article summarizing methods and techniques suggested at our Race Relations Institute. It is not important enough for reprinting, but what are the chances of her getting, without too much expense, a hundred copies of the paper. I suppose if it were necessary and the cost not too great we could help out on the purchase.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj:h

November 8, 1944

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Department of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Johnson:

Has the Front Page been discontinued? In preparing the copy for October, I realized that I had not seen an issue since the August one. Please let me know if you wish me to continue its preparation.

You may be interested in knowing that the "Races of Mankind" exhibit is being seen by a number of white persons. Dr. Mildred Mell of Agnes Scott College is giving course credit to students who visit the exhibit. So far, several of them have been in attendance.

Meanwhile, the Southern Regional Council has asked the following organizations to show the exhibit in other parts of the city: CIO-PAC, Y.M.C.A., National Conference of Christians and Jews, Glenn Memorial Church and Emory University.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson and I think it might be well that Mr. Long come to Atlanta on November 15th or 16th for a discussion of the proposed State Race Relations Institute.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha

P.S. Where shall we send the exhibit when it closes next week?

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

October 30, 1944

Dear Reid:

This is a partial reply to your letter of the 28th which was relayed to me in Chicago.

I am having my office send you a photograph for use in connection with the graduate seminar.

Secondly, I hadn't realized that the express bill on the exhibit was going to be quite so much. If there are any problems about the handling of the total bill through People's College, I will try to find a way of sharing that cost, in addition to waiving the rental. It would be worth the effort if there could be worked out some means of getting it exhibited where it would be available to white students and public. Do you think this possible?

I believe the best move on the state institutes is to have Long come down to Atlanta.

And more later,

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-ea

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

November 10, 1944

Exec. Committee - Dr. Chas S. J.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We have sent Miss Belle Boone Beard 100 copies of the September issue of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER. Since the cost of these is only about $2.00, we are not saying anything about paying for them.

Your letter of October 20 got misplaced somehow, else I would have replied immediately. Since you will no doubt be coming here for the Council meeting on December 6, I am assuming that you and Reid and I can discuss in detail the institutes of race relations. Mrs. Grant was in my office this morning, and we had some little discussion of the institutes.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Charge to the account of SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. $

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WESTERN UNION

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J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

November 16, 1944

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SHOULD MEET ON DAY BEFORE ANNUAL MEETING. IS

2 P. M. DECEMBER 5 ALL RIGHT WITH YOU?

Guy B. Johnson
[redacted]

PAID
Charge to: Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

file

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

November 21, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I have talked with Dr. Alexander, and he has my general sentiments and suggestions and is going to be present at the December meeting. Unfortunately, necessity for making a trip to Haiti has blasted a great many of my plans, and there is no prospect for being back before the middle of December.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

Saw C.S.J. in Washington, Nov. 23.

January 18, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Your letter of January 16 arrived today. Dr. Johnson is out of the city, but will return early next week.

We have sent a copy of the Durham Statement to Professor Larsen, and are sending you fifty copies of our Southern Regional Council Pamphlet No. 1 which contains the Durham Statement as an appendix. Perhaps these will be helpful in answering the requests you have there. Please accept them with our compliments.

Miss Clay has made note that you will be here for the meeting on the 31st.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Johnson

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

January 16, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy Johnson:

We are out of copies of the Durham Statement. I wonder if you would be good enough to send one, if you have a supply on hand, to Professor A. L. Larsen, Wm. Woods College, Fulton, Missouri.

Perhaps I ought to ask also if you have enough on hand to let us have a few more, with or without cost, to answer the occasional requests that come in for this statement.

I am planning to be available for the Executive Committee meeting on the 31st.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

January 20, 1945

Miss Jane T. Martin
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Martin:

May I thank you for your note of the 18th. We will be very glad to get the fifty copies of the Southern Regional Council Pamphlet No. 1 which contains the Durham Statement. We shall be glad to exchange literature with you, if we develop anything that you can use.

Thank you also for sending a copy of the Durham statement to Mr. Larsen.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

csj-p

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

January 20, 1945

Dear Reid:

Here is the check for $100.00 which was promised, to offset some of the expense which you incurred in connection with the "Races of Mankind" exhibit.

Also, a check for $25.00 is enclosed, covering payment for "The Front Page" for the period December 17, 1944 - January 17, 1945.

Best wishes.

Sincerely ~~yours~~,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Department of Sociology
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

63 Auburn Avenue Room 432

January 25, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Department of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

If you will refer to previous correspondence from Mr. Lawrence to Dr. Johnson, you will have the background for this present interpretation of a Race Relations Institute to be held in Atlanta during March 1945.

Last week Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Executive Secretary of the Atlanta Urban League and Mrs. Mildred Chester of the Social Planning Council, has a lengthy discussion on the probability of developing in Atlanta, an institute or a workshop that would encompass the problems of race relations without using the term since it might not appeal to the types of people we wish to reach. We felt that a discussion of the problems and techniques of adequately handling human relations in one specific field, other than the ministry or education, would be a unique one and have a distinct value in Atlanta. We, therefore, agreed upon the promotion of a work conference on "Techniques in Human Relations" to be sponsored by the Atlanta Urban League in cooperation with the American Missionary Association, the Social Planning Council and the Southern Regional Council sometime during late March.

It was believed that this should be a one-day conference to which we would invite persons who are connected with the functioning social agencies of the community, the agencies that are doing volunteer work in the whole field of social welfare and, agencies that have a perfect interest in the whole question of human relations. It was believed that there might be three sessions with this conference. At a morning and afternoon session, there would be a speaker and a technical discussant; in the evening session there would be a lecture meeting that might serve also as the Annual Meeting of the Atlanta Urban League. It would be particularly desirable at this time to discuss the development of a code

of human practices with respect to race. It was also felt that a very elaborate exhibit of materials in the whole field of race relations would be utilized at this conference. This plan is in the beginning stage, concrete suggestions, so to speak, have not yet been made. We are referring it to you, however, for your attention and for any suggestions and cooperation that you might deem worthwhile and feasible at this time.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR:rha
cc:
Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton

December 29, 1944

Mr. Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Lawrence:

Please forgive me for waiting so long to reply to your letter of December 14. We have simply had more than we could do and we tried to get a brief period of rest during the Christmas holidays.

As far as we have been able to give attention to the matter of holding a state institute of race relations in Georgia, our thinking is as follows. We would try to get several organizations interested in sponsoring the institute. These would include the Georgia Interracial Committee, the Urban League, etc., in addition to the SRC. We feel that the institute should probably be a public affair, running two or three days and meeting at some down-town place rather than on the campus of Atlanta University. It is also our thought that it would be better to use a theme such as "Georgia Faces Demobilization" rather than to confine the conference to race relations.

As for speakers, we have thought of Channing Tobias and E. C. Lindeman from outside the South; Frank Graham from the Southern region outside of Georgia; and from Georgia, B. O. Williams, University of Georgia; Mr. Carmichael, Atlanta business man; Ira De A. Reid, Atlanta; and Horace M. Bond, Fort Valley. As for a date for the institute, we can only say at present that our own schedule is so heavy that we don't see how we could possibly get ready before late March or April.

We recently discussed the proposed institute with the local members of our Executive Committee. They think well of the idea, but they raise the question of whether we can devote time to the promotion of several state institutes and still do the more important things on SRC program. They have a good point there, and I had better warn you that unless we get more personnel on our staff right away, we will probably be of very little use to you in setting up the state institutes.

It would be very helpful if you could come down and meet with a local group for the purpose of working out further details. Let us know well ahead so that we can keep a clear schedule. All good wishes for the new year.

Sincerely yours,

GBJ:m

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

December 29, 1944

Mr. Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Lawrence:

Please forgive me for waiting so long to reply to your letter of December 14. We have simply had more than we could do and we tried to get a brief period of rest during the Christmas holidays.

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Sincerely yours,

GBJ:m

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

FISK UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

MONTHLY SUMMARY OF
EVENTS AND TRENDS IN
RACE RELATIONS

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

December 14, 1944

STAFF
PEARL L. WALKER
CHARLES R. LAWRENCE, JR.
RACHEL B. NOEL

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Lindeman
B.O. Williams
Carmichael
C. of Commerce
Ira Reid
man from W. Ga. College, Carrollton
H.M. Bond
Frank Graham
Ch. Tobias

Several weeks ago Herman Long was in Atlanta and talked to you about the possibility of holding a state institute of race relations in Georgia. According to him, your office is to supply us with a memorandum setting forth the kind of institute best suited to the Georgia situation. As I understand it, this statement is to include your suggestions concerning the emphases for the institute, possible lecturers, and probable use of the materials of the Georgia Fact Finding Commission. It would also help if your memorandum could include tentative dates for the institute. Please send us this statement as soon as it is convenient.

We are preparing a list of possible lecturers, together with the contribution which each of them can best make, for use in planning the state institutes. Your memorandum will help us in preparing this list.

In our staff division of labor, I am charged with the major responsibility in setting up the state institutes. It is for this reason that I am following up Mr. Long's visit. Incidentally, we shall need to work out together ways in which we can best cooperate in promoting state institutes outside of Georgia.

My heartiest good wishes for the holiday season.

Cordially yours,

Chas. R. Lawrence

Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.

crl-w

Identical letter to Dr. Reid.

CSJ

March 17, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

I tried to reach you by telephone, but found that you were away until some time next week. I believe Reid talked to Lawrence a few days ago and told him about some changes in our plans for the conference here on April 11-13.

Originally we had planned to have a more or less local three-day affair with one day devoted to the South's economic potentials, one day to education, and one to law enforcement and race relations. In lining up our outside experts for the economic phases, our Washington man, Lawrence Drake, went the whole hog and got five or six men from Washington to promise to speak. It has seemed best, therefore, to make it a special two-day conference on the theme of "The South's Economic Outlook." A tentative program is enclosed.

You will notice that the list of speakers includes some of the best government experts on agriculture, industry, and labor. We will use one or two local experts, and there may be another Washington man added to the list.

This sort of program should draw quite a large local attendance, and so we have arranged to use the ballroom at the Biltmore Hotel. As for outside attendance, we have to control that in order not to run into ODT regulations. We plan, therefore, to invite an average of three persons from each Southern state. These will be white and Negro leaders in business, agriculture, and labor.

In the meantime, Dr. Alexander lined up Mr. Theo Hall for us, and we are going ahead with a small conference on law enforcement and race relations after the other conference, which will mean, probably, the evening of April 12 and the morning of April 13. The plan is to have ~~the~~ public sessions with a speech by Mr. Hall and one by Dan Rosenfelder, Director of Public Safety, Miami, Florida, if he will consent to come, and a closed session at which these men would confer with a selected group of police chiefs and mayors from Georgia.

All this is a bit different from what we had originally planned, but since we are confronted with this opportunity to do a big job on the South's economic problems, we thought we had better grab it. I don't know what the American Missionary Association's attitude will be toward assisting us financially in this project. We hope, of course, that they will be willing to subsidize it, but if they are not, we shall have to find some way of taking care of it ourselves.

I hope that you will plan to be here for these meetings, and I shall appreciate your suggesting eight or ten Negro leaders who should be invited from the various Southern states.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

March 20, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I have your letter of the 17th about the developing plans for the Georgia Institute. It seems to me that you have stirred up a much more interesting possibility for high powered and effective speakers than the original program planned. The A.M.A. will, of course, follow this lead and continue to underwrite the program where this support is essential.

You ask that I suggest eight or ten Negro leaders who should be invited from the various southern states. As I think over the possibilities, they are the same old chestnuts that you probably would think of yourself. Offhand, I would mention: Attorney Z. Alexander Looby, Nashville; Patterson at Tuskegee; Dent at Dillard; Maceo Smith in Dallas; Charles Gomillion at Tuskegee; Louis Burnham of Birmingham; Roscoe Dungee by way of drawing in another person from the Southern Conference on Human Welfare; Giles Hubert of this institution (in rural economics-he was formerly with Dr. Alexander in the FSA); Forrester Washington; Gordon Hancock, I suppose; P. B. Young of Norfolk; and the labor man from New Orleans who was a part of the original group that framed the Durham statement.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

March 30, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

I want to report that our plans have undergone a further change since I wrote you. We have had so much difficulty in lining up Southern speakers for our law enforcement conference that we have decided it is best to postpone that part of our program until some time in May. The post-war economy conference has grown to such proportions it has taken so much of our time anyway that we really could not do justice to the law enforcement subject if we tried to take it on to the end of the economy conference.

Since our Washington speakers are not costing us anything, and since we shall be out relatively little expense for the post-war economy meeting, we will bear the whole cost and sponsor it as a Council affair. However, we would like to have the law enforcement conference in cooperation with the Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association and we hope that the offer of a subsidy still holds good. With more time to plan this conference, we feel that we can do a bang-up job. Mrs. Havens is going to give us some time, beginning April 1, and her first job will be to help us line up the speakers and visitors to this conference. We have told Mr. Theo Hall about the postponement, and asked him to let us know the dates he has open in May.

I certainly hope that you are going to be able to attend the post-war economy meeting on April 11-12. I am enclosing a copy of the program. I was counting on a speaker on the subject of "The Negro and The Economy of the South," but this did not pan out. Mr. Milton seemed reluctant to do it, and Dr. Patterson had a previous engagement in Washington.

Please let me know ~~by~~wire whether you can come. It looks as if Dr. Odum will not be able to make it. Mrs. Odum is returning to the hospital, and he will not know until late next week whether he will be able to come.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(20)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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1945 APR 2 PM 5 26

LB552 DL PD=NASHVILLE TENN 2 504P

DR GUY B JOHNSON=

TU ATLANTA

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE SOUTHEAST

TU ATLA=

UNFORTUNATELY WILL BE IN PITTSBURGH APRIL 11 AND 12 SINCE AMA CO-SPONSORSHIP ON POST WAR CONFERENCE UNNECESSARY WILL CONSIDER IF WHOLLY A COUNCIL AFFAIR WILL WIRE YOU FURTHER ABOUT LATER LAW ENFORCEMENT INSTITUTE=

CHARLES S JOHNSON FISK DEPT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

11 12

dell drop in am

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

April 9, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Department of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

Thanks for your letter of April 6. I think you are quite right in saying that it might be difficult to stage another effective conference within a month of the conference on post-war economy, and I am glad to say that it now looks as if our law enforcement conference will not come until late in May. I have just received word from Mr. Theo Hall that the last week in May is the only free time which he will have during that month. This will give us plenty of time to prepare for a good conference. Mrs. Havens and Mrs. Tilly are going to help us with some preliminary contacts with police officials whom we want to bring into the conference.

I am awfully sorry that you won't be able to be with us this week, but I know what a busy schedule you have. April must be a particularly busy month, judging from the number of people who have not been able to accept invitations to the conference.

We are eternally grateful to you for your part in helping us to retrieve the $7500 from last year's appropriation by the Rosenwald Fund. It has come in, and we are feeling much better. All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

April 6, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Following up my telegram about the conference on the South's postwar economy, may I say that after discussing this matter with Long and Lawrence, who have been working on the state institutes, it seems to us that if the postwar economy meeting goes over as big as we hope it will, it might be difficult to do another effective conference or institute a month later. We are quite willing to work with the idea suggested regarding the law enforcement conference. Lawrence will arrange, within the next few days, to have a talk with you and Reid, in Atlanta, while he is out in connection with some discussions in Mississippi and Louisiana. If it seems feasible to go ahead with the plans for the law enforcement conference, our offer of subsidy will still hold good.

I am very sorry that it is going to be impossible for me to attend the postwar economy meeting on April 12th, because of a commitment in Pittsburgh that I see no way of getting changed. However, I feel that ~~I feel that~~ I have done a part of my bit on the Council program in working with the Executive Committee of the Rosenwald Fund which eventually decided to retrieve the $7500. It goes on this year's budget, and by now you should have received it, or received notice of it.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

April 30, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, 8, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

Thank you for sending me the announcement of the second Institute of Race Relations which will be held at Fisk University July 2-21. We shall be glad to carry a notice about the Institute in the Southern Frontier.

I am looking forward to seeing you here next week. There are a lot of things to talk about.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

April 25, 1945

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER
Southern Regional Council
Dr. Guy B. Johnson
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This note comes to thank you for the item which appeared in your magazine last year concerning the Institute of Race Relations and to ask if you would be willing to carry a similar item about the Institute this year.

We are enclosing one of the Announcements of the Institute which will be held at Fisk University July 2nd to 21st.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

Charles S. Johnson

G.B.J.

csj:la
encl:

May 3, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

Enclosed is a memorandum prepared by Clyde Robinson on the possible observational job that might be done as we approach the post war period. He is hopeful that there might be some plan worked out whereby he could undertake this type of work as a joint project of Fisk and the Southern Regional Council.

Robinson is pretty blue about not getting the Rosenwald fellowship. He was supposed to go off our payroll on May 1, but we are keeping him on for a while.

I talked with Dr. Odum about calling the Executive Committee for May 8, but he has an engagement which he can't possibly break. I think it is very important for both of you to be at the next meeting, and we do need a meeting as soon as we can get it. What other dates in May would be suitable to you? Dr. Odum says he can come any time except next week.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure
Robinson's memo
m

June 13, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Charles:

I got back to the office yesterday after a trip to Texas. Miss Clay told me about your telephone call concerning the request for a special appropriation by the Rosenwald Fund to cover the special veterans program which Dr. Mitchell is to begin soon. I take it that you saw the letter of June 8 which Miss Clay wrote to Dr. Embree over my signature, but I am sending a copy to you and Dr. Odum for your files.

I talked to Dr. Odum on the telephone just before I left for Texas. His understanding was that Dr. Mitchell was to send him a memorandum setting forth a tentative budget for the veterans work, and that this memorandum was to be the basis of our request to the Rosenwald Fund. Dr. Mitchell has not submitted a memorandum yet, but I hope our letter of June 8 was sufficient to take care of the formalities so that the GI program can be started when Dr. Mitchell arrives next week.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

June 15, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

My dual role as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council and officer of the Rosenwald Fund placed me in a kind of position in which I had to try to reach you by telephone, from Chicago, suddenly, if there was to be any action on the G.I.program by the Fund in time to begin the program in the Council. Obviously, the Executive Committee, which was meeting at the time, could not intelligently take action on the program without some kind of request. I was able to explain the circumstances sufficiently to get the committee adequately informed, as a basis for its vote. I did this, however, as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council, which had reached the step and discussed possibilities of the program along with the question of the availability of Dr. Mitchell. There was no way of knowing that Dr. Odum was expecting from Dr. Mitchell a memorandum setting forth a tentative budget of the veterans work, but delay at this point would have, I believe, had some effect on the Fund. There is still time for Dr. Mitchell to develop the budget for the veterans work, because it is assumed that the Rosenwald grant covers only a portion of the support, but was sufficient to permit him to begin work on the program.

In view of the action taken by the American Council on Race Relations, creating a sub-committee to explore the question, it seemed desirable to have that information passed on to Dr. Mitchell so that he could be present at the first meeting of this sub-committee, in Washington, on June 19th. Dr. Mitchell has indicated that he will be present at that meeting.

The letter as framed by Miss Clay for you had not reached Chicago at the time of my departure. However, that was not so important so long as I knew it would be coming. I have read the copy of it which you sent to me, and it seems quite adequate for the purpose.

I am expecting to be present for the next meeting of the Executive Committee, June 27th.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

P.S. I have just had a note from Mr. Porterfield and Mr. Barnwell of the Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation telling about the interesting sessions of the Institute which you and Dr. Nicholson attended and participated in. I understand that you are planning to return to Texas when they hold an Immediate Action Committee conference.

July 17, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Director
Department of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

Thanks for your note concerning Dr. Stokes' letter about the capitalization of Negro in a Duke University Press book. I am writing to a couple of friends at Duke who will be in a position to exercise some influence on the Duke University Press. My impression is that the Duke Press has published several works since Eaton's book and have followed the style of capitalizing the word Negro.

I am glad to know that the Institute has gotten off to such a good start. Mrs. Tilley seems to have had a fine time there last week.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:w

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

July 11, 1945

Dear Guy Johnson:

I am in receipt of a letter from Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes who has recently read and been much impressed with the book Freedom of Thought in the Old South published by the Duke University Press, and written by Eaton. He commented, however, upon the fact that the capital N in Negro was consistently omitted, and wondered if you could take it up with the Duke University Press, so I am passing it along to you.

You might be interested to know that our Institute has gotten off to a grand start. During the first week we had a membership of about one hundred person and it continues to grow.

With cordial good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 2, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Only the fact that I had the Junaluska Missionary Conference on my hands prevented me from writing you sooner my letter of appreciation of the Race Relations Institute. It was by far the most stimulating experience I have had this year, and I deeply regret that it was not possible for me to be there the entire time.

Please do not be distressed about any misunderstanding there may have been about the board bill. My regret is that I even asked the registrar about it, because the conference was worth far more than this to me.

I had hopes of seeing Dr. Alexander at Junaluska as he was to speak at my seminar, but for some reason he did not get there. I have written to him about the suggestion of the A.M.A. diverting $1500 from its funds from the SRC to the Georgia political project I discussed with you, and the Rosenwald Fund reimbursing the Council.

I hope this arrangement can be made, but I will certainly have to know something definite in the next few days or it will be too late to get in on the ground floor of the platforms of the various candidates. I hope you and Dr. Alexander will confer about this, and let me know very soon. I have gone as far as I can go in formulating the plans for the organization of the Georgia women until funds are assured.

With every good wish to you and Mrs. Johnson, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

MRS. M. E. TILLY

MET:m

August 3, 1945

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your note and the excerpt from Colonel Hamilton's letter concerning Governor Arnall's article in Collier's Magazine.

I have written the editor of Collier's and have asked for permission to reprint the article. As soon as I hear from him I shall let you know.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

July 31, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am sending on an excerpt from a letter received from Colonel West A. Hamilton, in which I thought you might be interested. What do you think of his suggestion?

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

CSJ

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

C

O

P

Y

Secretary of War's Discharge Review Board
Room 4247 Munitions Building

WAR DEPARTMENT

Washington, D. C.

23 July 1945

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I am quite sure that you have by this time read the splendid article on Collier's for July 21st on "Revolution Down South."

I was thrilled as I read it and so impressed am I by its sincerity as well as its potentialities for good that I am writing to you as a member of the Southern Interracial Conference to suggest that some use be made of it.

Could not reproduction rights be secured and this article be distributed where it will do the most good, not by the hundreds or thousands, yea by the millions.

What do you think of the idea?

In this connection, I should like to have a modest part in raising the necessary wherewithal.

. . . . . .

Faithfully yours

WEST A. HAMILTON,
Colonel, Infantry

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

August 4, 1945

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am glad you found the Institute interesting. From our point of view your own contribution did much to make it so.

Dr. Alexander's physical difficulty has continued although he is definitely improving. Our discussion of the special program which you had in mind was left suspended. My suggestion was personal and exploratory, although I believe it could be materialized fairly promptly if it seemed the wisest procedure.

Unless Dr. Alexander is able to make the trip to Chicago there will not be much chance of a conference before September. I suggest that you write or telephone him at Chapel Hill, where he is confined, for such general advice as you wish and let him wire or telephone me or Mr. Embree in Chicago, if possible, about August 8th or 9th. I will take up with my Board the A.M.A. part of the arrangement.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

P.S. On the matter of the check referred to, I would like to know if it was received by you. Vacations are on, and although the check was drawn I have no record that it was received.

Charge to the account of SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., 63 Auburn Avenue, NE $

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

818145

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Letter just received from Dr. Alexander quote I'm glad you talked with Charles Johnson. His suggestion is excellent. I will support him in it with Embree and I am sure we have an excellent chance of arranging it. Johnson and Embree are both on vacation throughout August. The three of us meet September 4 in Chicago. We will push the matter at that time and wire you the result unquote. The pressure of time is upon us and if possible should know decision sooner than September 1.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

PAID

August 21, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

First of all, I want to beg your pardon for not making it clear to you that I did receive the check while I was at Nashville.

Your letter of the 15th was received Saturday, and I appreciate your interest in the matter, and have written to Dr. Alexander asking him if there is anything definite we can do.

In the meantime, the political picture of Georgia is becoming more and more intricate and interesting.

With every good wish to you, I remain

Yours sincerely,

MRS. M. E. TILLY

MET:m

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

August 15, 1945

Dear Mrs. Tilly: I took up the matter which we discussed with Mr. Embree just before he left for his vacation (to return after Labor Day). While he approved the project, he raised a question (not final) about the propriety of the Fund's making a further appropriation to the Council, even in the substitute manner suggested. The question was solely on the matter of the disproportionate volume of support already being provided by the Fund.

Meanwhile, I have written Mr. Brownlee regarding our AMA grant of $1,000 to the Council. I do not know how seriously the Council depends upon this AMA grant. It is not automatic and not fixed, but it was tentatively in our race relations budget again for this year.

How does Dr. Guy Johnson feel about the shift, or have you talked over this phase of the matter with him as yet? In view of the need for early action, as suggested in your telegram, would the Council consider this re-allocation prejudicial to its work or an autonomous part of its larger program.

I expect to be back in Nashville around the twentieth, and by that time I should know where we stand on our end.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

CSJ:MM

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 22, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

As Miss Clay informed you, it was necessary to call off the regular meeting of the Executive Committee scheduled for August 22 on account of the impossibility of getting a quorum. This was very disappointing, of course, because there are a number of important things which should come before the Executive Committee. Also, in view of the fact that we can now probably count on holding our annual meeting on the second Wednesday in October, it seems important that we get the Executive Committee together as soon as possible.

The regular date for the informal meeting with the Atlanta members of the Committee would be September 26, but if we wait that long to hold the next meeting of the full Committee it will be only two weeks before the annual meeting. I suggest that you let us have several dates on which you could attend a called meeting. I am making the same suggestion to Dr. Odum. When we get a date on which you and Dr. Odum are sure to be able to attend, I should like to have your authorization to call a meeting of the Executive Committee.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

August 30, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Department of Social Sciences
Nashville 6, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

Thanks very much for your letter of August 29. I know how hard it is to work in these committee meetings when you already have twice as much to do as any person ought to be doing.

I have just wired you about wanting the Executive Committee to meet on September 18. Since Dr. Odum has indicated that he can come "around the 15th", I am hoping that September 18 will also be satisfactory with him.

I appreciate your comment on the Journal and Guide matter. As I said to Mr. Young, I need only one guess as to who wrote the letter which he quoted in his second editorial. Said member has been carrying on a subtle campaign of obstruction and defeatism ever since the Council began. I'll bet that her face was red when she saw her letter published in the Journal and Guide for she probably never intended for it to see the light of day.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director.

GBJ:IBT

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
AUG 30 1945
Southern Regional Council

August 29, 1945

Dear Guy Johnson:

I can understand the problem of getting a meeting of the Executive Committee because I know the difficulty of getting any order into my own schedule for September, when everything is trying to happen. I have pushed aside my eastern conferences since June but cannot do so any longer, it seems. Thus, I shall have to spend the first week of September in New York and Washington and be in Chicago most of the second week. I can be available for a date between September 15th and 21st, if this will help any.

I note a partial commitment for a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare on the 11th, in Atlanta. I am not very optimistic about being able to meet this, however.

Thank you for the copy of the editorial from the Norfolk Journal and Guide, and your reply. I had read these in the Guide and I think your reply was complete and convincing. Mr. Young's reference to the white member who wrote a letter charging that the Council is not planning to be effective prompts me to the speculation that the letter itself had more of a personal than social motivation. I do not understand why, if the letter carried demonstrable truths and more aggressiveness was necessary, the writer should have to remain anonymous. This, I think, should not trouble us too much.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

September 28, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We have heard from Dr. Trigg and he is accepting the position of the associate directorship. He is in process of getting his release arranged from his college and he does not want any public announcement made until this is settled.

I believe Dr. Reid sent you some suggestions for persons who might serve on the committee to look over the segregation study and make recommendations. As soon as we get word from you we will get this committee in operation.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
OCT 9 1945
Southern Regional Council

October 8, 1945

Dear Guy Johnson:

I hope my telegram from Chicago about the sub-committee to work with Reid on the segregation materials was sufficient. That was a matter which I should have concluded before leaving Atlanta, and had the opportunity to talk over names with you.

I am also glad that Dr. Trigg has accepted the position of associate director~~ship~~. The organization seems to be gathering momentum and picking up some good people who can relieve you of many of the details that have kept you over-burdened.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. -- Room 423
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 8, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

Thank you for your note concerning the Director of Agencies in Race Relations, which has been sent to us by the Julius Rosenwald Fund. It is a fine piece of work and I am sure that we will find it very useful in our own activities.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

November 7, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 7 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

It occurred to me that you might find useful a copy of a handbook which has just been completed in the office of the Rosenwald Fund. It is being sent under another cover.

This handbook provides information about several hundred organizations and agencies, throughout the country, devoting a part or all of their time to promoting democracy. In these times when we hear so much about the forces of destruction it is at least worth knowing that there are other forces at work trying to make a better world for all of the people.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

December 18, 1945

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Director
Department of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville, 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Here's a report on the replies which we have had so far to our letter to the Board members concerning their advice with respect to the matter of a new name for The Southern Frontier. Counting a first choice as 3 points, a second choice as 2 points, and a third choice as 1 point, the score is: Southern Frontier, 37; South Tomorrow, 25; The South, 19; Forward South, 19; New Frontier, 18; Tomorrow's South, 17; and on down to a lot of miscellaneous low scores.

Dombrowski advises us that the Southern Conference has not definitely settled on the use of The New South as the title for their educational press. I will make a final check on this by wire or telephone with Clark Foreman. If they are not going to use the name, I suppose we can go ahead with it a as originally planned. If they are going to use it or are still undecided, I shall send a memorandum and ballot to the Executive Committee.

Mr. Haas advises me that the joint membership at $3.00 cannot be put into effect until we amend the by-laws. I suppose we will either have to wait until the next annual meeting or try to make this amendment through a mail ballot of the members.

Christmas greetings and best wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
DEC 14 1945
Southern Regional Council

December 12, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy Johnson:

I think the matter of the new name for The Southern Frontier can be handled by mail, because in the final decision the judgment of the staff will count most heavily.

On the other matter mentioned in your letter of the 3rd, I favor joint memberships of $3.00, and I would favor a poll of the Executive Committee in order to make it official.

I sincerely regret the delay in getting off this reply, but as is the case more often than not I have been out of the city.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

January 17, 1946

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

Thanks for your note of January 12. I am sorry that probably you cannot attend the February 27 meeting of the Executive Committee. I know how overburdened you are and believe me, we all appreciate the many good things you are able to do for the Council.

Reid and I hope to see Charles Dollard early in February to discuss with him the possibility of financial support for the enlarged study of segregation.

We have a sizeable membership in Tennessee now. Do you agree that it is wise to call a meeting of Tennessee members and organize a state division in the near future? If so, should the meeting be held in Nashville or would some other place be better? How would sometime in March suit your own convenience?

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

January 12, 1946

RECEIVED
JAN 14 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy Johnson:

I have been remiss on a number of items but in an over-all and, I think, tangible way I have been at least carrying a part of my responsibility in connection with the Executive Committee of the Council. I have your note giving me the schedule of the meetings. It looks as if February 27th is out for me, but the other dates are possible, and I am so noting these on my calendar now.

With cordial good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

9

January 30, 1946

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 6, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Your letter of January 28 to Dr. Guy B. Johnson was received today.

Dr. Johnson is away now on a trip to Florida, but will return the latter part of the week to go to New York to see Mr. Dollard on the segregation study. He and Dr. Reid have an appointment with Mr. Dollard Monday afternoon, February 4.

Concerning a meeting of the Tennessee members, I believe sometime in March would be satisfactory for Dr. Johnson, too. He has some engagements the first part of March which will take him to another state, but the remainder of the month is clear on his calendar with the exception of the 26th and 27th. Dr. Johnson will probably want to write you further concerning this next week.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison
Office Manager

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

January 28, 1946

RECEIVED
JAN 30 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Guy Johnson:

This is just a hasty note to say that I talked with Dr. Alexander over long distance the other day, and we are expecting you and Reid to see Dollard on the segregation study.

I think it would be well to try to call a meeting of Tennessee members of the Council. I suppose you would have to find out from them the preferred place of meeting. I cannot say much about my exact schedule until after the first of February, but right now it looks as if some time in March would be o.k. for me.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

February 14, 1946

RECEIVED
FEB 16 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Guy Johnson:

Evidently in somebody's course in race relations there has been a hazy reference to the work of the Council. While the organization is not mentioned, there is a request for "a copy of the covenant, a list of the charter members and officers, a copy of the constitution and by-laws, and whatever other printed material you might have available which will help me to understand the organization." (You will recall that a similar request was referred to your office several days ago.) The current request is from Miss Virgie Lake Camper, 103 Pine Street, Cambridge, Maryland. Can you be of any help here.

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

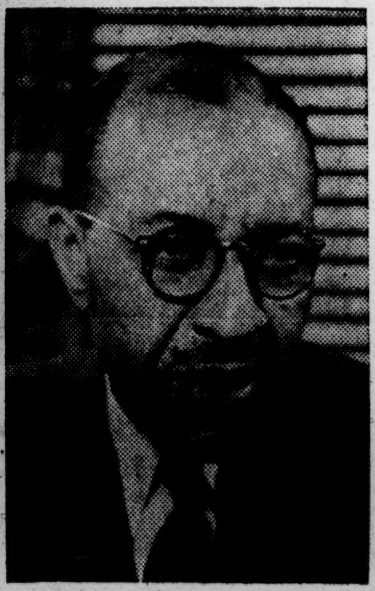
~~check~~ -

We have written her -
SBT

Charles S. Johnson Goes To Japan On U.S. Mission

Chicago Defender 3/2/46

NASHVILLE — Dr. Charles S. Johnson, eminent sociologist and director of the Department of Social Science at Fisk University, left the United States for Japan this week with the American Education Commission.



DR. CHARLES JOHNSON

The commission was organized at the request of General Douglas MacArthur and will formulate a new program of education in Japan. The trip is being made by plane.

Dr. Johnson, a member of the Fisk faculty for 17 years is trustee of the Rosenwald Fund, director of the Race Relations Program of the American Missionary Association and president of the Southern Sociological Association, the first Negro to hold this position. He was the American member and secretary of the commission appointed by the League of Nations to investigate forced labor in Liberia in 1930, and served on former President Herbert Hoover's conference on Home Building and Home Ownership in 1931.

Author of numerous articles and books, he is a recognized world authority on race and culture. Among his books are the Negro College Graduate and Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties, both of which were published by the University of North Carolina Press. In 1943 Harper Brothers published his book, "Patterns of Negro Segregation."

Dr. Johnson was awarded a citation of merit by the Alumni Association of the University of Chicago last year. He also holds the Ainsfield Award for 1938 and the Harmon Gold Medal for 1930.

Among other members of the commission are: Dr. George Stoddard, of New York, chairman of the commission; Dean Virginia Gildersleeve, of Barnard College; Dr. Willard E. Givens, executive secretary of the National Education Association; and Dr. Gordon Bowles, representing the State Department.

March 14, 1946

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
c/o Brigadier General Ken E. Dyke
Chief, Civilian Information and Education Section
AHQ AFPAC APO 500, c/o Postmaster
San Francisco, California

Dear Dr. Johnson:

At the recent meeting of the Executive Committee all of us missed you very much. Everyone regretted that you could not be with us, but everyone was proud of the fact that you had been chosen to go on the educational mission to Japan.

The Committee voted to send you this message of greetings and felicitations on your mission and best wishes for a pleasant journey. We are all looking forward to your return.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

Copy for KBJ

April 26, 1946

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

You were missed at the meeting of our Executive Committee in February, and we are looking forward to the time when we may hear something of your trip to Japan. Please plan now to come to the next quarterly meeting -- Wednesday May 22!

While you were away I wrote to Miss Wernert in the A.M.A. office to ask when we might expect payment of the balance of the appropriation of $1,000 toward which we received $250 in July 1945 described as "the quarterly grant made by The American Missionary Association Division to apply against the current budgeted expenses of the Southern Regional Council." Miss Wernert replied that they had assumed that no more payments would be made, since they had not had further instructions from you, and she suggested that I write to you in Nashville if we had heard nothing from you within ten days. I have waited longer to write, however, as I knew how busy you would be immediately upon your return to the States.

We had taken forgranted that the check for $250 represented the first quarterly payment on an appropriation for 1945, since we had understood that we might expect a renewal of the grant for that amount which came to us in 1944. We hope very much that our failure to receive the balance of $750 was due only to oversight. Won't you please check on this at your earliest convenience and authorize payment of the balance as soon as possible?

Dr. Johnson, Mrs. Tilly, and I had a good visit with Dr. Alexander when he was here last month. We were so happy to find that his health had greatly improved.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
MAY 14 1946
Southern Regional Council

May 13, 1946

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

After an appropriate apology for the lags on my correspondence, please let me thank you for the very gracious note from the Executive Committee which I received while in Japan. Under the very unsatisfactory mail situation in the Pacific area, it happens that this was one of the very few letters received during the entire month spent in Japan.

I thank you also for your welcome home and your offer to be of assistance on the plans for the meeting of the Southern Sociological Society on the 17th and 18th. I suspect I shall need much help, especially in making the meeting effective and the members comfortable and in preparing the Council for the meeting. Dr. Mell, who was kind enough to accept the chairmanship of the committee on local arrangements, has already indicated she was working with you. I will probably get in touch with you very shortly after my arrival on the 16th.

(Who would be a good chairman for the Nominating Committee? It is the only one not yet appointed, and this should be done before the meetings begin.)

It looks again as if I shall have to miss the meeting on the 22nd. I fell so far behind on my direct job commitments that it is taxing me greatly to catch up. This is one of the duties. Please bear with this schedule of mine until I can work out of it.

Cordially,

C. S. Johnson

Charles S. Johnson

csj-j

Dr. Johnson will see him on May 16, 17.

May 28, 1946

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of May 17 inviting me to be present at the Institute of Race Relations at Fisk University the week of July 15. I am a little doubtful whether I can spend the whole week there, but I am reasonably sure that I can spend about three days. If you want to suggest which part of the week would be better from your point of view, I shall appreciate it.

We all missed you at the Executive Committee meeting last week. It was a good meeting, and, incidentally, was the largest meeting we have ever had. Even Mr. Young was there. All were present except you, Carter Wesley, and Charles Gillman.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

HOPE DENNIS, SECRETARY

May 17, 1946

RECEIVED
MAY 20 1946
Southern Regional Council

air mail

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

As you know, the third annual Institute of Race Relations will be held from July 1 through July 20. I hope you will spend as much time at the Institute as you can spare, and I am especially anxious that you be here during the third week, the week of July 15, when we shall be discussing methods of dealing with racial situation in the South. Please contrive to fit this date into your schedule. We need the experiences and wisdom of the man who is doing such an effective job with the Southern Regional Council.

Drop me a line as soon as you can to let me know if you will be able to come. We are trying to get the program together.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-j

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave. N.E. $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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TELEGRAM	X	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

June 7, 1946

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
c/o Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Am getting out letter to Fellows tomorrow. Please advise what expense would be involved for those spending third week at Institute.

Guy B. Johnson

June 19, 1946

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

I am sorry to be so late in replying to your letter of June 5, but several developments have caused the delay.

The General Education Board has acted on our request, and we will receive up to $1500 for expenses of a Conference of Fellows. Since most of the Fellows have already made plans for the summer, it seemed wise not to try to hold the Conference until fall. Accordingly, I have written them asking them to state whether they prefer to hold a two-day conference immediately following the annual meeting of SRC (November 13) or some other date. The replies are coming in, and so far, they are unanimous in favor of November 14-15.

I find that on May 18 we sent to all of the Fellows an announcement and application blank for the Institute of Race Relations at Fisk this summer. So far, only one Fellow, Paul Clanton of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, has indicated to us that he plans to attend the Institute. Apparently we could not expect to get enough of the Fellows together to do much with them. Then too, I am not going to be able to spend the entire week of July 15-20 at Fisk. I can't miss the Georgia election on July 17, and our Mississippi Division has an important Executive Committee meeting on July 19. So it looks as if July 15-16 is about the best I can do for that week.

I certainly appreciate your suggesting the possibility of getting some of the Fellows together, and I hope that another year we can work out such an arrangement well in advance. In the meantime, it is some consolation to know that we have the money in sight for a Conference of Fellows this fall.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

Air Mail

June 5, 1946

RECEIVED
JUN 6 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Following up our telephone conversation about the possibility of arranging that some of your Council Fellows should attend the Institute of Race Relations for a period, and perhaps combine that with some special sessions with you or others on particular problems, I am suggesting that the second or third week of the Institute would be the best time for this, preferably the third.

We can provide accommodations for those who desire them and other facilities for special sessions which you might wish to have with the group. Any or all of the listed consultants who are there while the group is in attendance will be available for such special sessions.

If you think well of this idea, you might have those who plan to come fill out the application forms that are being sent you from the Nashville office, and if possible let us have their names as soon as possible so that they can get a copy of the program in advance.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-ea

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

QM87

Q.NHB230 NL PD=NASHVILLE TENN 11

1946 JUN 11 PM 9 55

DR GUY JOHNSON=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNSEL 63 AUBURN AVE NE ATLA=

COST OF ONE WEEKS ATTENDENCE AT INSTITUTE FOR ONE PERSON INCLUDING TUITION ROOM AND BOARD 27.50=

CHARLES S JOHNSON.

27.50..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Ave. N.E. $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED

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Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

October 4, 1946

Miss Leona M. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Plane reservation confirmed, Dr. Johnson to leave Atlanta 9:15 PM October 9, arrive New York 12:45 AM.

Inez B. Tillison
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

October 2, 1946

RECEIVED
OCT 4 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Dr. Charles Johnson is now in Chicago on one of his usual Rosenwald trips. He has asked me to ask you to arrange a plane reservation for him from Atlanta to New York late in the evening of October 9th. Dr. Johnson will appreciate it very much if this can be done.

Sincerely yours,

Leona E. Johnson

Leona E. Johnson

January 9, 1947

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter concerning Mr. Raymond Brooks. I had a letter from Mr. Brooks yesterday. He sounds like a very able man, and I am hoping that we can lay hands on enough additional money this year to enable us to get him or someone like him. I shall write Dr. Peyton Williams for his opinion of Mr. Brooks.

I am sure that you had an interesting time on your trip to Europe. I hope it was not too strenuous. You really do get around! By the way, when are you going to be installed as President of Fisk University?

We certainly missed you at the annual meeting of the Council in November. It was a fine meeting. The Conference of Fellows was also very successful and I hope that the General Education Board will be willing to repeat the grant which it made, so that we can have another conference of Fellows next year.

As you may know, Dr. Odum has been urging me for sometime to return to the University of North Carolina. Shortly before our annual meeting I told him that I would return but that I could not possibly come until the spring term and that I would prefer to wait until September. I gave notice of my impending resignation to the Executive Committee, the Board of Directors, and the annual meeting. Later, the University agreed to the September date and I shall shortly submit my formal resignation to the Council.

Dr. Will Alexander, who was not able to attend our annual meeting, was under the impression that I was leaving the Council right away and this seems to have complicated our financial arrangements with the Rosenwald Fund. I have written Dr. Alexander and Dr. Embree about my plans, now that they are definite, and I hope that the renewal of the Rosenwald grant will soon come through. I shall be here for two-thirds of this year and that will be ample time for the Executive Committee to select my successor.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

January 2, 1947

RECEIVED
JAN 4 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Dr. Peyton Williams of Christ Church (Episcopal) in Nashville referred to me for a talk Mr. Raymond Brooks, 3617 Valley Vista Road, Nashville. Mr. Brooks is a man in his late fifties, I would say, who has been in charge of public relations in this region for the U. S. Department of Labor. He was formerly a newspaper man. As his present post closes, he has expressed an interest in public relations or field work with the Southern Regional Council.

He appears to me to be an agreeable, earnest and somewhat effective person in dealing with issues which are difficult because they are not wholly in accord with the regional mores. I promised that I would drop you a line about him. Dr. Williams is excellent support for any one. It might be well to have a letter from him if interested in talking later with him.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-j

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

February 7, 1947

RECEIVED
FEB 10 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Your letter of February 2 has come during Dr. Johnson's absence from the city. You will be hearing from him as soon as he returns.

Sincerely yours,

Leona E. Johnson

Leona E. Johnson
Secretary

February 2, 1947

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Dept. of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Charles Johnson:

Thank you for your recent letter which we received on January 29. (Incidentally, yours was dated January 2, probably a slip in the typing when the 27th or 28th was intended. I mention this so that in looking over the letters at some later time you would not be under the impression that I waited a whole month to reply!)

We are all very preud of your part in the UNESCO Conference. We get the UN materials from the State Department, and we have read the summaries of the Conference with much interest.

It is very discouraging to learn that the Executive Committee will not meet until the next regular date, i.e., February 26. We are in a real financial crisis. I believe Dr. Alexander and Dr. Embree sent you copies of their letters of December 13 and 18, respectively, to me; but for your information I am enclosing copies of those letters and of my replies. I have received no further direct word from the Rosenwald Fund. We were hopeful and confident that the Fund would think well enough of what the SRC has done and plans to do to renew its grant and trust the SRC Executive Committee to get a suitable Executive Director to be ready to take over when I leave in September, but this does not seem to be the case. Paul Williams discussed the matter with Dr. Alexander early in January, and Dr. Will seemed to be firm in his view that the Fund should not act until our Executive Committee has acted on my successor.

At the annual meeting we reported that we would have a deficit of $2500 to $3000. By shaving expenses we held this down to about $1000. In order to meet the December 31 payroll we borrowed $1000 from the Citizens Trust Company. Mr. Haas advised us that in his opinion the Director and Treasurer were empowered to obtain such a loan, and he wrote a note to that effect to the bank. Early in January we received the first half of the General Education Board appropriation for 1947. Since their total grant was $50,000 for a period of five years, and since we used $12,000 a year for our first three years, we had only

$14,000 remainder the 1947 and 1948, so we told them we would use $8,000 this year and $6000 next year. Consequently the check we received from them in January was for $4,000. A few smaller contributions have been received and dues collections for 1947 are beginning to come in. Our payroll is about $3,000 a month, our total monthly expenditures about $5,000. We were barely able to meet our January 31 payroll, and we have about $1500 in bills outstanding. In order to meet our February 15 payroll we shall have to borrow again. I do not know how long the banks will be willing to accomodate us. And so you will see what I mean when I say that we are in a real crisis situation.

The most disheartening thing is that, just at the time when we were going along so well and were ready with plans for new projects, we now have to mark time to a great extent, to cut off field trips that ought to be taken, to hold off on printing, and to be prepared to reduce our staff to a skeleton.

Believe me, we certainly need your advice as to the next steps. I am preparing a memorandum for the members of the Executive Committee so that they will be informed of the situation which we now face.

Let me add that we have recently been putting in some good licks in the local situation with respect to the Georgia governorship. We were one of a group which helped to persuade Ellis Arnall not to step out in disgust but to remain in long enough to symbolize the processes of constitutional government as against disorder and gangsterism. We were one of the group which arranged for the mass meeting of citizens in Atlanta on January 21. During the past two days the Council and the Georgia Committee have been lining up friends to come to Atlanta to attend the Senate hearings on the white primary bill next Tuesday and Thursday. Yesterday we placed in the hands of a member of the Senate Special Committee considerable informational material on the white primary question. There is so much to be done, and we hope that we can keep on doing it!

Cordially yours

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

copy to Paul D. Williams

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

! Error

January 2, 1947

RECEIVED
JAN 29 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am sorry there has been a delay in replying to your letter regarding plans for retirement from the Southern Regional Council, a delay caused by a three weeks' absence from which I have just returned. I know that your contribution will be significant wherever you work. Mr. Williams has asked about a meeting to discuss your successor.

The UNESCO Conference was a very stimulating one; the delegates were earnest in their efforts to create an instrument that would be effective in building international understanding outside the realm of political activity, and in my opinion much was accomplished that will gradually influence the international and domestic scenes, particularly in the field of tensions.

The date for my inauguration as president of Fisk has not yet been set. At any rate, I shall not be taking office formally until July 1st.

I am looking forward to seeing you at the next meeting of the Executive Committee on February 26th.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-j

Charles S. Johnson

P.S. I am passing on to you the enclosed request from Henry L. Johnson.

April 3, 1947

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

You will recall that for a number of years the American Missionary Association has contributed generously to the work of the Southern Regional Council. Latterly the sum has been $1000.00 a year.

In May 1946 the A.M.A. sent us $750.00, which we were told was the unpaid balance of the thousand-dollar grant to the Council for 1945-46.

The Council is most anxious to expand its work this year and we badly need the contribution which the A.M.A. has been making.

I should be grateful for your kindness in laying before the Board of the A.M.A. the Council's request for a renewal of the grant for 1947.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

April 14, 1947

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Many thanks for your letter of April 12.

I knew that the situation was not hopeful, but I do want to explore the possibility. Accordingly, I have written as attached to Mr. Brownlee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:r

April 14, 1947

Mr. Fred L. Brownlee
General Secretary
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Brownlee:

In the financial need which the Council faces in this current calendar year as a result of its expanding program, we recall with appreciation and some measure of hope the support long given the Council by the A.M.A., including the $750.00 which A.M.A. was good enough to give us in 1946.

I understand something of the complications which would surround a renewed contribution from A.M.A. to the Council for 1947, but notwithstanding I put in this request for your favor in looking into the matter and seeing whether or not the Board of Missions or the A.M.A. itself could find it possible to assist us this year.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

cc: Dr. Charles S. Johnson

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
APR 14 1947
Southern Regional Council

April 12, 1947.

Dear George Mitchell:

I would like to be more hopeful about A. M. A. prospects. The truth is, I was urgent about the Rosenwald grant, because I knew the limitations of the A. M. A.

The Southern Regional Council received several grants from the A. M. A. prior to the establishment of an operating race relations department, and for a period afterwards. The program has really not been a disbursing one since the setting up of the new division. The grant was continued into 1946, largely because there had not been adequate warning about the change in policy and availability of funds. A result was that it became a part of a slightly larger deficit for the year.

Other A. M. A. funds are allocated to schools.

You might address a letter directly to Mr. Fred L. Brownlee, the General Secretary, on a chance, but I doubt that there is anything available. The funds expended for the A. M. A. proper come through the Board of Missions of the Congregational Church, rather than directly through an A. M. A. Board.

This all sounds very complicated, but I do not know any other answer on this particular item.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson.

CSJ:s

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

April 25, 1947.

RECEIVED
APR 28 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of April 16 reminding me of the meeting of the Executive Committee on May 28. I already had the date noted on my calendar and hope to be present.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson.

CSJ:s

April 25, 1947

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Mr. Brownlee very kindly sent you a copy of his letter to me of April 23, about the problem of any contribution to the Council this year.

That puts us full circle. I take it that that avenue is closed, but I would like to have resting in your mind the Council's hope that if the doors open a chink, you will squeeze us through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches
287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

FRED L. BROWNLEE
GENERAL SECRETARY
RUTH A. MORTON
DIRECTOR OF SCHOOLS
CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR OF RACE RELATIONS

RECEIVED
APR 25 1947
Southern Regional Council

April 23, 1947

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As you know, the A.M.A. has not missed a year since the organization of the Atlanta Committee right after World War I in making a grant to its work and that of the Regional Council, its successor. In the meantime, however, we have set up our own department with Dr. Johnson in charge. For the past two years the assignment to the Regional Council has been a part of Dr. Johnson's budget. He is shy by $13,000 the money he should have for 1947-1948. Part of this is due to the liquidation of the Rosenwald Fund which has partly sustained our work.

I doubt if Dr. Johnson will be able to see his way clear to assign $750 to the Regional Council for 1947-1948, but that is up to him. The more important thing is to have his interest and counsel, and you have that completely. I am happy to know that you are Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. Blessings on you!

Yours cordially,

Fred L. Brownlee

Fred L. Brownlee H.D.

FLB HD
Cc Dr. Johnson

May 16, 1947

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Word has doubtless reached you that Dr. Trigg has been offered the presidency of St. Augustine's College in Raleigh and has decided to take it. He will begin there September 1.

All of us in the Council are most sorry to lose him because he has been so useful in furthering our work.

I wish you would add to your other burdens some thinking about Dr. Trigg's successor here.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

May 19, 1947

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

My father noted the death of Dr. Arthur D. Wright of the Southern Education Board and wrote me, wondering whether there might not be opportunity to associate that Board in someway with the Council.

The fields are the same and the aims are certainly similar.

This letter does not call for a reply. I wrote merely that the idea might possibly bear some fruit in your mind.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

May 31, 1947.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George Mitchell:

I regretted very much that I could not get down for the May 28 meeting of the Executive Committee of the SRC. I believe you will understand my difficulties at this time. I am noting the altered schedule for meetings, and am going to make every effort to be present at the next scheduled meeting.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson.

CSJ:s

June 19, 1947

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson,

We are delighted to send a hundred copies of your appreciated Introduction. These are author's copies, and of course gratis. I am sorry I did not think to send them up on the day they were printed.

And many thanks for dues and the contribution.

We had in two or three people from each State, except Oklahoma by accident, the last two days. Almost nothing is going in the way of Interracial Committees in Alabama, Tennessee, or Louisiana, but something is moving everywhere else. We talked (too much) about "objectives", but yesterday got into vocational education and police protection, and I thoughtgot something started.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/gsm

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
JUN 18 1947
Southern Regional Council

June 16th, 1947

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

I have just received a copy of your publication, New South which carried my introduction to the volume Into the Main Stream. I was very glad to allow permission for this reprinting because it will save me a lot of expense when I want to refer persons to this introduction which summarizes a point of view. I cannot afford to give a book to every person that I would like to have read the introduction.

Would it be possible to secure from your office a small supply of copies of this issue — I would say about 100? If there is a cost you can let me know just what it is.

I have the memorandum calling my attention to the fact that I have not paid my 1947 dues — how shameful! My check is enclosed. I wish it could be more!

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/rld
Enclosure

10.00 CK

RECEIVED
JUN 23 1947
Southern Regional Council

Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

X

June 20th, 1947

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Dr. Harold L. Trigg's resignation as Associate Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council leaves a gap at the wrong time, but I think he will do well as head of St. Augustine's College.

I will send along to Mr. Paul Williams any suggestions I have regarding a successor.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/rldw

Letter file

July 1, '47

Dear Dr. Johnson,

Thankyou for sending the notices of the Institute.

We have mailed them out to the Fellows, with a note suggesting that they might find it possible to be present for some of the sessions of the Institute.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
JUN 27 1947
Southern Regional Council

June 24th, 1947

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

I have been wondering if any of the fellows of the Council would be interested in taking advantage of the Institute of Race Relations which opens the first of July.

Under another covering I am sending a small supply of the announcements.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/rldw

✓ Record

July 1, '47

Dear Dr. Johnson,

As far as we know, the young Mr. Melvin Williams, about whom you wrote us on June 23 did not turn up.

I would be delighted to help him if he does reach Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

RECEIVED
JUN 25 1947
Southern Regional Council

Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

June 23, 1947

Mr. George Mitchell
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

There is underway at Fisk University a student project which involves a fairly extensive inquiry in many cities North and South, to determine present and potential vocational opportunities for Negro youth. It is a first-hand study by students based upon the actual experience and training of successful Negroes in a wide range of vocations. Five students, selected by their fellow-students and under the careful guidance of a faculty-student committee are spending the summer vacation months in the field. Later they will participate in the formulation of a practical manual on vocational opportunities for use by college youth preparing for careers.

These students will give attention to successful Negro workers in old established professions and also in new occupational fields, and through selected employer interviews, opportunities for successful careers not yet fully opened to or adequately utilized by Negroes.

It is believed that such information will be useful to students and faculty alike in the planning and developing of college programs, and in general it will prove a valuable educational experience. I have suggested to Mr. Melvin Williams, the student who will visit Atlanta, that you would be a very valuable resource and one to whom he might turn freely for advice and suggestions and perhaps other assistance in line with the purposes of the inquiry. It would be a great help to the students, a considerable favor to Fisk and a service to education if you could find the time to respond to their inquiries when Atlanta is visited.

With thanks and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson
President-Elect

csj:h

The approximate time of the visit is June 19-25.

July 18, '47

Dr. Chas. S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson,

Dr. Alexander thought that our Police project would be best signed by Paul Williams, yourself, and GSM. I agree. Dr. A. read a minutely altered version of this is Washington July 14 and approved it, with suggestions which I have put in.

As I understand you aren't to be nearby much longer (for a bit) I hasten to request your review, changes, and signature, if you find that suitable.

Then I'll try for Paul Williams.

Enclosure: return envelope.

As always, urgency!

Many thanks for my great enjoyment of the meeting, and especially of supper.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
JUL 23 1947
Southern Regional Council

July 21st, 1947

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I returned the letter drafted for the General Education Board with my signature. Perhaps if there had been an opportunity to discuss it somewhat more leisurely, I would have had a few suggestions to make, but it can go as it stands.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson
President

CSJ/rldw

Johnson, Charles S.

November 5, 1947

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We are most regretful that you are not to be with us on the eleventh and twelfth, but we do understand that your responsibilities as delegate to the second UNESCO conference in Mexico City must take precedence. You will ofcourse receive a copy of the minutes together with any other material dealing with the meeting.

With every good wish, I am

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:ee

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
OCT 16 1947
Southern Regional Council

October 13th, 1947

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

Thank you for your letter of October 6th reminding me of the next regular meeting of the Executive Committee at ten o'clock on the morning of November 11th in the offices of the Council. I regret the fact that I will be unable to attend this meeting and the meeting of the Board of Directors which follows, but as a delegate to the second UNESCO Conference, it will be necessary for me to be in Mexico City at that time.

I hope that the meeting will be very successful, and I would like very much to receive a report of the proceedings.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/rldw

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
JAN 5 1948
Southern Regional Council

January 3, 1948

Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 AuburnAvenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

Please pardon my delay in replying to your good letter of December 4th informing me of my reelection as member of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of tne Southern Regional Council. The delay was due to an extended absence from my office.

It is my sincere hope that I shall be able to live up to the good things your staff members have said of me as I continue on the Board.

With best wishes for the New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/ila

December 4, 1947

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

It is with much pleasure that I perform my task of announcing to you your unanimous reelection as member of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council by that body at its meeting on November 12th.

This recognition of the high services which you have so earnestly and unselfishly performed in behalf of the Council is especially pleasing to staff members who have had the privilege of working with you and so know at first hand the fine talents which you have brought to your task.

With every good wish for the holidays, and for the year that follows, I am

Most sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:ee

18 - Johnson, Charles S.

July 30, 1948

Dr. Charles Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am sending you separately in a roll six photostats of recent publicity which the Council has had. We didn't pick them to show everything, but to show good coverage.

You are so good a friend that we thought we could put this set before your eyes and then ask you to send it back. We made only ten sets and we are eager to get a good many people to see them. On the other hand, if you have a chance to use them in some way that will help us, keep them and use them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

18- Johnson, Charles S.

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

August 11, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am returning the photostats of recent publicity of the Council as you have requested.

I found the reading quite interesting and want to commend you on the excellent publicity the Southern Regional Council has been getting.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:bh

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1948
Southern Regional Council

18 - Johnson, Charles S.

September 22, '48

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson,

Here is a useful editorial from the NY Times.

The statement got the very finest play all over the South. We know of twenty-five or more leading dailies that carried the story in fairly good version, and the Chattanooga and Birmingham papers printed the statement in full. Dallas Morning News, News and Observer, Chattanooga Times, and others gave it front page.

NOTE. I have a letter today from Dollard's secretary setting 3 PM Thursday September 30th at Carnegie's offices 522 Fifth Avenue for you and Paul Williams. Haven't yet heard on my request for morning appointment with GEB. Will of course let you know at once.

Dr. Will wants me to go and see John Price Jones with Dr. Will June 29, in NY, and will do. So, I'll be up there when you and PW go to GEB and Carnegie, but I think it best for the two of you to do the visiting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

I am writing Carnegie that you'll be there. GSM

18- Johnson, Charles S.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA47

1948 NOV 10 AM 10 48

A NHB024 PD=NASHVILLE TENN 10 903A=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ATTN MRS AGNES MCKOY TUK ATLANTA

ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE NORTH EAST ATLA=

WILL ATTEND BOARD MEETING NOVEMBER 11TH=

CHARLES S JOHNSON=

RECEIVED
NOV 11 1948
Southern Regional Council

11=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

17 - Johnson, Charles S.

November 15, 1948

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We missed you at the Board. Our hopes went up when we got your wire, but I am sure that something important held you back.

The membership meeting was well attended and enthusiastic. So was the Board, on the eleventh.

The main theme was that the Council had now to become a southern-supported organization. We will be appealing to the membership for giving or raising not less than $10.00 per member. We will be asking one hundred people to join with Dr. Odum in giving $250.00 to the Council. And we made plans for interesting business givers in the South.

The whole sum that we need to raise for 1949 is only $30,000 and for 1950, $50,000.

GEB and Carnegie both turned us down. In each case the officers rejected our request without sending it on to their Boards. Polite and all, but the Carnegie letter made it clear that they thought we ought to live on southern money. Each send a copy

to you, I notice. Coming as they did just before the membership meeting, they made me skip a couple of heartbeats, but I think they did serve to strengthen us all in determining to find the money hereabout.

By the way, Tydings, in running the session on budget at the membership meeting, got the membership to approve a budget of $75,000 for 1949 if it can be raised, and our regular $49,000 budget in any case.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

18,-Johnson, Charles S.

November 16, 1948

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Here is a rough draft of a letter asking each of our members for a minimum of $10. My guess is it should be for the signature jointly of you and Paul Williams.

Will you please take time to blue-pencil (or completely rewrite!) the letter.

When I get back the five or six amended letters I am asking for, I will do a composite and have it sent out.

This has already had the benefit of advice from our Advisory Committee here in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

18- Johnson, Charles S.

December 7, 1948

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Here is the final draft of the $10 letter.

You will see that we have used the kind permission in your letter of November 29 and attached your signature.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMst
enclosure

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 29, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of November 10th, with the enclosed rough draft of a letter asking each of our members for a minimum of $10.00.

The letter is very well written, and I will be glad to co-sign it. This is really an opportunity to test the Southern support of our program.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:tm

RECEIVED
DEC 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

SRC Bd. of Directors
Elections of Membership

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 15, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 18 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am acknowledging with thanks, your letter of December 10th, informing me of the action of the Board in reelecting me as a member for the four-year term 1948-1952. I hope I can prove as useful as that post requires of its members.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:tm

SRC - Bd of Dirs - Membership

December 10, 1948

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The Southern Regional Council has been honored by your service as a member of its Board of Directors for the four-year term 1944 - 1948.

It is a pleasure to inform you that at the annual membership meeting on November 10, 1948 in Atlanta you were reelected as a member of the Board for the four-year term 1948 - 1952.

Unless I hear to the contrary from you, I shall take for granted your acceptance.

We are grateful for the assistance which your continued interest in the Council gives to its work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
cc: Mrs. Agnes McKoy

18 - Johnson, Charles S.

December 17, 1948

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Attention: Mrs. Rita L. D. Wilkins

Dear Mrs. Wilkins:

We are glad to send you the attached list of Board Members of the Southern Regional Council, with their addresses.

But for the fact that our tiny staff has been deluged since the annual meeting, we would have got this to you earlier. Please accept our regrets.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Attached list.

Mrs. McKoy-
Dr. Mitchell asks that you take care of this.
MET

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
NOV 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

November 16, 1948

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

It would be very helpful if you would have your secretary send to me a list of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, with their home addresses wherever possible, and an indication as to whether or not they are married.

At the present time I am working on Dr. Johnson's Christmas Card list and he has asked that these names be included.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Rita L. D. Wilkins

Mrs. Rita L. D. Wilkins
Administrative Secretary

RLDW/lmp

18-Johnson, Chas S.

June 20, 1949

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

All straight about my appearances at the Institute. I will be on hand at nine o'clock July 4 for an 11:10 talk, as scheduled. I also understand about the evening panel.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 9, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We have just completed the final program of our Institute and have scheduled your lecture, "The State of the Sub-Nation: The South" for the morning of July 4. Your lecture will begin at 11:10 and will continue for 50 minutes. There will be a discussion period of 30 minutes beginning at 12 o'clock.

Also, we should like to have you as a member of the evening panel, immediately following a presentation by H. H. Giles on "The Transmission of Social Values through Education." This year we are attempting to liven up our evening meetings through more discussion and participation from the membership. What we have in mind is a major presentation, followed by a panel composed of two lecturers and two interrogators from the membership. The two lecturers would speak for approximately 15 minutes each on some aspect of the problem that has been presented in the major presentation. It is not expected that this should be a prepared presentation.

We are looking forward with much pleasure to your participation in this year's Institute.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/dja

Suspense

February 22, 1949

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Of course I would be delighted to come to the Race Relations Institute again.

I have saved time on the calendar for whatever part of the second week of July you may later on wish me to be on hand for.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 15, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In making plans for the Sixth Annual Institute of Race Relations to be held at Fisk University, June 27th through July 15th, it is our very urgent wish to have you again as one of the lecturers.

I am writing you now so that you may put the dates on your calendar, if you feel that you can find it possible to spend two or three days with us again. I need not say that this note is prompted by the great effectiveness of your last lectures here, and the discussions which followed them. If you are agreeable, we can work out the details of the presentation for the Institute membership over the next week or so.

Could you come, let us say, sometime during the third week? And would you like to suggest what subject emphasis you would like to give to these lectures?

There will be, of course, expenses and a moderate honorarium.

With best wishes to you,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:tm

Chas S Johnson

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 29th, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I thank you for your letter of June 21st, with its quotation from a letter from Mr. Wesley.

Since leaving Atlanta, I have been trying to dig up a group of new liberals, and am sending letters to them about the work of the Council. I am asking that they send $10.00 or $25.00 to the Southern Regional Council directly, or to me if you prefer. This, if successful, will lighten the personal responsibility which I assumed.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:tm

18- Jackson, Luther P.

July 13, 1949

Dr. Luther P. Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

Thank you for your note. We were delighted to send the copies.

I am asking Paul Williams to be in touch with you about persons you should try to see and obtain $250, or some portion of it, from them. Thank you for your continuing willingness to help.

Sorry I missed you when you were here. Let me know next time.

We have made a note about your appointment by Durden and will use it next time there is an opportunity.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

To WE
T. 9 PM
To Q.

2/29/'4[illegible]

Dear George, kindly send me five copies of my Race Suffrage. Find one dollar enclosed.

Congratulations to you for the release of the Southern governors. This was a master stroke. Lewis first in the Times-Dispatch. The New South continues to be mighty good. Feel free to call on me to see any person in Virginia whom you think I can influence.

Am deeply concerned about our financial status

(over)

I was in Atlanta last Sunday in a board meeting with Dombrowski. He had planned to see you but just as meeting lasted six or seven hours & had only an hour or two left before train time back. Strange as it may seem, I am wedded to both the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference as now constituted.

I too was nice a state commission appointee. Served on the Virginia World War II History Commission as long as it lasted, was appointed by Darden.

Sincerely,

July 20, 1949

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am most grateful for the generous check which a bit more than covers my expenses and puts a welcome fifty dollars into the Council.

The Institute was a great success, and I appreciate the opportunity to take part in it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

B-Johnson, Charles S.

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 18, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Your contribution to our Institute is always so substantial that I find it difficult to express how deeply grateful we all are for your vital and stimulating presentation. I can only say thanks, and hope that somehow you find the experience equally as stimulating.

We are enclosing a check which covers your transportation and a modest honorarium of $50.

With cordial good wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

csj:aw

Enc.

RECEIVED
JUL 20 1949
Southern Regional Council

18- Johnson, Chas. S.

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

August 18th, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Your letter of August 16th has come while President Johnson is out of the city. It will be brought to his attention immediately upon his return to the office.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Rita L. D. Wilkins

Mrs. Rita L. D. Wilkins

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18- Johnson, Charles S.

August 16, 1949

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We were all delighted with the printed edition of your talk at the Race Relations Institute.

I would like to send it out to all officers of state divisions and affiliated state committees and to all our Fellows. That would make two hundred and fifty copies. If that is too many, cut it down to what you can spare us. We will be happy to pay the express or postage, at least.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

18- Johnson, Chas S.

August 30, 1949

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your wire. The two hundred copies of "Southern Liberals on the Move" are being mailed today.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

12-Johnson, Charles

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

1949 AUG 30 PM 12 56

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ATLANTA

AA72

A NHA122 PD=NASHVILLE TENN 30 1130A

=DR GEORGE S MITCHELL=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

=IF POSSIBLE PLEASE SEND 200 SOUTHERN LIBERALS ON THE MOVE=

=CHARLES S JOHNSON

Sent 8/29/49

=200=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

18- Johnson, Charles S.

September 15, 1949

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We are most grateful for your kind letter of September 7 with its three contributions as listed. They came in a time of great need.

I think Miss Gundlach's suggestion is a valuable one, and we will try to find some way to put all or part of it into effect.

I enclose several copies of our newest pamphlet. It is a pretty good job, we think, and should be quite influential in changing the way the Southern press handles matters. We heard only yesterday that the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association will distribute a copy to each of its members.

I have also written to each of the leading Negro life insurance companies and asked them to buy blocks of the pamphlet for distribution to their policy-holders. Mr. Spaulding wrote almost at once that his Board had read it and so liked it that they wanted to order one thousand copies and here was their check for $150.00. I have hopes from some of the others; and we are also asking church and teachers' groups to buy some.

We will mail copies to all the Council members in our next mailing in about two weeks time.

The idea in the back of our heads is to stimulate local committees to visit local editors and work a sort of running audit of the papers against the little green book.

The meetings last week at which Mrs. Roosevelt was present went off splendidly, we thought.

The Daily World referred to us this morning as the "effective and accepted Southern Regional Council." Mr. Fleming said, "effective, accepted, broke!"

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

18- Johnson, Charles S

October 7, 1949

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The matter of the Horace Cayton column about which I talked to you yesterday has been somewhat delayed. Mr. Byrd, who, as you know, is directing the fund-raising effort, will be away all next week. On his return, he expects to work out a detailed approach of the nature we were considering. We thought it best, therefore, to hold up our plans until then, when we shall be in touch with you.

Meanwhile, I enclose a copy of Mr. Cayton's column, which you may not have seen.

I need hardly tell you how greatly we value your readiness always to help the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

encl

Johnson

February 20, 1950

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I was in Chicago the other day and happened into the offices of the Henry Strong Educational Foundation, 50 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois. This is an old foundation making loans to students. They prefer to help Juniors and Seniors and an occasional graduate student. Loans usually run from around one hundred dollars to three, four or five hundred dollars. The interest is three per cent, which begins to accrue only upon graduation. The first tenth of the principle repayable one year after graduation and in later years, increasing amounts. Their money accumulated pretty well during the G.I. period, but is currently in great demend.

They do not help students in eastern institutions but bracket the South with the West as their territory. They have no affiliation with the Hattie Strong Foundation in New York, which merely happens to have a similar name and do a similar job.

I was told that Fisk University, along with Dillard, Tuskegee, and Morehouse, was some years ago put on the Strong Foundation's approved list. Few or no loan requests have come from any of these institutions. The implication was obvious that the Strong Foundation was prepared to help students in those colleges.

They were proud of the minimum of red tape involved in a loan from them. In ordinary applications, the loan is approved by the appropriate college official (frequently a loan officer) and an application so approved usually gets a check from them mailed on the same day the request was received. I thought perhaps it would be well to let you know of this current opportunity.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Johnson, Charles S.

CC: Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer

April 25, 1950

AIRMAIL - URGENT

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
President, Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We missed you at the Board meeting on Saturday. Pretty well attended, even though we were too broke to pay travel expenses.

The states pledged themselves to raise the following amounts by June 1:

Alabama	$ 500
Florida	Unreported
Georgia	2,350
Kentucky	1,000
Mississippi	1,000
North Carolina	2,000
South Carolina	1,250*
Tennessee	1,000
Texas	500
Virginia	800**

Paul Williams had other sums that he felt quite sure of, and all in all it made $15,500.

Estimates were conservative, and we think that amount, at least, will definitely come in. To run us until the end of the year, debt free, we need $23,500, and we suppose that $5,000 of that can come from big givers. So we are only $8,000 short of enough to come through the year nicely. If you know anybody who can help us toward

*In addition to $1,000 raised December-January, 1949-1950.
**Probably more.

that sum, do remember our needs.

The Board said we should keep on as we are through mid-June. Next meeting of the Executive Committee to be early in June. Executive Committee then to say what to do.

Incidentally, of Tennessee's thousand, it has already raised $900, and I think some more is to come. Mynders and Bill Cole were here from Tennessee.

Can you tell us a date in the first half of June when you could be present for a meeting of the Executive Committee?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

CC: Norma Huff

C S Johnson

May 31, 1950

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
President, Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I wanted to be sure that this little note on African students reached your eye.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

Southern Regional Council Inc., 63 Auburn Ave NE

Chas Johnson

X

DAY LETTER - PREPAID
October 2, 1950
2:00 P.M.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Re my letter September 29 begging your attendance Executive Committee October 7. Paul Williams postponed that meeting account no quotum until November 7.

George S. Mitchell

Charge: Southern Regional Council - WA 7963

Chas. Johnson

March 9, 1951

Dr. Charles Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am reminded by the minutes of your willingness to be in touch with Mr. Alfred May of the Ford Motor Company, at some suitable time, with a view to urging him to come by the Council's offices on some Atlanta trip.

Do do that if you can.

Hope you got your train all right. We are warmly grateful for your coming. Afternoon meeting went very well.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Johnson

July 12, 1951

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I thought perhaps people at Meharry would be interested in the scholarship aspect of this memorandum. I am told that VanMeter and others near him would be interested in widening this opening for trained Negro persons. It happens also to be a field in which within the South discrimination has yielded with ease.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Johnson

July 27, 1951

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

How very kind that was of you to send the extra fifty dollars. It has been thrown into the Council's bank and has helped enormously.

From this and that, I feel encouraged about the Ford Foundation request.

I saw the Moons in New York and we concerted plans for a New York dinner. They involve you, as doubtless the Moons will have written.

I had a good time at Fisk.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 23, 1951

RECEIVED
JUL 23 1951
EXECUTIVE
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

As usual, you "stole the show." The membership listed your lecture as one of the most outstanding. I am certain that you have not heard the last about the film strip which was discussed very briefly but earnestly, I believe.

I am enclosing our check which covers transportation and a modest honorarium.

Again my profound thanks.

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:dw
Encl.

FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

INVOICE DATE	NUMBER	AMOUNT	DEDUCTION	DISCOUNT	DESCRIPTION
114	E-1457	81.10			Institute of Race Relations Transportation 31.10 Honorarium 50.00

DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

lms

IF INCORRECT RETURN

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

22 October 1951

RECEIVED
OCT 23 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

As you probably know, many private colleges are starting out this year under rather difficult circumstances and an urgent faculty meeting has been scheduled for October 26, the date on which the Executive Committee is expected to meet in Atlanta. I would find it extremely difficult to be away from Nashville on that date, and I am sorry.

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ
j
d
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Enclosure

Johnson

January 28, 1952

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

We are binding up in red leather three volumes of New South as a gift to Paul Williams.

Inside the front cover we want to paste this inscription.

Will you be good enough to sign it, as chairman of the Executive Committee, and mail it back to me?

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

RECEIVED
FEB 26 1952
Southern Regional Council

Jo, misc.

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 18, 1952

Dear George Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of the 12th, which arrived during my absence from the campus. I am very glad to have the account of SRC activities for the month, and shall bear in mind that these reports are confidential.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
FEB 19 1952
Southern Regional Council

18 February 1952

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am greatly obliged to you for your thoughtfulness in sending to me a copy of the editorial from Mr. John H. McGray's paper, "The Lighthouse and Informer". I have read it with much interest.

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

Charles S. Johnson

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CSJ/jds

K, misc.

Trustees: FRANK C. LAUBACH, *President* • WARD B. HURLBURT, *1st Vice-President* • MRS. LOUISE EGGLESTON, *2nd Vice-President*
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WALTER A. TAYLOR

Koinonia (coy-no-NEE-ah) is a word from the classical Greek, meaning FRIENDSHIP • FELLOWSHIP PARTNERSHIP • COMMUNION

KOINONIA FOUNDATION

Pikesville Box 336 • Baltimore 8, Maryland • Pikesville 2373

April 23, 1952

RECEIVED MAY 9 1952 Southern Regional Council

FRANK C. LAUBACH
President
M. GLENN HARDING
Executive Director

Dear Friends,

The Map of World Service to which many of you contributed information was displayed and attracted great interest at the National Conference on International Economic and Social Development held in Washington April 7-8-9. The map showed where the work of UN, TCA, MSA and voluntary agencies is being done. This information helped to portray graphically where work in health, education, agriculture, small industries, natural resources and general overall planning is being done and by what agencies. We used map pins of different colors and sizes to designate the agencies as well as the fields of work being done in the underdeveloped areas.

The map is now being offered to regional, national and international conventions accompanied with an explanatory chart of the code and work. A number of requests for its use have been made. The only expense for use is the transportation both ways and responsibility for any damage. A water-proof shipping case carries the six sections of the 8 by 12 foot map. It is easily assembled with braces and screws that are with it.

We hope to have the findings and cuts of the map for you early in the spring. If you have opened new fields since December, 1951, or if you were not able to send us the information we requested last January, would you send it to us now, as we wish to keep this map as accurate as possible and to have all agencies represented.

We are also enclosing in this letter a brief outline of THINGS TO DO which is to be given wide circulation in local communities. Perhaps your agency also has projects that different age groups might handle in their homes. If so, may we have these to add to our PROJECT BOOKLET to be printed later in the spring? Please give detailed descriptions and the name and address of the person to be contacted for further information on the project.

Finally, we are including a report entitled THINGS ARE HAPPENING which answers some of the questions about Koinonia in our capacity as the ad-interim clearing house for organizations that have been meeting since last September to work out closer cooperation.

Yours in helping make a WHOLE world,

Glenn Harding

Glenn Harding

A Christian Enterprise for World Service

Things Are Happening

Things are moving so rapidly that is is hard to keep each of you informed. Below we have tried to answer some of the many questions you have sent in. You will see that some of these questions will take time and many minds to consider. Others are being worked out and answered daily. Each one of you is vital to the making of a WHOLE world!

"WHAT CAN I DO?"

Pray

The first thing you can do is to pray a creative prayer which sees the world filled with health, food, education, industries; and each man our brother, proud to be a son of God. What we see inwardly tends inevitably to come true!

Enlist

Send for a Koinonia enlistment blank and sign it for work you can do in your own community. If you feel you are doing all you can now, please sign on an emergency basis. Also, give us the name of your prayer group and how you think they would help. This is vital in this all-out war of human kindness. We MUST have contacts throughout the nation with spiritually-motivated personnel for a full all-out mobilization.

Act

Then act. There are many common things which we have that other people need and can use. You can gather and ship these .... such as pencils, candles, National Geographics, hoes, rakes, seeds, Bibles, money, hammers, saws, movie cameras, projectors, picture postcards, sterioptican viewers, victrolas, textbooks, looms, thread, needles, cloth, remnants, diapers, aprons, midwife kits (In some places, there is only one registered midwife for 50,000 mothers; death rates reach 50%). Your own church and mission group can arrange to ship such things through Church World Service, 120 E. 23rd St., New York 10, N.Y., or you may write directly to us and we will help you contact the agencies working in different areas. DO SOMETHING -- there is not a man, woman, or child that cannot share at least a pencil!

Sacrifice

A Sacrificial Meal of oatmeal, or Multi-Purpose Food (available from Meals for Millions Foundation, 648 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 14, Calif.) with milk, bread, and oleo served in your home would cost about 65¢ for a family of five, usually saving about $2.00 per meal. Eight hundred such families saving one meal a week would mean the salary of a team of workers to teach literacy, train in simple health routines, improve the agricultural practices, and start small industries to make a village self-supporting. (A few churches have signed 100-300 families in this sharing of food. Individuals are doing without movies and cokes, or are walking to work and putting that into the fund.) Some will

be adopting villages in Africa, India, or South America to help them build toward a whole world. Leaders from those villages may be able to visit some of the families in this country, and through observation carry back much help to the technicians we have sent over. Never was there a time when so little could do so much . . . but there must be the little "first".

WHAT IS BEING DONE?

What are Point IV (TCA and MSA), Churches, UN, Foreign Missions, CARE, and others doing?

Koinonia has just completed a world map, eight by twelve feet, showing with differently-colored map tacks where each of these organizations is working and in what fields of technical assistance -- as health, literacy, agriculture, small industry, social service, resources, and regional and village planning. These findings and the map were presented at the NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT held in Washington on April 7-9. A summary of the map is available to you if you will sign and return to us the enclosed blue slip. The map itself may be secured for regional or large groups or conferences. It is made in six sections, and can be shipped and re-assembled very easily.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

How much should be done now? Next year? 10 years? 20 years?

It has been estimated that the technical workers now in the field are less than one percent of all those needed. Koinonia is especially concerned with the personnel that will be needed. These people must be trained in one of the useful skills and must possess a sincere spiritual motivation. They need the pioneer spirit of our forefathers and that "something plus" that enables them to put themselves in the other fellow's shoes, so as to make suggestions in their technical fields without causing the Nationals to feel any loss of face or position. All will be contributors. As each National is taught, he in turn will teach another, and the ratio will increase rapidly, but there must be that "starting" one in each place. How many are needed to complete the job, we do not know, but surely thousands -- men and women who are in good positions of trust in this country and are ready to receive further training and go over under their mission board, our government, the UN, or a private agency.

You can help locate this personnel! Think of all your friends and acquaintances -- the people who are making things tick without fanfare or fuss. Which farm agent, health worker, teacher, craft instructor is a leader in your area? Send us their names and addresses and all that you know about them. . . Think prayerfully whether they seem to have the qualifications that you feel are right. We will see that they are contacted.

This is not a plan for a year, or even ten years. Twenty years is considered a fair time limit, IF it is an all-out mobilization now. But

it must begin this year. The school authorities could start now planning the courses for their finest and highest-principled boys and girls to fit into this overseas plan, such as a good course in anthropology, an all-round handyman course in the four fields of agriculture, health, literacy, and small industry, plus the home and community skills. For each worker who goes over, it will take ten or more on this side to underwrite him and his needs and undergird him with prayer.

HOW MUCH WOULD IT COST?

We do not know, but the cost would be much less than one-tenth of our last war, and each year this cost would be less, as trade increased with the underdeveloped countries. It is not a charity proposition. There is a difference between relief and technical assistance, a big difference. Making a WHOLE world is a two-way street of giving and receiving. We are going to countries which have the oldest cultures of the world. They have much to give us in this. They have had science and research that has been lost through poverty and colonialism. This makes it imperative for America to make the round trip back to them. However, we go to a country only upon the invitation of its government. Workers receive part of their financial support from the country which invites them. They go to work with and under those National officials. They leave the country after the contract is completed. At present, most countries cannot pay all the expenses of technical aid -- they are too poor -- but without these countries, our industries and factories cannot keep operating. We receive 57% of our imports from the underdeveloped countries, and they consume 44% of our exports. We also have to depend upon them for 73% of our imports of strategic and critical materials (1951).

WHAT IS KOINONIA'S PART?

How is Koinonia Foundation acting as a Clearinghouse?

In September, 1951, Frank Laubach called together a group of those interested in work in the underdeveloped areas. Included were representatives from the Council of Churches, YMCA and YWCA, American Friends Service Committee, Agricultural Missions, World Literacy, and others. This was followed by a meeting at Koinonia in December where those interested in Point IV in the government and many voluntary organizations met for two days to discuss a unified working plan. A planning committee was named and has been working on a more definite outline since then.

There was another meeting in March, from which the attached proposals were made by its continuation committee to the National Conference in Washington. Koinonia was requested by the groups and individuals represented in these meetings to act as an ad-interim clearinghouse, and so we have tried to keep the ball rolling. As a part of this, we have this month sent a Study, Prayer, and Action Program to the two hundred Councils of Churches, and we will send them this present report as well as the Projects Outline, called THINGS TO DO.

Many of the especially active overseas agencies are in turn sending

us materials on what is being done in the different fields, the personnel involved, costs, and results, which we are trying to co-ordinate and share with all. It means keeping in touch with some 115 voluntary organizations and the UN, UNESCO, WHO, FAO, ILO, and our own government agencies, TCA and MSA, for this report. Whenever this work as a clearinghouse can be taken over by another agency, Koinonia will be glad to have it do so, but until then we will do what we can. Through it all, a closer cooperation is working out.

All this is in addition to the central objective of Koinonia Foundation of recruiting skilled and spiritually-motivated men and women and training them in a deeper concept of their work in the underdeveloped areas of the world.

What is Koinonia's immediate need in personnel and funds?

(1) Volunteers in every town and hamlet in the country to pray and work some number of hours each week in helping to awaken the whole country to DO SOMETHING.

(2) Trained secretaries and typists to catch up and keep up with the large volume of work entailed here at Koinonia.

(3) Funds for remodeling the Annex (a former garage-stables of brick construction) for trainees at Koinonia. Every available room is now full, and dormitory space is running out. This makes it difficult to have the very worth-while retreats.

(4) Funds to place more men and women in the field, contacting and recruiting personnel for overseas work, publicizing the story of what can and must be done, and telling of the training of Koinonia and other affiliated groups.

RECOMMENDATIONS

to the National Conference on International Economic and Social Development

Washington, D. C. -- April 7-8-9, 1952

On invitation from the executive officers of the National Conference on International Economic and Social Development, the Continuation Committee of two recent conferences held at Koinonia Foundation, near Baltimore, in which representatives of government and non-government agencies concerned with the economic and social development of the world took part, offer the following proposals for consideration by the Conference as a basis for common action:

1. To employ every means possible to carry to the villages, towns, and cities of this country a concern for the urgent needs of the world, both material and spiritual, until it becomes a genuine movement of the people of America.

2. To initiate immediate and increasing cooperation between the active and interested agencies toward discovering and meeting the unfulfilled needs in our world situation without imposing our standards upon other peoples.

3. To exercise as of equal importance special care to remedy the needs in our own local communities which are a part of this world imbalance.

4. To gather and share authentic information about what has been done and is being done through the amazingly successful projects to relieve world need which demonstrate that this job can be done.

5. To recognize beyond all that the Government has done and should continue to do in this field, that most of the big task can be done only through the people of the world sharing and working together in non-governmental channels.

6. To outline a strategy for 1952 that will meet the urgent material and spiritual needs of the world, including the opportunities now represented: (1) in the digging of wells in Madras in India to avert the threat of starvation among ten million people, and (2) to find effective patterns of brotherhood and cooperation among the peoples of Africa in order to overcome the growing threat to destroy their human and spiritual values.

7. To recognize this program as an inescapable consequence of the demands of brotherhood of all people under God.

CONTINUATION COMMITTEE

Samuel S. Board
Barrington Dunbar
Welthy H. Fisher
Glenn Harding
Flemmie Kittrell
L. Melvin Nelson
Dan West

Things-To-Do. . . . . Everyone can do something to help make a WHOLE world.

Ages from 3 to 12. . . . . can do the following:

Gather pencils, scrap paper fastened into tablets (Some stationery companies will give the paper trimmings.) Most of the schools in the underdeveloped areas have to use a stick and the dust of the ground for a blackboard. With paper and pencil they could take "their lessons" home to teach another.

Ask for pieces of candles and melt them down into larger candles, or send over a number of small ones. (One cloth wick lamp for the village square is all many have to study by at night. Caterers, funeral homes, and churches will give their leftovers to make into large candles.)

Postcards of towns, mills, and activities with an old fashioned viewer would mean as much as a movie to us. Gather up cards from many countries as well as the United States. Ask your friends if they have an old post card viewer in the attic, or save your pennies and buy one. On rainy days there is nothing to do or see. You can provide a visual education as well as a good time for a whole village.

Ask your farm friends to save you their flour sacks, feed sacks, or remnants of cloth for diapers. Wash and iron these and send them in bundles with needles and thread. (Babies without diapers have to be laid on newspapers in the hospitals.)

Ask your mother and dad to have a Sacrificial meal in which you and your brothers and sisters eat oatmeal, milk, bread and oleo instead of the regular dinner, saving $2.00 for an average family of five. Send this money to your church mission board or other agency to send a technical missionary overseas to teach better methods of agriculture, health, literacy or cottage industries.

Ages 12 to 17. . . . .

Raise blood tested cockerals to send over to improve breeding stock. Plymouth Rocks and White Leghorns have been found best in India. 25 baby chicks raised to six months of age can be shipped with others to raise the standard from 12 eggs a YEAR to around 240 eggs of the tested hens.

Start a DYNAMIC KERNEL patch of corn, rice or wheat. Write to Perry Hayden, Dynamic Kernels Foundation, Tecumseh, Michigan for further information.

Get your father or your chum to help you make a simple thresher for grains to save hours of handwork. Write to AGRICULTURAL MISSIONS, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York for the blueprints on this ---cost .35. Spare wood and metal will make it. You will be starting the first factory in some village for cooperative work.

Take on a clean-up campaign in your own city. Get your gang to go to the mayor or to some landlord and ask where you can help. Tell them your services are free-- that you and your buddies are doing this job to help make a WHOLE world. It will take hammer, saws, nails, paint and brushes plus a lot of tact and vision. Your new friends whose homes you are fixing

must feel they are a part of the planning . . . they to be your directors in what is to be done . . . The REAL leader will be the one who can gain this cooperation . . . not a "we" or an "I" project, but an "us".

Ask your friends to save seeds from their flower beds or buy a few packs to start seedlings that can be given to any home that does not have flowers in the windows or yard this summer. "Clean up and bloom up."

See what kind of recreation leaders you can make with groups of boys and girls who do not have playgrounds. Plan things to do. Your city council may be willing to arrange transportation to parks if you have a well thought out plan.

Think up new ways to help and send the idea in to Koinonia.

Today a news item comes from Norfolk, Virginia where the students of Granby School asked the mayor to proclaim a CIHU week (Can I Help You?) This has been designated as from April 28 to May 5. There will be newspaper and radio programs, and CIHU pins will be worn by all. Friendliness will be shown in as many ways as they can think of to strangers as well as friends.

Another group has made a survey of the foreign students in their town -- attending colleges and working there. They have taken turns inviting them into their homes for a meal or the night. (There are over 30,800 foreign students in this country and some 65% are Christians and yet have never been invited to a Christian home.) Each of them have so much of beauty and the older culture to share with us.

A recording, "Mealtime Around the World" is available with students from five continents telling of how technical aid has changed their mealtime. Write to Syracuse Association of the United Nations, 723 City Bank Building, Syracuse, New York for further information. There are also films showing the work done in the underdeveloped countries. These are available from Church World Service, 120 East 23rd Street, New York 10, New York; ECA Documentary Films from A.F. Films, Inc., 1600 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.; Audio-Visual Resource Guide from International Council of Religious Education, 206 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago 4, Illinois. Write directly to them for catalogues and information. Most of them are sent free except for transportation costs.

Ages 17 Up . . . . .Men and Women

Garden Clubs and Hikers Groups. . .Fishermen. . .

Gather together hoes, rakes, tools of all sorts to be sent overseas. Give these as prizes in Flower Shows and other exhibits, or a $10.00 CARE coupon to send the needed tools. Gather seeds for shipment overseas. (A list is available of the best seeds for tropical countries. Some seeds cost as much as $8.00 per oz. in Burma and India, so vegetable gardens are beyond the reach of the average family.) Grow seedlings that can be flown overseas for reforestation. Millions of them are needed. Write the Department of Agriculture for information as to what trees are best for each country. Talk to your experiment station on grafts and buds that can be sent over and cost of tools and wax needed for propagating.

This year's vacation project might be learning how, and then going over and helping during the next rainy season. Write to the Department of Interior for information on raising fish and what you as a citizen can do for replenishing the waters around many of the countries.

Labor Groups . . .

Make parts of a windmill, pump, or other equipment that can be made up in part here in U. S. and then completed with native material in the different countries. Contact Theodor Benfey, Pres., Society for Social Responsibility in Science, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania for information on science advances they have made that can be used in the underdeveloped areas . . . as an electric fence with motor run by hand as no electricity available, and other modern conveniences that they have worked out that can be done by manual means rather than power.

Clubs -- Civic and Social . . .

As a group, start a cottage industry in one of the towns in the underdeveloped areas. A weaving plant could be operated for $500.00. It would require looms, spinning wheels, yarn, wages for ten workers at .10 per day, plus a teacher at $5.00 per month. Sell products of the loom in this country and reinvest in another cooperative venture.

Soap Factories. . .

From saved bacon grease and meat drippings, tried out and canned, make soap. Ship with large pot and lye for making into soap. Save all the pieces of soap and arrange for hotels and motels to save them to be boiled down into larger cakes to ship. (Imagine washing with only sand as soap!)

Get together text books, religious books - without a denominational slant - travel books, and especially children's picture books for schools and libraries overseas. (Ask Church World Service or Koinonia on shipping instructions.)

Have a Sacrificial Meal each week, or some sacrifice in transportation, food, clothing, entertainment that can be channeled directly into technical aid as: Meals for Million factory, salary for National Surgeon,($100.00 a month for board and salary), expenses for a technician to receive further training at Koinonia or a similar school for deeper spiritual motivation and orientation to the job ahead.

Adopt a town or village in India, Burma, South America. Invite two of the leaders to come visit your town for six months. Pay their travel and expenses while here and let them chart out the needs of their village in education, agriculture, husbandry, health and what cottage industries are possible. Ask different civic groups to assume the responsibility for a well, sewage system, school, health clinic, midwife kits, diapers, and the salary for an all-round worker to return with your two leaders to help him make possible the changes. They will have visited with your dentist, veterinarian, plumber, carpenter, teacher, minister, lawyer, and farmer for a few weeks or month each and learned from him how he works. Then your leaders will be able to show your planning group what simple changes can be made in his village with his leadership and cooperation of the National Government.

Buy and send over a kit for your doctors and other National technicians. This consists of bicycle (you may have one stored in the attic or basement), thermos bottle and lunch kit in knapsack with airpillow, mosquito net and bedding roll with grass mat. Total cost without bicycle -- $10.00.

Send over a blacksmith shop so that tools and articles for sale may be made. A portable forge may be purchased from Surplus products. They may also have bellows, anvil, grindstone, tongs, flatter, drawknife, hand-saw, wood chisel, piece of flint and pieces of steel and iron that you can pick up in any junk heap. We have directions here at Koinonia on how to make an axe, hammer and other simple tools with the above equipment. Plan to send enough capital so that workers may be paid .10 a day for labor and the tools rented on a cooperative basis for the village until each family may earn enough to buy the tools.

Start a cooperative loan association. $100.00 to $10,000 can be well invested at a low rate of interest so that yarns for weaving, ivory for carving, seeds, fertilizer and farm equipment may be purchased. (Now a family is never out of debt at the 100% to 500% interest charged.) Then arrange to help sell the products made to clear off these small debts and re-invest the money.

Buy a village cooperative rice huller, price in Japan -- $100.00 Also an oilcake extractor for peanut oil, Price $100.00 if purchased in Japan. Both these inexpensive pieces of equipment would save many hours of hard labor, and that time could be devoted to making better gardens and improving health conditions.

I should like the completed results of the MAP OF WORLD SERVICE for the

_____
Name of Organization

My name _____

Address _____
Number Street City Zone State

Please send me further information on

_____ Koinonia's recruiting and training program
_____ Projects for Underdeveloped Areas
_____ Where Literacy methods are taught
_____ Enlistment form for service at home.

June 3, 1953

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The membership meeting of the Council on May 14 elected you to the new Board of Directors of the Council.

We have long had a proposal for a completely new structure for the Council, with active State organizations correlated by a single, self-perpetuating Board, which would itself alone be the Southern Regional Council. The annual meeting agreed to that change in structure, the timing to be within the descretion of the Executive Committee. Meanwhile, the membership meeting chose such a Board as could either continue as the Board under the present structure or serve as the Board under the new. It is to this new Board that you were elected.

I can't say yet howmmany years the term runs; depends on a drawing of lots. But probably four.

The new Board has fifty elected persons, plus the six or seven officers of the Council, plus the head of each State Division, plus someone to be chosen to the Board from each State Division.

Do write me that you can stay with us in this new capacity.

The Board meeting that followed the annual meeting chose an Executive Committee composed of: Harry V. Richardson, Mrs. C. M. Birnie, John Griffen, Rev. Andrew Turnipseed, Paul Christopher, Rev. Maurice V. Shean, Rufus E. Clement.

We were sorry to lose you from the Executive Committee, but all realized that your responsibilities have grown so greatly that we could hardly expect you to get here for the regular quarterly meetings of the Executive Committee. We are grateful for your wisdom and care on the Council's behalf, and we are confident that we may have your advice as a Board member and your intimate counsel in whatever will be the major affairs of SRC.

Sincerely,

GSM:ec

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

February 2, 1954

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

You will recall that you wrote me and asked me that the daughter be assisted into interracial activities.

GSM

cc: Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University

February 2, 1954

Mrs. P. E. Isbell
2 Rigger Lane
Levittown, L.I., N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Isbell:

A relative drove me as far north as Charlotte on a New York trip somewhere around January 25, and I took advantage of that Charlotte trip to call on your daughter and give myself the pleasure of an hour or so at her home. She is pretty busy with the two children and the husband who is gone so much, and I doubt that she can find time for fresh activities. I left her some leaflets (!) and on my way back South two or three days ago asked a most pleasant Mrs. Clarkson to make your daughter's acquaintance.

Mrs. Thompson was as kind as could be to me and fed me a cheerful supper and carried me down to my train. Nice to meet her and those two handsome children.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

Jan 13th -

P. E. ISBELL
2 RIGGER LANE
LEVITTOWN, L. I., N. Y.

Southern Regional Council Inc
Room 432
Auburn Av N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr Mitchell

Thank you for yours of the 11th
My daughter's "problems" are not accute
but non-adjusting (of themselves). Help is
indicated. It is the first time she has
lived in the South and she finds herself
feeling indignant at the various signs
of Jim Crow. Not that we Northerners are guiltless!

I should be very glad if
some member of your Council or some

of your friends could get in touch with her.

She is a college grad, thinks clearly and fairly (majored in psych) and a nice person. Since she is accustomed to talking over anything that troubles her, her "problem" has become one of finding someone to talk with on this subject. She feels the Mason-Dixon stiffening of the attitude when she talks with her new friends and neighbors. So, you see, she needs educating.

When I went to the Inter-Racial Institute at Fisk, I was most impressed by the progressive viewpoints of so many Southerners. Does that sound patronizing? Please forgive me. In other words, I really

P. E. ISBELL
2 RIGGER LANE
LEVITTOWN, L. I., N. Y.

felt that there was a tremendous good-will in the South, I want my daughter to meet some of the people who are practical and unemotional and intelligent about inter-racial matters, so that she will know how to speak and how to act (if she will) and what is being done, etc.

Even in the North, few Whites meet Negroes socially. It isn't even thought about. So when a thinking person finds herself puzzling it all out, she probably needs some reassurance. It is a great privilege to meet and know the Negro American, to put behind one the stupid sense

of color, to refuse to believe the nervous and ignorant misconceptions that separate the Races. Michal hasn't had any prejudices developed, so far, but neither has she been in such a position before, to note what exactly the situation is!

Her name and address:

Mrs. James W Thompson
227 Heathwood Rd
3-7473 Charlotte, N.C.

Sincerely

Dorothy Isbell

— Mrs P.E.O. —

RECEIVED
FEB 16 1954
Southern Regional Council

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 15, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

May I thank you for sending the list of Southern and border state institutions of higher learning admitting Negro students. It seems to be a pretty fairly substantial list.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/lvb

Talked with Soescher about the Council and the Fund for the Republic

January 11, '54

Dear Mrs. Isbell,

Dr. Charles Johnson wrote me that your daughter at Charlotte has various problems. If we can help with any of them let us know. We have friends there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Rec'd
Acc'd
FCC
Hunt
N.U. Peake

RECEIVED
JAN 11
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
Southern Regional Council

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

8 January 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have a letter which I confess I have been several weeks late in replying to. Mrs. Dorothy Isbell of 2 Rigger Lane, Levittown, Long Island, who attended our Institute of Race Relations about five or six years ago, has a daughter now living in Charlotte, North Carolina, who is very much confused about a number of things. One of these things is the matter of wages and, in particular, household wages. Her mother is concerned that she should have at least one or two persons who could help her straighten out her thinking.

Mrs. Isbell, the mother, had asked the name of your organization, which I gave her. I also told her that I would write to you and that you would probably be in position to make some suggestions to her and to her daughter.

May I ask then, if you would be kind enough to send a note to Mrs. Isbell at Levittown, Long Island, and on her present estimate of her daughter's situation, deal with the matter as you see best, which is always good.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:vlr

February 11, 1954

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Here is our latest list of open colleges.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh
Enclosure

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 9, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Do you happen to have at hand a list of the Southern white colleges, theological seminaries and universities that admit Negroes as students at present?

I would greatly appreciate sharing it if available.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/lvb

[illegible] but as of [illegible]?

As of now

April 15, '54

Dear Dr. Johnson,

Kind of you to write about the grant; truth to tell it should have been GSM writing CSJ to thank you for crucial help in getting it. I hope we can make of it another service to this part of the world, of which you can be approving.

Here is a first draft of what we would propose to put before the Williamsburg meeting, to concentrate their thoughts. Idea is that these sentences would lead them to build proposals for remedying projects. We thought maybe half the time would go to discussing and reaching partial agreement on this, and the rest would go on to shaping proposals. Not merely in education, but in housing and apportionment and employment and the fields that are necessarily related to the schools business. We need your comments, clean-sweep or detailed!

We all agree you are the one to be chairman of the sessions you will be there for, which I think I recall is all after the first (Thursday evening May 6) one. Noone else could hold the bunch to purposeful thinking.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

This is worked up by Malcolm Calhoun, GSM, Grace Hamilton, and Harold Fleming

RECEIVED
APR 15 1954
Southern Regional Council
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

April 14, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Congratulations to the Southern Regional Council on its approval for a grant of $240,000 for a program which the Council is, of all possible agencies, the best equipped to carry out.

You are to be especially congratulated for your continuing and successful efforts to secure this essential aid for an essential program.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/lvb

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

19 April 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am acknowledging receipt of the draft of materials for discussion at the Williamsburg meeting. As of this moment, I am up to my neck in preparation for our Board meeting later on in the week, but I shall be in better position to send along comment, if any, immediately after that.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:vlr

RECEIVED
APR 20 1954
Southern Regional Council

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1954 (147) 3. PM 2 54

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

.AA95

A.LLR312 (A.NHA245) LONG PD=NASHVILLE TENN 3 127PMC=

:DR GEORGE F MITCHELL==EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

REGARDING LETTER SENT FROM NEW YORK CONCERNING FULMER AS PRINCIPAL WILMINGTON HIGH SCHOOL INSTEAD OF UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE AS INDICATED IN LETTER. SENDING PAPERS RECEIVED TODAY FROM HASKELL FOR YOUR INFORMATION PLEASE RETURN=

:CHARLES S JOHNSON=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

May 4, 1954

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
President
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I did at once this morning, when your letter came, telephone Dr. Fulmer and asked him to come to the Williamsburg meeting. Unfortunately he had engagements the whole weekend and could not come. But he appreciated the link with you and the invitation.

Delaware, you may remember, is an old stamping ground of mine through father, so it was a special pleasure for me to be poking around by long distance in my home town.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 30, 1954

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

One of the members of our Board of Trustees is H. G. Haskell, jr., of Wilmington, Delaware. (His father was one of the directors of the Dupont Company.) At present, Mr. Haskell is associated with Mr. Nelson Rockefeller for a period in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare under Mrs. Hobby.

At a recent meeting of our Board he spoke about the extraordinary work of Dr. Clarence Fulmer of the University of Delaware of studying the process of desegregation in that state. I mentioned the pending meeting at Williamsburg and Mr. Haskell noted that if the meeting was not too rigidly restricted as to numbers, Dr. Fulmer could make an exceedingly illuminating contribution.

I am merely passing this information along to you for your information. You may know Dr. Fulmer and certainly you know whether you want to add any persons to the list of discussants outside the group already set up.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

CSJ:cp

RECEIVED
MAY 3 1954
Southern Regional Council

May 5, 1954

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am returning Mr. Fulmer's letter to Mr. Haskell, and the accompanying material. We have read this with the greatest interest. I can see coming up some new articles for New South on the progress and change in Delaware and these items have been most helpful toward working up such an article.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 3, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing herewith the papers received from Mr. H. G. Haskell concerning Mr. C. A. Fulmer, Principal of the Wilmington High School, as referred to in my wire to you earlier today.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

RECEIVED
MAY 4 1954
Southern Regional Council

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/lvb

Enclosures

Please return

May 17, '54

Dear Dr. Johnson,

Delighted to be at the Institute. I've marked aside July 6, 7, 8, and will gladly be there for any or all of those days.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 15, 1954

Copy G. F. Tom W. Thorr.

RECEIVED
MAY 17 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

As usual, we very much want you to attend the Eleventh Institute of Race Relations this year as a lecturer and consultant.

This year's Institute will focus much of its attention on some of the problems associated with the impending Supreme Court decision on segregation and how they might be intelligently met. With your knowledge of the South, and the constructive work which the Council has been doing, you are in a position to assist the Institute membership in formulating a clear-cut philosophy that would be both dynamic and constructive for the period into which we are rapidly moving. We would be interested in having you share with the membership what is being done in the South in preparation for integration, and how far has integration already extended itself.

We would like to schedule your appearance some time during the second week. Would you let me know the days most convenient to you? If you could spare the time, I believe you would find it rewarding to spend the entire second week. I know the membership would get much from your presence here.

Could I have some word from you on this at your earliest convenience?

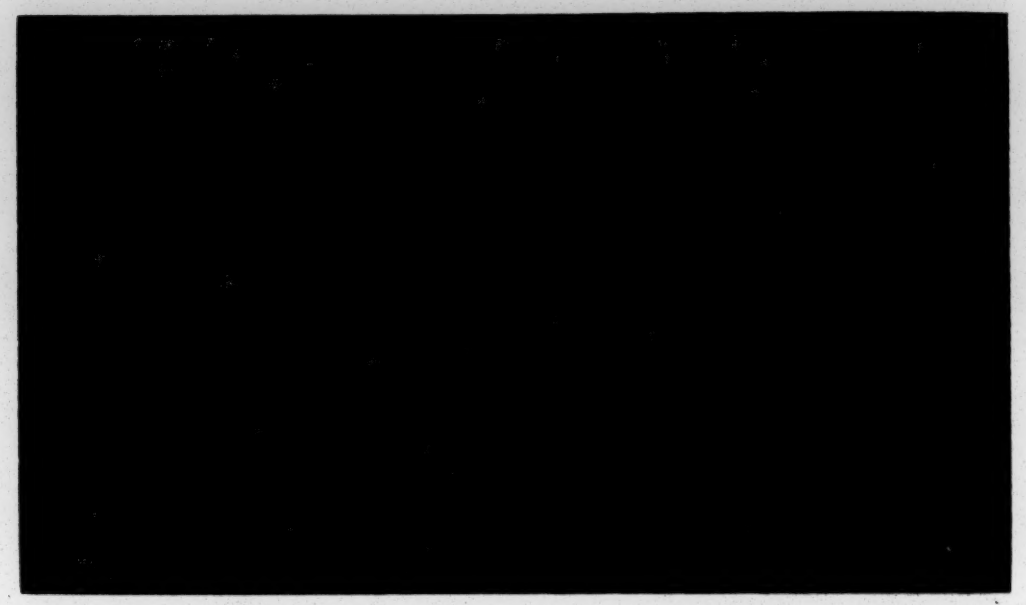
With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/lvb

Encs.



This is the clear call to all of us at an hour of "great decision" in our nation's history.

The highest court of our land is deliberating the basic question of the constitutionality of enforced racial segregation in public schools. In housing, employment, public accommodations, hospital services—and almost every aspect of community life—the elimination of racial and religious caste restrictions have occurred in significant proportions. A favorable decision will affect these and other areas of our common life and help to advance further toward the ideals of the Judeo-Christian tradition.

To bring understanding and direction to these most vital changes necessitate examination of the means by which social change may best be effected. More must be learned concerning the respective roles of legislation, litigation, and community education in exerting a positive influence upon the course of an increasingly democratic structure of human relations. To bring to bear upon these processes the best we have learned from recent experience is the urgent practical purpose we designate for the 1954 INSTITUTE discussions.

During its ten years of existence, the Institute has provided for lay and professional community leaders the opportunity to develop understanding of the multiple facets of race relations. A faculty drawn from a variety of professional backgrounds provide resourceful leadership for the Institute. Lectures, seminars, and specialized clinic sessions are the media through which the program operates. Underlying the Institute is a spontaneity of fellowship which valuably supplements the program conducted during the intensive two weeks' session.

The roots of this Institute are planted in the soil of a religious heritage whose deep conviction concerning the intrinsic value of all individuals, and the

condition of their being, gave rise to the founding of the American Missionary Association more than one hundred years ago. The Institute thus serves as one aspect of the Congregational Christian Churches' program under its Board of Home Missions.

You are cordially invited to participate in the forthcoming sessions of the Institute, which continues its effort to hasten the day "that men may walk with freedom in their eyes."

LECTURERS AND CONSULTANTS

(A PARTIAL LIST FROM PREVIOUS INSTITUTES)

GORDON W. ALLPORT, Department of Psychology, Harvard University

JOSEPH W. BIRD, College Relations and Recruiting Division, RCA

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Department of History, Columbia University

SAVILLE R. DAVIS, American Editor, *Christian Science Monitor*

JAMES C. EVANS, Civilian Aide to the Department of Defense

GEORGE T. GUERNSEY, Department of Education, CIO

JOHN E. IVEY, Southern Regional Education Board

CLYDE KLUCKHOHN, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University

JOHN LAFARGE, S. J. *America*

EDWARD LAWSON, Division of Human Rights, United Nations

HELEN V. McLEAN, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry

CAREY McWILLIAMS, Editor, *The Nation*

THURGOOD MARSHALL, Chief Legal Counsel, NAACP

GEORGE S. MITCHELL, Director, Southern Regional Council

M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU, Department of Anthropology, Rutgers University

JOSEPH J. MORROW, Personnel Manager, Pitney-Bowes, Inc.

P. L. PRATTIS, Executive Editor, *Pittsburgh Courier*

MARK STARR, International Ladies Garment Workers Union

JULIUS A. THOMAS, Department of Industrial Relations, National Urban League

INFORMATION ABOUT THE 1954 INSTITUTE

WHERE: Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee **WHEN:** June 28-July 10, 1954

WHO ATTENDS: YOU: All interested citizenry—religious leaders, students, teachers. Representatives of trade unions and management. Members of human relations committees and other governmental agencies.

COST: $80.00 for room, board, and tuition for the two weeks' session.

CREDIT: Institute members may earn three semester hours of academic credit toward their undergraduate or graduate degrees.

☐ Please send me an application for admission to the Eleventh Annual Institute of Race Relations.

☐ I would like additional information about the Institute.

NAME

STREET

CITY ZONE STATE

Address Inquiries to:

ROBERT C. SWEET
RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
FISK UNIVERSITY
Nashville 8, Tennessee

10th Annual Institute of Race Relations

THE RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

". . . the ripples of influence from this annual meeting lap steadily against the rocks of prejudice and discrimination in America"

The time has come . . .

". . . to sustain missions for the propagation of a pure and free Christianity" . . . from which the "sins of caste, slave holding and the like shall be excluded."

After the original call to the 1846 convention of "Friends of Bible Missions" which led to the formation of the American Missionary Association.

TENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

JUNE 29—JULY 11, 1953 FISK UNIVERSITY NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

SINCE its origin ten years ago, the INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS has provided a means for community leaders throughout the country to give thoughtful consideration to the practical issues of human relations and civil rights. During this decade the institute discussions have reflected the changes occurring in the dynamic field of intergroup relations—from the turmoil and uncertainties occasioned by World War II, to the elimination of discrimination and heightening integration approaching with recent years. As integration openly challenges the structure of segregation—in education, housing, employment and other fields—the necessity for developing specific techniques to give enlightened direction to this process becomes ever more apparent.

TO EVALUATE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PAST; TO LEND UNDERSTANDING TO THE PRESENT; AND TO PROVIDE ORIENTATION TO CHANGES IN PROSPECT: Toward these objectives the TENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE sets its sights.

Institute members seek the facts and examine propositions under guidance by the nation's most competent authorities in the different fields of race relations. Lectures, panel discussions and seminars covering a wide variety of topics combine with the free exchange of ideas in special clinics and informal gatherings. Conditions, problems, and programs of the work-a-day realm of race relations share common ground with findings of the social sciences.

Through the institute, a body of knowledge and technique can be acquired for intelligent and practical community action in the important NEXT STEPS AHEAD.

LECTURERS AND CONSULTANTS

(A PARTIAL LIST FROM PREVIOUS INSTITUTES)

W. W. ALEXANDER ..... *Southern Regional Council*
FRANK S. LOESCHER ..... *Philadelphia Fair Employment Practices Commission*
FRANK HORNE ..... *Housing and Home Finance Agency*
GORDON W. ALLPORT ..... *Harvard University*
M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU ..... *Rutgers University*
VICTOR H. DALY ..... *United States Employment Service*
JOSEPH LOHMAN ..... *University of Chicago*
SARA E. SOUTHALL ..... *International Harvester Company*
THURGOOD MARSHALL ..... *NAACP Counsel*
GEORGE SCHERMER ..... *Detroit Interracial Committee*
RALPH HELSTEIN ..... *United Packinghouse Workers Union*
JOHN E. IVEY ..... *Southern Regional Education Board*
LESTER GRANGER ..... *National Urban League*
JOHN LAFARGE, S. J. ..... *America*
MRS. M. E. TILLY ..... *President's Committee on Civil Rights*
A. ABBOT ROSEN ..... *Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith*
EDWARD LAWSON ..... *Division of Human Rights, United Nations*

INFORMATION ABOUT THE 1953 INSTITUTE

WHERE: Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee **WHEN:** June 29-July 11, 1953

WHO ATTENDS: YOU: All interested citizenry—religious leaders, students, teachers. Representatives of trade unions and management. Members of human relations committees and other governmental agencies.

COST: $80.00 for room, board, and tuition for the two weeks' session.

CREDIT: Institute members may earn three semester hours of academic credit toward their undergraduate or graduate degrees.

☐ Please send me an application for admission to the Tenth Annual Institute of Race Relations.

☐ I would like additional information about the Institute.

NAME

STREET

CITY ZONE STATE

Address Inquiries to:

ROBERT C. SWEET

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

FISK UNIVERSITY

Nashville 8, Tennessee

A NEWSPAPER MAN LOOKS AT THE INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

Fisk University

Nashville 8, Tennessee

Writer finds Fisk's famous Race Relations Institute breeds a loyalty "worth its weight in freedom"

NEW WIND IN THE OLD SOUTH

BY SAVILLE R. DAVIS

Reprinted from The Christian Science Monitor

FISK UNIVERSITY'S placid campus is an odd candidate for the center of the world on a sultry summer evening. There is none of the usual evidence of vortex here. The chattering news tickers with their insistent bulletins from Korea seem remote. Life eddies in a politely segregated way just beyond the confines of this southern Negro university, and on campus there is nothing more dramatic than the distant roll of thunder as an organist finishes Bach's *D-Minor Toccata* with a flourish and Thurgood Marshall rises to tell the Race Relations Institute about some lightnings recently loosed by the Supreme Court.

It is a quiet scene, and yet this is the center of the world for a moment. The question of whether the free world deserves to remain free is being measured here. An issue is at stake which is bigger than Korea, an idea is being shaped which could be a surer defense in that part of the world than all the planes which Gen. Douglas MacArthur commands.

Here in the South, at a vulnerable point in America's moral armor, it is clear that excellent progress is being made on the race problem. It is difficult not to seize a typewriter and report that democracy is safe—safe at the core. It is difficult not to call out across the Pacific to the peoples of South and East Asia, "You can trust us now."

Any such burst of enthusiasm would stretch the facts. But there are moments when a reporter senses that the corner is turned, and at that point hope leaps ahead of the many difficult jobs remaining to be done. It is an immensely refreshing experience to come here from the outside world of dense problems and dishearteningly slow speed in solving them, to find that the slowest problem of them all has suddenly begun to resolve, almost with breath-taking speed.

The best evidence is not in big, spectacular developments like the recent Supreme Court decisions, important as they are. You find it, rather, filling your notebook after a day of reports, lectures, and workshop discussions at the institute here, in the form of smaller signs of progress on the community level.

You hear of the wealthy white Texan who has just told three southern schools he will leave them large bequests if they admit Negro students.

Or the survey of restaurants in Washington, D.C., where 17 out of every 25 said they were now glad to

serve Negroes.

An announcement to southern churches of visual aids for discussion groups on race relations astonished the sponsors by bringing nearly 5,000 requests.

White teachers in Atlanta, Ga., took their white students on a visit to Negro schools in areas where some of the nation's most blighted housing problems exist. They talked with both pupils and teachers. What they learned and reported to their parents has helped to ease a particularly tense situation.

A recent poll of the faculties of white universities in the South showed that 68 per cent felt that seggregation in their institutions could and should be ended. This percentage has probably increased since the Supreme Court decisions.

There were 91 summer institutes dealing with race relations this past summer, most of them at colleges. In addition, there were 116 regular summer courses in this field. And during the past winter season, 1,580 courses were held in 293 colleges and universities.

When the notebook begins to fill with items like these, even the skeptic can see that there is a new wind blowing through the South. The men and women who tell the institute of rapid progress in their communities are technicians, trained social workers or lawyers, who do not easily yield to optimism. Most of them are Negroes and they include many of the leading figures in this field. If they showed bitterness, frustration, and resentment at the many chains which still bind their people, it would be understandable. If they talked of stirring up rebellion, of meeting the force of circumstances and restrictive laws with counterforce, at least it could be said that they faced some provocation.

But there is no bitterness here. These are not frustrated people, prey to extremism. They joke easily, with lively humor. They give the impression of men and women working for a principle of equality of man which is larger than they and which gives breadth and poise to their point of view. They do not feel that violence is either desirable or inevitable. They seem rather to feel that you don't have to use force if the tide of events is in your favor.

There was a long, exhaustive discussion of one community where Negro housing conditions are bad. A few heavy industries control the town; they had boomed in wartime and now there is unemployment. The Negroes feel they are not wanted and that the town would rather be rid of them than help build decent houses. But they have nowhere to go. Racial tension has grown to the point where it could be ugly.

The community organizer telling this story said that almost everything had been tried in an effort to get help. The local newspaper, millowners, labor unions, ministers, local businessmen, all appeared to be unsympathetic, and it seemed impossible to rouse either civic pride or self-interest. What, the local colored leader asked, could the experts of the institute suggest?

The answers were revealing. Exasperation and sharp measures were not the way out. Had the local editor been unsympathetic? But did you realize what patience and, above all, persistence could accomplish? You have to visit the editor over and over again, convince him of your sincerity, bring him an objective and authoritative report of the facts and get him to make his own investigation. In time, even if he is a skeptic, honesty and facts will win at least his respect.

The millowners didn't seem to care? But they live in the town, and in these days no one wants to live with the ugliness of racial tension. Countless employers have been brought to see that it is damaging to their interests. Perhaps the local ministers can be persuaded to plead the case. Or approach the millowners directly and repeatedly with all the civic backing you can muster.

One of the old hands at this sort of thing said: "It's remarkable what persuasion and the force of an idea can accomplish if you support them with skill in negotiation. But these things take time. Just to change the thinking of one person in the community is an undertaking. You say you've exhausted all the means of support. The chances are that you have not worked at them long enough and carefully enough."

And he told of civic campaigns where skill and patience accomplished what force and impatience could not. The community organizer from this town will go back home with a new devotion to the power of ideas, and with a list of some 10 specific things that can be tried to break the deadlock in his community. They begin with an authoritative survey of the facts, so impartially managed that it will be convincing, and end with a carefully planned campaign to lay these facts directly before the millowners and leaders of the town with maximum likelihood of gaining their confidence and support.

Reduced to print in these words, the constructive mood of the suggestions almost sounds weak and defeatist. But in the discussions here it was nothing of the sort. It came from thoroughly modern, young, skilled negotiators who know that intelligent persuasion, backed by the compulsion of events in these days when racial ugliness is damaging to all concerned, can and does get results. These are the men who would advise sharper and more tough-minded measures if anyone short of the Communists would. But instead they spelled out ways of fixing grievances which are as supple and democratic as democracy itself could wish.

One editor of a large and militant Negro newspaper, who would be intolerant of any soft attitude or appeasement, gave his formula for persuading the whites to support the cause of equality. Appeal to their sense of sporting fair play, he said. This is one of their most deeply ingrained characteristics. Also to their conscience; they don't want to do things of which they will be ashamed. Finally, openly encourage those whites who are helping to bring about reforms. They will appreciate it, and even in the South they will find that their stand brings increasingly favorable comment from their own race.

This is scarcely a formula for revolution. But the man who put it forth says that it brings results.

The mood here would not comfort the enemies of democracy. Social change, in the face of the towering complexities of this problem here in the South, is not being pressed to the point of explosion. The leaders of the crusade here are not willful or even unwitting incendiaries. They are men and women who feel deeply the shame of discrimination and second-class citizenship as it is imposed on them by history and circumstance, but who are also intensely loyal to the very western system which has left them for so long an aggrieved minority. That is a loyalty which appears here to be worth its weight in freedom.

Copyright, The Christian Science Monitor

SAVILLE R. DAVIS is American news editor of The Christian Science Monitor. He participated in the recent Race Relations Institute at Fisk University.

New Directions:

THE RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE

By
HERMAN H. LONG

NEW DIRECTIONS IN RACE RELATIONS

by Herman H. Long

PHOTOS FROM FRANK O. ROBERTS STUDIO

Congressman Brooks Hays and Dr. Charles S. Johnson, director of the famous Institute

WHAT is the nature of America's so-called "race problem?" What has been done over recent decades toward improvement, in both the North and South? What responsibilities must be assumed by community leaders in working for betterment; and what techniques, methods, and strategies are being successfully employed in different communities? What is the outlook for the future?

With increasing urgency, as the issues of civil and human rights assume central importance in both national and international affairs, the answer to these practical questions has become an active concern of a large part of the American public. Church and lay groups, business and labor, students and teachers, and a wide variety of groups have determined to find the answers to these questions and resolve the embarrassing dilemma between our Christian and democratic commitments, on the one hand, and practices of racial discrimination and segregation, on the other.

In the swift pace of events and amid the confusion of the heated political controversy which has involved these issues, it has been difficult to get clear perspective and develop the understanding which effective social action and planning demands. For individuals seeking a new direction, a personal way of behaving and living in regards to minorities, the need for an intelligent and informed understanding has been as great as that of organized groups. To assist in meeting these needs, the annual Race Relations Institute was begun at Fisk University in 1944 by Dr. Charles S. Johnson as director of the Department of Race Relations of the American Missionary Association.

What the Institute Is

The idea of the institute was to provide an intensive and practical three-weeks' course in race relations for persons throughout the nation who are concerned in their own communities with programs of amelioration. The members of the institute would learn the latest scientific findings in sociology, psychology, anthropology, and psychiatry which define the nature of race relations, and they would discover the methods and strategies which are being employed to solve the racial complications in employment and housing and to eliminate forms of discrimination and segregation. This would be, not a hasty discussion of problems, nor an impatient ranting against current evils which the membership deplored, but rather a careful and systematic review of the facts and a critical evaluation of approaches by students seeking the practical answers.

The response to the plan of the institute as a training and orientation program for leaders in race relations was immediate and enthusiastic. One hundred forty community leaders from thirty-three different states came to the institute, and they were joined by fifty of the nation's most competent authorities on problems of race, who served as consultants and lectureres. The membership was mature and representative; it contained teachers, social workers, ministers, government officials, labor and business representatives, students, school administrators, church leaders, and a substantial number of nonprofessional lay persons. Furthermore, the group was about evenly divided between southerners and northerners, and it was mixed in racial, national, creedal, and denominational elements. These were largely adults already involved in local responsibilities involving race relations, but there were also young college and university students eager to shape their future careers toward building a truly Christian and democratic nation and world.

With this kind of representation, the institute became, and has continued, not only a place where race relations are discussed, but an actual, vital intergroup experience. The members live together in the Fisk University dormitories, share meals in the dining hall, participate in informal "bull sessions" in their rooms, under the shading magnolias beside Livingstone Hall, or over "cokes" and ice cream in the Co-op. They begin the day with four hours of stimulating seminar presentations and discussions, given refreshing relief at midmorning with coffee served by faculty wives, and spend two hours in the afternoon in clinical workshops. After dinner, there is a special evening lecture, sharpened by an after-period of questions or a sparkling panel discussion. And before the lecture there is always music arranged by the Fisk music department—the music that is so much a part of the Fisk tradition and speaks of values and meanings common to all men.

The location of the institute gives a special meaning and organization to these experiences: it is situated on the campus of a Negro university and it is in the heart of the South. Not only does this give the institute an additional note of realism, but it is symbolic of the significant changes that are taking place in race relations, particularly within the southern region. The southern system of segregated education requires, by custom in some states and law in others, separation of the races. Yet here, not only is there going on in the South an important intergroup educational process, but also people are learning the methods and strategies for modifying the total pattern of racial regimentation.

An Established National Institution

There have now been six annual meetings of the institute, and about eight hundred national leaders have participated as members, consultants, and lecturers. The discussions attract daily attention of the local and national press. The Associated Press, United

Press, the *New York Times, Herald-Tribune, Christian Science Monitor,* and a score of smaller news outlets carry regular releases of the presentations. The *New York Times, Life,* and *Time* magazines, and the *Chicago Daily News* have had newsmen assigned for an on-the-spot coverage. The attention given to the insitute by these important sources of information is an indication of significance of this national workshop to the formation of public opinion in America. It is a recognition that what is best, soundest, and wisest opinion in current race relations annually is produced at the Fisk meetings. Edwin A. Lahey, one of the nation's most widely read news columnists and writer for the *Chicago Daily News,* wrote of the institute after a visit: "Quietly, with no tub thumping and no demagoguery, the ripples of influence from this annual meeting lap steadily against the rocks of prejudice and discrimination in America."

Not only is the institute a means of direct education and training to its members, it has become a vehicle of public education. In addition to communicating information to the general public through channels of the national press, it has stimulated the formation of editorial opinion on the basic issues of race relations. An appropriate example is the editorial which appeared in the *Toledo (Ohio) Blade,* in response to the keynote address of this year's institute which defined the issues and appeared in the *New York Times.* The editorial incisively remarked, in part:

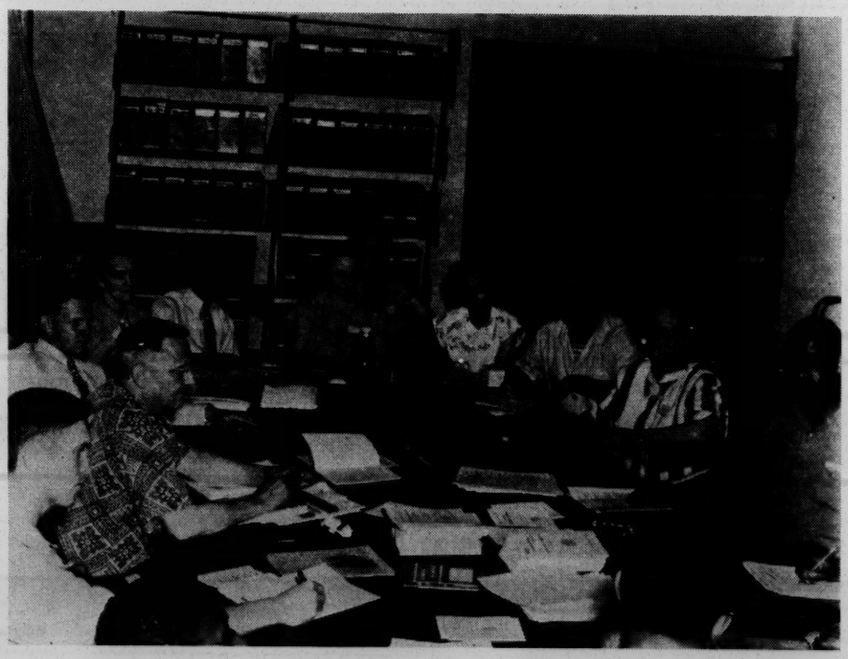
"At the moment when this nation became the principal advocate before the bar of world opinion of the right of individuals to live as free men, equal before the law, a situation arose in which the racial problem became a test of America's sincerity and integrity. Unless it can solve its own problems of this nature, it cannot hope to plead the cause of freedom and equality for others. And as its own people realize that they are parties to this duplicity, the corrosive effect upon their own faith will be disastrous.

"The sense of guilt which already strikes at the consciences of an increasing number of Americans, as they realize the magnitude of the deception represented by the denial of the rights of some men, represents a more serious threat to its safety than all the forces described as subversive. If a nation loses faith in its own integrity, it loses more than any outside force can take from it."

Course of Study

There are three major divisions of the institute curriculum. The first week is given to a review of the basic sociological, anthropological, and psychiatric materials which define the problems of human relations and place them in world-wide perspective. The second week's discussions are concerned with the primary current issues—housing, employment, civil rights, segregation in the armed services and other federal operations, and educational inequalities. The final division of the program is directed toward methods of solution —education and public opinion, the role of the press and mass media of communication, legal strategies and techniques, new forms of legislation, the role and methods of operation of organized groups. There is within the program, accordingly, a shift from what one should know and understand of the basic scientific concepts and facts to what needs to be done and how groups and individuals can proceed.

These shifts in emphasis of program, of course, are reflected in the character of speakers and consultants. The first week, for example, will be heavily weighted with social scientists, psychiatrists, and leaders in religious thought. In one instance the discussion may be presented by Dr. Nathan Ackerman and Dr. Marie Jahoda, psychiatrist and social psychologist respectively, who will analyze the nature of prejudice and the character of the antisemitic personality, based upon their own research materials which have become a landmark in recent investigations in this field. In another case, the speaker will be Dr. Gordon Allport, dean of American Social Psychologists and professor at Harvard University, who will analyze the psychology of rumor and show how the unchecked spread of racial rumors lays



Top: ***"Get Acquainted" gathering, first event of the Institute***

Right: ***Church and Race Clinic get down to serious business***

the foundation for race riots. In still another instance, it may be Dr. Smiley Blanton, Vanderbilt University consulting psychiatrist, analyzing the love-hate complex in race relations, and emphasizing on sound psychiatric grounds which have a counterpart in Jesus' life and teachings that love is the only saving power in both personal and group conflict. "Because love is stronger than hate, and because we live in a culture with a Judo-Christian ethic which gives us a conscience on these matters, it is possible for us to conquer the group antagonism and aggression which stems from hate impulses," Dr. Blanton told the insitute in this connection. Edwin Embree, former president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; and Reginald Barrett, Cambridge University, England, have had prominent roles in these background discussions, placing the problem of racial minorities in America in the context of human rights the world over.

The practical emphasis of the second and third weeks are shown in the large representation of officials of city governments and federal agencies, businessmen, labor leaders, educators, and social workers who come as speakers and consultants. Lester Granger, head of the National Urban League; attorney Charles H. Houston, leading consitutional lawyer on civil rights; Sara Southall, personnel official for the International Harvester Company; Hon. Brooks Hays, distinguished congressional leader from Arkansas; Charles Thompson, dean of the Howard University Graduate School; Father John Lafarge, leading Catholic liberal; Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, dynamic Jewish leader; Ralph Helstein, president of the United Packinghouse Workers International Union; Joseph Lohman, executive for the Committee to Abolish Segregation in the nation's capital; George Mitchell, Atlanta, Georgia, head of the Southern Regional Council; and Thomas Wright, head of the Chicago Mayor's Commission on Race Relations—these are the practical men of action whose wealth of experience is shared in the discussions on what the problems are and how they can be approached.

Sara Southall has described for the institute how International Harvester, one of the nation's largest industrial systems, has successfully carried out a program of integration at practically all levels of skill. With the new expansion of this industry into southern areas—notably Evansville, Indiana; Louisville, Kentucky; and Memphis, Tennessee, Negro workers have been introduced into assembly line operations along with white workers. On the whole, Miss Southall pointed out, the problem of integrating Negro workers into these new industrial units has not been as great as that of integrating them into old plants where lines of exclusion have long been established. A presentation generally confirming the International Harvester experience was also made by Joseph W. Morrow, personnel manager of Pitney-Bowes, Incorporated. Mr. Morrow described the favorable trend of increased utilization of minority group workers in the higher brackets of skill in many of the major industrial enterprises. He said, however, that because discrimination is still being practiced in the employment and utilization of workers, American economy is losing a minimum of six billion dollars each year.

CONGRESSMAN Brooks Hays' proposal of a compromise on civil rights legislation, including the enactment of a modified federal anti-lynch bill; Ralph Helstein's dramatic account of how a clear labor union policy of nondiscrimination, implemented by contractual agreements with industry, has resulted in a successful and democratic labor union program; Charles Houston's accounts of the strategies and legal principles involved in obtaining equal rights for Negroes before the Supreme Court of the United States, as in the case of higher education, housing, and voting; Frayser Lane's practical suggestions on how to adjust new Negro migrant families to a complex city environment; Thomas Wright's description of how to operate a mayor's commission on race relations and get results; George Mitchell's careful delineation of how an interracial movement operates successfully in the South—all of these are additional examples of the kind of realistic, practical, and useful subject matter which constitute the business of the Race Relations Institute. This, of course, is only a small sample of the nature of the discussions, for the intensive, six-hour days and three weeks of lectures, panel discussions, and clinical workshops cannot be adequately reported here.

Continuing Institute Influence

There is never occasion for the formal drawing-up of resolutions and recommendations by the institute, simply because the institute is not an action group in that sense. There are substantial results and effects of the institute experience upon its members, however. Ample opportunity is provided for the members to distill from the discussions those suggestions and experiences which can be acted upon in their own localities. In addition, all of the lectures and discussions are summarized, compiled, edited, and sent to each member as valuable source material.

Since most of the members are persons already engaged in some form of activity which is concerned with the adjustment of the problems of race, there is assured a continuity between the experience of the institute and the demands of everyday work back at home. The changes in personal attitudes and perspectives which occur from this experience are mildly cataclysmic for the few members who are relatively naive in orientation to these questions or who have been limited in personal experience. And for even the most sophisticated and well-informed member or speaker, the changes in perspective and understanding are always salutary. Some of the members return from year to year, and at least a third of the speakers and consultants return, looking forward to the institute as opportunity to develop new insights and learn first-hand the experience of other community leaders of like interest.

At the suggestion of one member, an entire series of local institute programs has developed throughout the South—three- and four-day discussions based upon the peculiar problems of some particular city or county. In New Orleans, Louisiana; Baltimore, Maryland; Atlanta, Georgia; Richmond, Virginia; and St. Louis, Missouri, these grass-roots programs have taken place. The formation of important mayors' committees on race relations—permanent adjuncts to the work of city government—the introduction of intercultural educational programs for the first time in some colleges and secondary schools, and the opening of several churches to an interracial membership have been several of the practical results of the kind of leadership training provided by the **Race Relations Institute.**

There is always in these institutes an awareness of progress which has been made toward greater opportunity for minorities, of the rapid acceleration of changes within the brief history of the institute itself, and of both the opportunity and challenge of the immediate future. Dr. Charles S. Johnson, director of the institute, aptly expressed this sense of urgency about the present and faith in the future, in a closing paragraph from this year's summary:

"The objective of all effort in this area of human relations is the total removal of all forms of racial segregation in our national life and the protection of minorities in their basic human rights. Every step in this direction is a further fulfillment of our fundamental faith in ourselves as a democratic nation."

A Reprint from

Classmate—Copyright, 1950

Available at the

Race Relations Department

American Missionary Association

Board of Home Missions

Congregational Christian Churches

Fisk University

Nashville 8, Tennessee

June 14, 1954

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
President
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

July 6th is all right and I will expect to make a speech that evening. As a topic, I suggest "Planning in the South for Integration."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1954
Southern Regional Council

June 8, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We have just completed our program schedule and have scheduled a major evening presentation for you the evening of July 6. We should also like to have you appear on a panel with Charles Thompson and others in a sort of summary discussion of desegregation in the schools -- where we now are, and some next steps.

As you recall, our Institute theme is centered around desegregation and your evening presentation would concern itself with some aspect of it and the southern scene. Would you like to send on a title for publication purposes?

As usual, we will rely upon you rather heavily in the clinic sessions, and are looking forward with much enthusiasm to your presence here.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/lvb

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 21, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In my opinion, no one can provide the Institute with an "understanding" of the South and all its many ramifications as well as yourself, and as usual, we are indebted to you for your presentation. In many ways, I believe this was our best Institute; certainly, it was one which dealt thoroughly and realistically with one of the most vital issues which the South and the nation have had to face in almost a century. The type of analysis which you provided made it possible for the membership to see events and change in their proper perspective. Our sincerest thanks to you.

Within a few days you will receive directly from our Business Office a check which carries with it our thanks and appreciation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ/lvb

RECEIVED
1954
Southern Regional Council

August 4, 1954

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

How kind it was of you and your Institute of Race Relations to send the check for $60.92. You paid me back handsomely for the travel, and usefully assisted the Southern Regional Council.

I will hope some Summer will come up soon when I can stay at the Institute for days and days.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED NOV 26 1956

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

OF

FISK UNIVERSITY

ANNOUNCES WITH DEEP SORROW THE DEATH

ON OCTOBER TWENTY-SEVENTH
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIX

OF

CHARLES SPURGEON JOHNSON

PRESIDENT, FISK UNIVERSITY

1946-1956

FUNERAL SERVICES WERE HELD

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER THIRTY-FIRST

FISK MEMORIAL CHAPEL

INTERMENT

GREENWOOD CEMETERY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Staff

The family of the late

Charles Spurgeon Johnson

shall always remember with deep gratitude

your comforting expression

of sympathy

Dec 5, 1956

Mrs. Charles S. Johnson
1700 Meharry Boulevard
Nashville 8, Tennessee

NASHVILLE TENN. DEC 5 '56

U.S. POSTAGE AMOUNT .03 PB METER 642 03

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

December 6, 1956

Mrs. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

The Board of the Southern Regional Council in annual meeting November 14, 1956, at Williamsburg, Virginia, unanimously adopted the following resolution.

> On this Thirteenth Anniversary Meeting of the Southern Regional Council we consider the passing of Dr. Charles S. Johnson a grievous loss. From the inception of the Council, of which Dr. Johnson was a principal founder, he gave invaluable leadership. We shall sorely miss his understanding, his guidance, and his wise counsel. Not only this organization, but the Southern region, the field of higher learning, and the nation itself will be the poorer without him. But the concept of democracy, which he did so much to further, will continue to grow -- and this will be to him a living testimonial.

My own most vivid recollection of Dr. Johnson was of one or two of those occasions at the Hay-Adams Hotel in Washington where Dr. Johnson and Dr. Alexander and Edwin Embree, having taken rooms for a long week-end, sat together to winnow out proposals to the Rosenwald Fund. This little meeting was really a central planning commission for democracy in the Southern states.

Devotedly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Charles Spurgeon Johnson

Born: Bristol, Virginia, 1893.

Formal Education: A.B. Virginia Union University, Richmond, 1916; Ph.D. University of Chicago, 1917; Litt.D.(honorary), Virginia University 1928; L.H.D. Howard University, 1941.

Occupational history: Associate Executive, Chicago Commission on Race Relations; Director of research, National Urban League; editor of Opportunity, Journal of Negro Life; director of department of Social Science, professor of Sociology, Fisk University, Pioneer Infantry, 1918-1919;

Currently member of: American Sociological Association (vice president 1937); Southern Sociological Society (vice president 1939-40); Julius Rosenwald Fund (treasurer); American Missionary Society; Delta Coop Farms (treasurer); Public Industrial Commission (president of the Committee on Farm Tenancy, 1936-37).

Publications: The Negro in Chicago, Ebony and Topaz, Negro in American Civilization, Negro Housing, The Economic Status of Negroes, Shadow of the Plantation, Race Relations, The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy, A Preface to Racial Understanding, The Negro College Graduate, A Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties, Growing up in the Black Belt, To Stern this Tide, Education and the Cultural Process, Patterns of Negro Segration.

Travel: England, France, Germany, Ireland, Denmark, Africa.

Church: Baptist

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This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
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=MARCH 24TH POSSIBLE DATE IF I CAN REACH ATLANTA FROM ENGAGEMENT IN DAYTON OHIO ON THE 23RD; IF NOT WILL TRY ADJUSTMENT ON DAYTON ENGAGEMENT=CHARLES F JOHNSON;

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, Inc. $

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

President Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Would like permission reprint introduction "Into the Main Stream" in May New South. Appreciate your okay by collect wire soon as possible. Regards.

Ray Warwick

Johnson, Guy B
Personal

CHANNING FROTHINGHAM, M.D.
Chairman

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RUSSELL DAVENPORT
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DAVID SARNOFF
GERARD SWOPE
Honorary Vice-Chairmen

CARL C. LANG
Treasurer

MICHAEL M. DAVIS
Chairman
Executive Committee

JOSEPH H. LOUCHHEIM
Executive Director

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21

Committee For The Nation's Health

1790 Broadway New York 19, N. Y.

October 30, 1946

RECEIVED
NOV 1 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Friend:

Thank you very much for your contribution to aid the work of our Committee.

I am happy to know that we have your support in our campaign to assure that adequate medical care will be available to all Americans. I have asked our Executive Director, Mr. Louchheim, to send you copies of the publications of the Committee. He will keep you informed of our progress in working for National Health Insurance.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Roosevelt

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

Johnson, Guy B.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

Nov. 3, 1947

Dear George:

I was away most of last week and didn't get to acknowledge your letter about the revisions in my report. They were quite O.K. with me.

Enclosed is a report whose form interested me. It attracts one's attention at once. Maybe Fleming would be interested in something of the sort for an SRC leaflet some time.

Will be seeing you soon.

Cordially,

Guy B. Johnson

December 3, 1947

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Johnson:

It is with special pleasure that I perform my task of formally announcing your unanimous election as Vice-President of the Southern Regional Council by the membership body at its annual meeting on November 12th.

This recognition of the fine contribution which you have made to the Council is most gratifying to all of us here, and the knowledge that we shall continue to benefit from your wisdom, experience, and good counsel a matter for much self-congratulation.

With regards and kindest good wishes from the entire Staff, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

AM:ee

Johnson, Guy B.

January 8, 1948

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

It was mighty nice of you to go out to Dr. Will's. I guess he probably got our letter, but I still haven't heard. I took the added precaution of asking Trigg, on a journey through Durham yesterday, to call or visit Mr. Spaulding, and alert him further.

Your hundred was a big boost. We still have out nearly a thousand in pledges.

Best to you, all four.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Johnson, Guy B.

March 8, 1948

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Johnson:

It was such a pleasure to have you with us week before last for the Executive Committee meeting. Everyone enjoyed so much seeing you again. We really do look forward to these meetings for the reunion with friends which they are coming more and more to represent.

Thanks for letting me have your expense account. I should have passed out blanks at the meeting, but we were all so pushed getting ready for two meetings at once that some things just did not get done. Covering c eck is attached.

The Civil Rights meeting went, we feel, extremely well, and press notices on the whole were quite good. These was an excellent covering article in the New York Times of Saturday, February 28, and we received front page rating from the Chattanooga and Jacksonville Daily Times.

With kindest good wishes and with regards from the entire staff, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosure

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY

March 2, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 4 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Treasurer, SRC
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I am enclosing my expense account for the recent meeting of the Executive Committee. I have omitted the hotel item, because I consider that my staying over an extra day in Atlanta was as much for personal business as for SRC.

It was good to see all of you again. I think SRC has a wonderful staff. The luncheon was superb! My thanks to all who made it possible.

Here's hoping the Civil Rights meeting went off all right. I got a Sunday Journal and saw a brief write-up. I'm anxious to know more.

Best wishes to all of you.

Sincerely yours,
Guy B. Johnson
Guy B. Johnson

John - Cy B.

March 25, 1948

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I found Dahlberg's RACE, REASON AND RUBBISH, and am sending it to you today. The Dollard doesn't seem to be around. If it turns up I'll surely send it to you.

Today is just like a Chapel Hill spring day, and it makes me homesick for the place! I know the campus is beautiful now, even with the portables. The dogwood is coming out here, beautiful as ever.

I wish you could have attended the civil rights conference. Some awfully good things came out of it, I think. We got pretty good news coverage, including a whole issue of THE STATESMAN.

It was good to see Mrs. Johnson the other day, even though for a few minutes.

Best wishes to both of you.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

Please return to me

Guy B. Johnson

Box 652, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

March 17, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Margaret:

Sometime when you have absolutely nothing else to do, could you check up and see whether by any chance I left the following books at SRC:

Dollard: Class & Caste in a Southern Town.
Dahlberg: Race, Reason and Rubbish.

I don't even know for sure that I had them with me in Atlanta, but I can't find them, so I am trying to check up on them.

Spring seems to be here at last -- or at least the first installment. Daffodils and flowering shrubs are at their height now. This may be the sign for a snow or sleet storm.

Best wishes to all.

Cordially yours,

GBJ

Guy B. Johnson

P.S. I believe I have neglected to pay dues for 1948. I enclose five dollars for joint membership and a small contribution. I hope to be able to make a further contribution sometime this year.

18 - Johnson, Guy B
E ~~Hall~~ ?

~~advice~~
File

BAYLOR UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
WACO, TEXAS

CHARLES D. JOHNSON, PH.D.
CHAIRMAN

April 1, 1948

RECEIVED
APR 5 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I regret exceedingly that it will not be possible for me to represent the Southern Regional Council at the inauguration of Dr. William Richardson White because of the fact that I have already accepted an invitation from my Alma Mater, Mississippi College, and I am the official representative of the Education Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention of which I am chairman.

Please accept my hearty thanks for your thought of me and please know that I regret that under the circumstances I am not able to accept your kind invitation.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. D. Johnson

Charles D. Johnson.

CDJ:sp

Evelyn Hill

Guy B. Johnson

Box 652, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

March 19, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Evelyn K. Hill
SRC Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Evelyn:

Thank you for your letter and for the Texas SRC member cards. I have gone through the cards, and I have the following suggestions:

The Mr. Johnson whom I mentioned in a note to Dr. Mitchell yesterday is not in Arkansas, as I thought, but is Mr. Charles D. Johnson of Baylor University. As he is a member of SRC and is located at Baylor, the simplest thing would be to ask him to represent SRC.

Other possibilities are: DR. L.D. Haskew, University of Texas, Austin; Dr. Harry E. Moore, University of Texas, whom I mentioned in note to Dr. Mitchell; Dr. Blake Smith, Baptist minister of Austin, who might be planning to attend the inauguration; Dr. Daniel Russell, College Station, an old Baylor classmate of mine who usually gets to Baylor celebrations; and Dr. T.B. Maston, of the Baptist seminary at Ft. Worth, who would probably be attending the inauguration.

I would rank these in terms of probability of getting them: Johnson, Russell, Maston, Smith, Haskew, and Moore.

I shall return the cards right away. Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Guy B. Johnson

E Hill

Guy B. Johnson

Box 652, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1948
Religious Work Council

March 17, 1948

Dear George:

I still have not been able to think of anyone near Waco to represent SRC at the inauguration of the Baylor University president. Here are the best suggestions I have at present:

SRC Member Dr. Harry E. Moore, University of Texas, is probably a SRC member and might be willing to make the trip, though I think this would be somewhat doubtful.

No A fellow named Johnson --J.D. J., I believe-- who is connected with some college in Arkansas, used to be at Baylor. I seem to remember that he is a member of SRC. He might be planning to go to the inauguration anyway to represent his school, and he could double for SRC.

No Do we have any members at Mary Hardin-Baylor College at Belton? It is an easy drive of about forty miles from there to Waco.

No I wonder whether you followed through on making Gordon Lovejoy, University of Miami, a Fellow. He would certainly be a good one.

Best wishes to all.

Sincerely,

Guy

Guy B. Johnson

BAYLOR UNIVERSITY

WACO, TEXAS

Inauguration of

WILLIAM RICHARDSON WHITE

AS NINTH PRESIDENT

TUESDAY, APRIL 13TH, 1948

WILL BE REPRESENTED BY

President, Southern Reginal Council

18 - Johnson, Guy B -

August 23, 1948

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

We did up some photostats of recent publicity.

I should appreciate it if you would look at them and give us suggestions and comments.

Could you also put them in Dr. Odum's hands for three minutes and then pull them back?

We made up only ten sets, and should appreciate your returning this set to us so that we can get it circulated to other people, notably the heads of State Divisions and so on.

I begin to have the Annual Meeting blues. I assume you know that feeling.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

18 - Johnson, Guy B.

Sep. 22, '48

Dear Guy,

Here's a nice editorial from Monday the Times gave us.

That statement got fine play, all over the South. Manders and Chappell printed it in full, scarce as newsprint is.

Best,

GSH

18 - Johnson, Guy B.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

October 1, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for sending me a copy of the editorial from the New York Times. It is very good indeed, and I am sure that many of the newspapers carried similar statements.

It was good to see all of you at the Executive Committee meeting on September 15. I thought we had a fine meeting. I have not seen Dr. Alexander since the meeting, but I hope to get hold of him soon and see if there is anything we can think of which will help the financial condition of Southern Regional Council.

I am terribly sorry that you are going to lose Margaret Price. She has done a fine job, and it is not going to be easy to replace her. Right now I cannot think of anybody who would satisfy your requirements, but I shall talk it over with Dr. Odum and others and we may be able to come up with a good suggestion.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy

GUY B. JOHNSON
Research Professor

GBJ:s

18 - Johnson, Guy B.

October 7, 1948

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Dr. Mitchell tells me that you may possibly be interested in the purchase of our Soundscriber machines and has asked me to investigate the original cost, current prices, and so forth for your information.

On consulting our books, I find the machines were bought - or at any rate paid for in June 1948 at a price of $434.11, of which about $20.00 was for supplies. The Griffin Company who sold them to us, tells us that they do not now make precisely this model, due to the fact that certain improvements have been added, and a rigid cover with handle now comes with the dictating machine for easier portability. The current cost of the improved model is $286.14 for the dictating machine and $351.55 for the transcribing machine, or a total of $637.69. In view of these facts, would you consider $300 for our two machines, with such supplies as we still have on hand, to be a fair price?

Please let us know whether you would be interested in purchasing the machines on this basis. Since we do not use them, we should be glad to get our money out of them for other more pressing uses.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKay
Secretary-Treasurer

October 18, 1948

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

I think this one comes more because you are Baylor than because you are SRC; therefore, I am sending it on to you.

It sticks in my mind that someone wrote a book on that very same subject.

All I have done is wrote Mr. Deben that I am asking you to answer his letter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

18 - Johnson, Guy B.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

October 21, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 25 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

Thank you for your letter concerning the Soundscriber. I have not yet had time to get a decision here as to whether we can afford to purchase the machines for $300. I shall write you later or talk to you about it when I come to the annual meeting in November.

Best wishes to all.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson

Guy B. Johnson
Research Professor

GBJ:lh

18 - Johnson, Guy B.

November 4, 1948
Dict. November 3

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

Here is a letter from the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. It is a good deal to ask, but could you take on representing the Council at that meeting?

It would save us forty-odd dollars, and it would save me a beating-up getting to Chapel Hill and back in my biddie. I know it costs you an otherwise restful Sunday afternoon.

If no soap, let me know, but I do hope some soap!

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. Please return original letter from FSC for our files.

GSM:t
enclosure

18-Johnson, Guy B.

November 16, 1948

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

It was mighty nice of you to take on the Sunday meeting with Nelle Morton's people.

Good to have you here for the meeting. I saw Guion across the room, but did not get to speak to her.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

18- Johnson, Guy B.-

November 29, 1948

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Herewith check covering your expenses for annual and board meetings. It was good to have you and Mrs. Johnson with us and we were so glad you could make it in spite of your foot.

With all good wishes, I am

Cordially and sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

November 18, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 19 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary, SRC
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I had hoped to get over to the SRC office last week after the meetings, but I couldn't make it. I have been wearing an injured right foot for several weeks, and I had to give it some rest before starting the drive back home.

The Institute is not able to find the money to purchase the Soundscriber from SRC. However, there is a chance that I am going to secure a grant from another source to enable me to do some more work on the Robeson County Indians. If I get a large enough grant, I may be able to buy the machines. I will let you know as soon as possible. In the meantime, though, don't miss any good chance to sell.

I enclose an expense account. I cancelled the hotel room by telegram and stayed with friends while I was in Atlanta.

I thought the meetings were excellent. Now, if we can all pull together and raise that money, we can breathe easier!

Best wishes to all.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson

Guy B. Johnson

18. Johnson, Guy B

November 29, 1948

Alumni Association
University of Chicago
5733 University Avenue
Chicago 37, Illinois

Gentlemen:

Your mailing list contains the name of Guy B. Johnson, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia.

Mr. Johnson is the former executive director of this Council. His present address is:

Department of Sociology and Anthropology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

18.- Johnson, Guy B.-

November 30, 1948

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

It was mighty kind of you to haul me around so generously. I am sure that trip to see Doctor Will did good, and by your help I had a good long time with Wheeler and Spaulding. They will draw up lists and check them with Gurney Hood.

I remember that you mentioned the name of the Merretts at Mount Airy. I forget what I was to do about them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

18-Johnson, Guy B.

GSM:t

December 14, 1948

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

Since my Chapel Hill visit I have had a letter from Paul Williams, proposing that we go ahead after the $250 sums by convening the Council's Board members in each state (the convener to be the operating head of the state division or committee) and then parceling out the names for approach by Board members.

That seems to me sensible, and I will hold Mr. Oscar K. Merritt's name for that North Carolina meeting. Meanwhile, it is kind of you to remember and tell me about him.

We are, figuratively speaking, decking the Sound Scriber equipment in wreaths and red ribbons. We tried it out lately and it is in fine working order.

On the $10 letter, we have had already perhaps ten $10 contributions.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

18 - Johnson, Guy B.

January 18, 1949

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Box 652
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Johnson:

No doubt, ere this, you are all set up with the sound-scriber. Hope it is working fine and you are enjoying it.

It has been suggested that the meeting date for the Executive Committee be deferred until March, since by that time we should have a much better idea of what our financial campaign is likely to turn up, and thus what our situation is likely to be. With this in mind, we are considering the dates - March 9, 16, and/or 23. Could you be with us on any of these dates, and if so, do you have a preference among them? As soon as I can clear a date with all others concerned, I will let you hear.

Dr. Mitchell asked me to tell you that in giving you the amount for the check for Mrs. Johnson ($6.45), he now finds that he unconsciously transposed his figures, and that the amount should have been $4.65. I am therefore, returning to you the difference, at his request, -- in cash, since he is out of town and I have no co-signer.

With all good wishes to you both, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AMcK
Enclosure

6.75 - Px

4.65 -
1.80 -
Correct amount
Said did -
We owe Dr. K
Send
Mrs. Guy B. Johnson

17 - Johnson, Guy B.

February 5, 1949

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

Fund Raising

Paul Williams writes me that he is spending the night of February 9 in Durham. That will be after the meeting. He says that perhaps we can have a get-together with you and Dr. Odum and Dr. Will "and discuss all things necessary to salvation".

Could such a thing be arranged?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

18 - Johnson, Guy B.

February 14, 1949

Dear Guion and Guy:

I thank Guy greatly for presence, help, and a most prompt memorandum about the meeting the other day. Guion I thank for company and food.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Mr. and Mrs. Guy Johnson
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Sociology

Johnson, Guy B.

August 3, 1950

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

You will be interested in this correspondence. It probably had best be returned for our files.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Southe[redacted]ncil, Inc.
63 AUBURN [redacted] ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
SEP 22 1950
Southern Regional Council

Guy Johnson

HF

September 1, 1950

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Department of Sociology
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

We are quite doubtful that Governor Scott is fully or correctly reported here.

Can you set us straight as to what was said?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Dear George: Chapel Hill, N.C. 9/21/50

Sorry that vacation and school opening have thrown me behind with letters...Gov. Scott was undoubtedly misquoted on this matter. I read the story at the time. He did make some roasting remarks on the harm done by the anti-Graham people in the campaign, but he did not let go a blast against ssgregation. If he had, it would certainly have been news! Tried to find one of the news stories from N.C. papers, but couldn't. Best wishes.

Guy

GSM - has seen -

Passes on to HF

BB

SCOTT FLAILS RACISM

The Lighthouse AND INFORMER

VOLUME 14, NUMBER 11 | SATURDAY, AUGUST 26, 1950 COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA | PRICE TEN CENTS

SOU REG COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave
CC

USC Turns Down Three Seeking Special Courses

Trustees of the University of South Carolina said Saturday that three colored applicants for courses at the university had been turned down for two reasons.

In an official announcement of the action, trustees said in substance that courses comparable to those offered at the university could be obtained at S.C. State College in Orangeburg and, secondly, that state segregation laws did not allow attendance of colored and white students at the university.

While the applicants were not identified several weeks ago one Allen University student from Beaufort filed application for admission to the USC law school. About a month ago one student at State College informed The Lighthouse and Informer he intended making application for admission to the School of Journalism at the University of South Carolina.

Several reports have also come from the state headquarters of the NAACP indicating that it may have been instrumental in encouraging applications for certain courses not found in Orangeburg. The NAACP has positively stated interest in certain courses offered at Clemson College, and others at Winthrop College. Whether any applications it approved were among the three turned down was not immediately known.

The NAACP was at difference with the law school applicant, stating that it was not interested in this particular subject at the time and had no knowledge of the application until newspapers reported it.

Remove Jimcrow Signs Following NAACP Protest

NEW YORK—Signs segregating white and colored persons

22 Yr. Old Mother, Who Left 3 Tots For Parties, Is Jailed

S. C. DELEGATES AT ATA CONFAB

Deserted Children For Days

HAMLET, N.C. (ANS) - A 22-year old mother of three young children, whom neighbors told police loves to go on wild parties, this week faced charges of criminal neglect of the children, the oldest of which is six years.

The woman, Mrs. Irene Johnson, had the charges preferred by her father-in-law, J.A. Johnson, who told police that on arriving at the flimsy shack near the city dump he found the two younger children lying on the ground in front of the door too hungry and weak to move. Police said neighbors stated the woman had been gone for two days and was in the habit of leaving home for

FRANCIS NAMED TOP OF SALESMEN STAFF

David C. Francis, son of Mrs. Jodena Francis of Norway, and a recent four-year student at State A. & M College, has been appointed a sales-manager to supervise colored salesmen for Wholesale Radio and Electric Supply Company, 1901 Main Street, Columbia's newest dealers in Philco radios, refrigerators and electric ranges, Superflame oil heating equipment ,and other nationally known lines.

Born in New York City, Mr. Francis moved with his family to Norway at an early age and now resides at 2528 Washington street, Columbia, the home of the Willis Gasden family.

Majoring in Business Adminis-

Clement Tells M. C. Graduates Of Human Needs

By O. S. Franklin

SUMTER - A.J. Clement, Jr., Charleston insurance executive, told the 68 graduates of the Morris College Summer School here last week that they needed to learn the art and science of "good human relationships and the art and sciences of good human attitudes."

He was the finals speaker for summer convocations and held the huge [illegible] collbound.

Governor Says State Suffering

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. - (ANS) - Governor W. Kerr Scott put his political next under the guillotine again here last week, when he let go a terrific blast at segregation, discrimination and racial hatred.

Delivering the principal address before the North Carolina State Federation of Labor, in its annual convention attended by delegates of both races, Governor Scott declared that the prejudices which cost the defeat of Senator Frank P. Graham in a recent U. S. Senatorial primary, "Has set North Carolina back 25 years."

Turning to race relations, Governor Scott said white southerners who are tempted to persecute Negroes should remember that Negroes did not come to his country; but were brought here - as if to be persecuted and exploited.

In a reference to Graham's defeat, Governor Scott noted that "World War II's here but it's a hell of a price to pay, considering all the things we paid for in World War II."

He went on to say: " as long as we work against the rights of the human - how in the world can we convince Russia that the the American way of life is right - when we fight each other right here in this state "

The Governor told his audience that whether the South liked it or not it might as well prepare to do away with segregation. The South, he declared, cannot pay the financial costs required by a completely equal dual system.

Richest Man In Town Was

Guy Johnson

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY

October 5, 1950

Dear George:

Thanks for your note. I'll be looking for you here next week. As far as I can see now, my calendar is clear, and I'll try to keep from taking on any outside entanglements.

Guion and I would like for you to stay with us while you are here. We will have a guest Monday and Tuesday for Gordon Gray's inauguration, but after Tuesday there is plenty of room.

I am somewhat baffled as to what to do now about the N.C. Division. I got Trigg to talk to Hood and Newbold last month, and they are both for sitting tight. They say that the tensions created by the senatorial campaign and the law suits against the university make it unwise to hold a state meeting for reorganization now. Maybe I can talk Newbold around, but Hood is another problem. He went to considerable trouble to get the N.C. Commission incorporated, and he did not want to change it over to SRC. The N.C. Com. office is closed, of course, and I cannot get at the mailing list which we need unless he cooperates with me. Technically, I suppose I could go ahead and set up a meeting, since I believe --though I have not been able to get hold of a copy of the Exec. Com. minutes to see exactly what the action was-- that I was asked to plan a state meeting. Presumably, however, the plans would be reported to the Exec. Com. of the N.C. Com. for approval, etc. It is really a ticklish situation. Shall I just forget some of the old-timers and get up a meeting for those who wish to attend? I hope we can get some of these things ironed out next week.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Guy

P.S. The Ford Foundation policy sounds very good. Don't you think SRC should have a real chance of getting something there?

Dr. George S. Mitchell
SRC 63 Aurburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Johnson

October 4, 1950

Dr. Guy Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

I am coming to North Carolina next week. I expect to get to Chapel Hill in the midweek, though I can't yet say exactly what day.

I will search for you and hope for talk about the North Carolina Division and 50 for '51 and all sorts of things.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

October 16, 1950

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

You are a good egg to take on getting things going in your State. The cards are being mailed up to you pronto.

Tell Guion I drove on much the more valiantly for the good dinner she gave me.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

1/22/51. ~~Handled~~ Acknowledged by BR

Guy B Johnson

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY

January 19, 1951

RECEIVED
JAN 22 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

The N.C. state meeting is cooking again. Tentatively it is going to be in second week of February. I will know in a few days now.

If this one doesn't jell, I'll be ready to throw up my hands and set me a date that suits ME, issue the call, and have the meeting if there are as many as three present.

Will be in Washington January 23 and probably part of 24. Might be in late on 24th. Hope to see you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Guy

Guy B. Johnson

Guy Johnson

June 22, 1951

Mr. and Mrs. Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guion and Guy:

Here is the happy news from the Atlanta Journal.

It is hard for me to realize that spindly young Guy is about to get him a Ph.D. and a wife both.

Best to you both.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSMver

Guy Johnson

July 5, 1951

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

I could be in Chapel Hill Saturday afternoon, July 14.

Can you think of anybody I might interview as a survey assistant?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Chapel Hill, N.C. 7/8/51

Dear George:

Your letter received today. I am afraid there would be pretty slim pickings here at present by way of finding an assistant. Summer enrollment is down, and I can't think of anyone around right now who would be suitable for you. I suggest you write to Anna Holden, 703 East 2nd St., Ocala, Fla. She is a very smart girl. Did graduate work this year and plans to come back in fall, I think, but barely possible she would want to work for SRC.

Guy

Guy B. Johnson

RECEIVED
JUL 9 1951
RECEIVED
Southern Regional

Johnson

July 11, 1951

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Guy:

Many thanks for the dope about Miss Anna Holden.

I have written her.

Meeting went all right, as you will see by the minutes.

Any chance you and Guion and/or others could stay with us in the course of the trip down and back? We would love to have you. I am going north till about the 23rd, but that just makes all the more room at home.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

August 23, 1951

RECEIVED
AUG 24 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Your letter of July 11 reached me while I was in the throes of winding up my summer teaching and getting ready to go to Georgia for Benny's wedding. I have just recently returned after a trip which took us to Texas. It is very late to say that we appreciated your kind invitation to stop over with you. We missed Atlanta entirely since the shortest way to Milledgeville was by way of Columbia and Augusta.

I saw Anna Holden yesterday and was pleased to learn that she has taken the position with SRC. She ~~was~~ is a very smart gal and I think you ought to be congratulated.

I am trying to get some money transferred from the North Carolina Division to SRC. In our present state of organization, or perhaps I should say disorganization, it is hard to say who has authority to do what. However, I hope something can be done right away.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy

GUY B. JOHNSON
Professor of Sociology
and Anthropology

GBJ:gb

Sept. 20, 1951

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Guy:

Could you lay an ear to the ground and report to me what you hear about Smith Richardson of the Vick Chemical Company?

I've been told by friends here that Richardson is interested in interracial matters (particularly as they affect the Boy Scout movement) and that he might be interested in the Council.

You would know the sort of facts about him I would need if they could be had.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Guy Johnson

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY

December 4, 1951

RECEIVED
DEC 6 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

I am returning herewith the copy of the report of the Executive Committee of SRC with my vote of approval marked on it.

Right now I am planning to attend the meetings next week and I hope very much that my plans don't fall through. However, I have been having some trouble with the doctor and there is a possibility that I will have to give in and stay at home for some rest next week. I just want you to know that I will be there if I possibly can.

You will recall that some time ago you sent me copies of two letters and that you wondered just what the second letter meant. I have it on good authority that the second letter was not by way of introducing any new proposal, but was merely an emphasis on something which was said in the first letter.

I saw Paul Williams on the train last Friday when I was returning from Washington. Apparently he sincerely wants to step out of the presidency of SRC and I think we should respect his wishes. It will be very hard to fill his place because he has been an unselfish worker and has probably meant the difference between closing up shop or going ahead. He suggested that Marion Wright would be a good president, and I certainly agree with him. The only possible reservation I would have is that Marion lives in a somewhat out-of-the-way place, and cannot get around quite as easily as someone who lives "on the main line". Perhaps this is not serious, so if we can get Marion we had probably better do it. This should involve some changes in the vice-presidents, otherwise the list of officers will be almost entirely from North Carolina. I urge that my place as vice-president be given to someone else this time.

Sincerely,

Guy

Guy B. Johnson
Professor of Sociology
and Anthropology

Did I ever answer your query about Smith Richardson? Well, I think he is pretty doubtful in terms of SRC interests.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

GBJ:n

December 18, 1951

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Dept. of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Guy:

You've been a good egg to serve diligently and wisely and always helpfully as a vice-president for these years. I am as sorry as can be that we aren't to have you in that capacity for the coming year. But I will lean on your advice at every turn.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 9, 1953

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Guy:

Two or three weeks ago I came across an oddity which might perhaps be a suitable minor sociology investigation for some Alabama student at Chapel Hill.

You remember we have long had an elderly Negro farmer at Standing Rock, Alabama, as a member of the Council--nomine, Freeman Drake, Sr. He's in Chambers County, northeastern corner. I had occasion to drive him home from a meeting in Montgomery, and when the subject of schools came up, he explained that in the vicinity of Standing Rock they have three schools: Negro, white, and "mixed race." Mr. Drake is not given to the most exact explanations, but what we gathered from him was that some generations ago one or two white women were married to Negroes. Their descendants now amount to several families. They are, to all appearances, white, but they are not socially accepted by whites, and disdain to go to Negro schools. So the county or the State operates "mixed race" schools for them.

That seems to me grist for Chapel Hill's good mill, and I hand you the corn. May the mills of the gods get to work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

June 4, 1953

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Guy:

The membership meeting put you on the new Board. I do hope you can serve. They adopted the new by-laws, to come into effect later on, at the discretion of the Executive Committee. Much the same people that have always been on the Board, but with a few more people outstanding in the churches and a few more businessmen.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Make file

January 11, 1966

Mr. Henry Lehmann
194 Windward Circle
Ormond Beach, Florida

Dear Henry:

Thank you for your acceptance and our warmest welcome to the Council.

Sincerely

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

194 Windward Circle
Ormond Beach, Florida

January 6, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I was honored to receive your letter of December 28 and wish to advise you that I will be most happy to serve as a member of the Southern Regional Council.

I hope that I will be able to contribute to the activities of the Council and become a part of the tremendous activities which this organization has underway.

Sincerely,

Henry Lehmann

HL/m

Board Member?
no file folder
or Rolodex Card?

CHANGE OF ADDRESS:

Mr. Henry Lehmann
194 Windward Circle
Ormond Beach, Florida

CHANGE OF ADDRESS:

National Institute of Labor Education
at American University
1911 F Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006 OK
Telephone: 737-1366

from

1755 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

24 June 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thanks very much for your kind thoughtfulness in sending me the clipping from the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION containing the Sibley article, "Negroes Train for Citizenship."

I am reliably informed that such a program has been projected for Savannah but as yet has not been attempted. However, Dr. Wilson, local Negro dentist, assured me that plans are very definite for the introduction of this project here in Savannah.

You will be interested to learn that a petition, looking to the equalization of teachers' salaries, was presented to the City of Savannah and the Chatham County Board of Education on last Monday. The two local newspapers gave it prominent space in their columns.

The enclosure tells in part the difficulties experienced by one George Elmer Ross, negro of Augusta, in seeking admission to the Georgia Bar. Since 1939 Mr. Ross has sought to vindicate the right of the negro to be accepted for practice in Georgia and each time he has stood the Bar examination, although doing more than meeting the requirements, he has been uncerimoniously disqualified. I would appreciate it if you would grant Mr. Ross an interview. If you will let me know the time and place I will be happy to arrange with Mr. Ross accordingly.

With every good and best wish, I remain

Sincerely,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara

June 29, 1944

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Msgr. McNamara:

Thank you for your letter of June 24. We shall be glad to talk to Mr. Ross. I wish that I could promise to go to Augusta some time soon, but we are all so overburdened with engagements and committee meetings that this seems impossible. If Mr. Ross could come to Atlanta, we could see him on one of the following dates: July 5, 6, 8, 10, 17, 18.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

July 11, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Enjoyed thoroughly your article, "Southern Offensive", and found strength in the constrained tone that characterizes it. Certainly the Negro's cause would be more effectively served if personalities would serve more the cause and less themselves.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

19 April 1945

Miss Emily H. Clay, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

It distresses me that plan as I will it will be impossible for me to attend the next regular meeting of the Southern Regional Council, scheduled for April 25.

I have noted carefully the dates set down in your letter of April 10, 1945 and have every hope of attending the June, August and December meetings, the October meeting alone is doubtful.

Certainly a great loss has been sustained in the death of Mr. Edmund M. Preston of Richmond, Virginia. He impressed me as one sincerely interested in the cause that the Southern Regional Council would serve and thoroughly objective in his approach to this cause. Since his interest was the cause of justice I know that God will have mercy on his soul.

Sincerely,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara

September 28, 1945

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Msgr. McNamara:

You will recall that at the recent meeting of the SRC Executive Committee there was mention of a letter from Mr. Carter Wesley, in which Mr. Wesley expressed his views on my reply to an editorial which had been published by Mr. P. B. Young and on other matters concerning the Council's policies.

Mr. Wesley intended for copies of this letter to go to all members of the Executive Committee, but it appears that you did not receive a copy. I enclose a copy herewith for your information.

In my reply to Mr. Wesley I simply thanked him for his letter and expressed the hope that he could be present at the Executive Committee meeting on September 18. I had a couple of cordial notes from him indicating that he was trying to get to the meeting. Unfortunately, he was not able to arrange travel reservations.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

Same letter sent to: Mr. Leonard Haas
Mr. Homer P. Rainey
Mr. C. H. Gillman

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

October 1, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 2 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thanks for your kindness in sending me a copy of Mr. Carter Wesley's letter, to which reference was made at our recent Executive Committee meeting.

With every good and best wish,

Sincerely,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Mgr. T. James McNamara.

November 29, 1945

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Msgr. McNamara:

Thank you very much for the information about the two Savannah men who might be useful in George Mitchell's work. I am turning this information over to Mitchell.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

December 10, 1945

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Msgr. McNamara:

Thank you for your letter of December 7 and the copy of the letter from Bishop Noll to Rev. Paul Tanner concerning the school strike at Gary, Indiana. I think it is exceedingly unfortunate that the press sometimes seizes upon rumor or other slender evidence and tries to palm it off on the public as being the absolute truth. I hope that the editor of the Atlanta Daily World will give space to the statement made by Bishop Noll.

You will be interested to know that our new President is paying us a visit on Thursday and Friday of this week. Can't you find some good reason to be in Atlanta at that time? Mr. Williams is taking hold with great vigor and we are all looking forward to close association with him.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

December 7, 1945

RECEIVED
DEC 10 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

In a recent issue of the ATLANTA DAILY WORLD there appeared an article under a Gary, Indiana, dateline, charging Catholic Church officials with collaborating with laymen in fomenting the Race Strike, which within the past several weeks disgraced that City. I believe the article was in the issue of November 21st.

I am happy to forward you the story as told by the Church's authority of the region. I thought you would be interested in seeing it.

With every good and best wish,

Sincerely,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

Copy

December 1, 1945.

Rev. Paul Tanner,
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.,
Washington, 5, D. C.

Dear Father:

I have received the copy of an article which appeared in the ATLANTA DAILY WORLD on November 21. In reply I beg to say that every observation made in the article is false.

The district around the Froebel School is inhabited by Catholics and Protestants, and by more members of the Orthodox Churches than of the Roman. They have the Greek Orthodox Church, the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Slovak Orthodox Church, etc.

Outside of the chapel of the Settlement House, there are three small Catholic parishes for the children of foreign born in the area, and they have grown to be very small.

It is not true at all that the Catholic Church acquired millions of dollars worth of property in that district. The three Catholic Churches combined would not cost $100,000.00.

I cannot conceive whom the editor means by "Catholic leaders" who "decided to mix pòlitics with race hate to solve their acute real estate problem". Not a single Catholic priest has mixed up in this affair. Some of them may have been a little timid about denouncing it, because they felt that parents, generally speaking, were with the protesting children.

However, the protests did not arise from the presence in the Forebel School of Negro children. It was rather a protest against a principle followed by the Public School Administration in Gary.

The whites, living in the area of the Emerson Public School, were given assurance some years ago that the whites would have exclusive use of it. The same School City conducts a bus service to bring Colored children from the Tolleston School district to the Froebel School. Parents whose children attend the latter school insist that all three of the schools should receive Colored children. Then the students have maintained that the Principal of the Froebel School, acting under advice, has carried the social equality idea too far, that, in other words, he discriminates against the whites in favor of the Colored.

The Chicago Civic Liberties Union has been a dominant factor in the controversy.

The connection that the editor makes between the threatened steel workers strike in Gary and the student-strikers is absolutely false. It is rather the other way around. The officials of the Steel Mills have made every effort to have the Whites and Blacks compose their differences.

As the case has been represented to me, and I believe very factually, the grievance of the white children is more against the Principal of the School than it is against the Colored. The writer of that ~~editorial~~ letter evidently read his prejudices into it. As in matters of religion, so in matters relative to race, people who do not like us are most unreliable informants of others.

Sincerely in Christ,
JOHN F. NOLL, D.D.
Bishop of Fort Wayne

CC to Monsignor McNamara

December 17, 1945

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
Cathedral of St. John the Baptist
Rector's Office
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Msgr. McNamara:

Mr. Paul D. Williams was with us Thursday and Friday. We are all delighted with him. He is full of enthusiasm and new ideas and I am sure he is going to be a splendid President for S.R.C.

I do not believe that Mr. Scott intends to be perversive, but is like a number of other Negro editors who are subject to all sorts of pressures and who have no consistent editorial policies. In years past I have had very similar experiences with several other editors. For example, an address which I delivered in Virginia in 1950 was grossly misrepresented in the Baltimore Afro-American, both in the news columns and on the editorial page. When I sent the editor the copy of the manuscript, he did not want to take my word for it that this was what I actually said, but insisted on believing that his reporter had given him accurate quotations from the address. His letter was downright nasty. I wonder how long it will be before the Negro press as a whole reaches a high level of journalistic ethics.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

December 13, 1945

RECEIVED
DEC 17 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

After the experience I had with the editor of the Atlanta Daily World, when I protested the republication of an article from the New Republic as an editorial, I felt nothing would be accomplished in sending him a copy of Bishop Noll's letter. You will recall he did not even have the courtesy to acknowledge my letter. Sometimes I wonder whether he is a victim of a certain perversive force, which to achieve its own designs on Government would divide those whose conscientious religious convictions are the only safeguard and proof of good government.

I am intensely interested to know that our new President is paying the office a visit today and tomorrow. You will find him measuring up fully to the enthusiastic description of Virginius Dabney and Dean Hancock.

With every good and best wish,

Sincerely,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

December 20, 1945

Rec. 12/22

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director, S.R.C.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

It pleases me greatly to know that all of the Regional Office were delighted with my good friend, Paul D. Williams. I was made very happy when Mr. Virginius Dabney and Dr. Gordon Hancock urged the nomination of Mr. Williams, and doubly happy when the Council, by its action in voting the nomination, placed itself in position to avail itself of Mr. Williams' unusual talents and interest.

Mr. Williams typifies the bueiness man whose interests in the objectives of the Council can be profitable for the Council. His is a seeking first the Kingdom of God and His justice, with a profound conviction that God will provide because he has sought the essentials in the order ordained by God. No fiery zealot but thoroughly rational as He seeks order according to God's planning.

As a Catholic heading an organization whose membership is drawn from our Region and, therefore, reflecting in personal affiliation the predominance of Protestantism in the Region, Mr. Williams' presidency should serve to chide fruitfully the business men of the Region.

I may be wrong, but I firmly believe the exploitation of and the discrimination against the Negro will continue unless consciences are aroused. I believe there will come a solution to this vexatious problem through arousing the Southerner's conscience, because basically it is Christian and only through such a conscience is there the hope of arriving at objectivity and of ultimately defeating opportunism.

I am convinced, as I look to the welfare of our Country, it was not without purpose that God permitted the establishment of our Nation's Capitol in what is virtually the Southland, for here we find a believing people, whose basic tenets constitute our Country's political philosophy.

Let consciences be aroused and then the Negro will experience that equality which our Country professes but which our countrymen fail to demonstrate.

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

You were kind to give me your reflections on the Negro press and I want you to know I appreciate this kindness.

May the joy and peace of this Holy Season be yours.

Sincerely,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

March 26, 1946

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
Cathedral of ~~St. John the Baptist~~
Rector's Office
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Msgr. McNamara:

Thank you for your letter which arrived last Thursday while I was away on SRC business in Mississippi.

We also received a copy of the leaflet which you enclosed with your letter, and we had the same question that you had. Unfortunately, this case had not previously come to our attention, although we had some good members and Fellows in Arkansas who should have been on the look-out for things of this sort. I am asking a couple of our Arkansas members to do some checking for us. The leaflet about the case may be true, but I am not sure that it is the <u>whole</u> truth.

We are glad to send you some additional copies of the leaflet <u>The South Is Yours</u>. They will come under separate cover. The March issue of <u>New South</u> comes off the Press today and will reach you shortly. I believe you are going to like it very much.

With highest regards and best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Wrote Mr. Booker.

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

March 18, 1946

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Would you mind giving me your frank reaction to the enclosure? I am anxious to do all that I can to assist those who are unfortunate but I do not like the idea of being swept into a whirlpool hysteria. God has endowed us with reason and I think we should never allow ourselves to become victims of the unreasonable attitudes that hysteria engenders.

During the past week I sent to a number of interested friends the application for membership leaflets which I received from your office. If you care to, you may send me about a dozen more of these leaflets and I will be happy to distribute them accordingly.

With every good and best wish, to you and to the members of the Staff, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

SAVANNAH MORNING NEWS: TUESDAY, APRIL 9, 1946

"Highly Regrettable"

Negroes' Disfranchisement Called "un-American" by Msgr. McNamara

Classifying as un-American such groups or individuals who would "create a condition whereby a segment of our country's citizens will be disfranchised simply because of the color of their skin," Msgr. T. J. McNamara last night warned that "a people frustrated in the exercise of well-established rights is a people sorely and unjustly tried."

Monsignor McNamara discussed the mass registration of negroes briefly during his talk at the regular novena exercises at the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist.

In his talk, he said:

"It is, indeed, highly regrettable that at a time when unity is so essential in order that we, Americans, might gather the fruits of liberty and freedom which come from the flower of American youth buried in foreign soils, there should be projected into the political scene an issue, which can only divide our people and ultimately convict us all of paying lip service to the cause, which mobilized our youth and left its flower to wither in distant lands. And conviction will follow if a vocal majority should succeed, even though there be but temporary success to its efforts, in disfranchising a portion of the American electorate.

"I hold no brief for any person or persons nor for any group or segment of the American people but I very definitely, as an American, resent any effort to transplant in the American body politic ideas that are alien to our national traditions and profession, ideas which are without meaning or substance when viewed in the light of our country's declaration of political doctrine, or its constitutional requirements, or its supreme tribunal's definitions and decisions.

"But more, I regret the blotting out of Christian values and the loss that will be sustained by the Christian conscience when emotions are irrationally aroused and men will trespass upon rights which they will continue to claim for themselves while denying them to others whose claim is equally established.

"By now you know that I am referring to the agitation which has been engendered by pressure groups and pressure-minded individuals to create a condition whereby a segment of our country's citizens will be disfranchised simply because of the color of their skin. Such agitation is definitely un-American—such agitation is definitely un-Christian.

"In a democracy such as ours voting is an obligation in conscience and the shame of it is that so many of us whites neglect this obligation and become interested in its fulfillment only as a means to defeat others as they seek to exercise this right.

"Let us not forget as St. Paul reminds us in his epistle to the Romans that to resist legitimate authority is to resist the ordinance of God and to purchase for one's self eternal damnation. Let us not forget that a people frustrated in the exercise of well-established rights is a people sorely and unjustly tried."

September 14, 1946

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Friend:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 1 and the copy of a brief address which you are going to give at the Annual Convention of the Catholic Committee of the South in New Orleans next week.

I like your statement very much. It is ~~both~~ forth right and clear and strong. I feel sure that it will strike a responsive note among your listeners.

I had a very good vacation and have been back on the job for nearly a week now. I am gradually catching up with the work that accumulated during my absence.

With highest regards and with wishes for a very successful meeting in New Orleans, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

RECEIVED
SEP 2 1946
Southern Regional Council

September 1, 1946.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Street, N.E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of a brief address, which I am to give at the Annual Convention of the Catholic Committee of the South, to be held in New Orleans, September 18 and 19. I thought you might be interested in looking it over.

I hope you succeeded in prevailing on a number to make the trip to Chicago and that the meeting was a success in your estimation.

With every good and best wish, I remain, dear Dr. Johnson,

Sincerely,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

CATHOLIC ANSWER -- RACE PROBLEM -- CONVENTION, CCS, NEW ORLEANS - Sept. 18-19 - '46

I have been asked to give in ten minutes the Catholic Answer to the Race Problem, meaning by the Race Problem the attitude and behavior of the average white of these United States toward the Negro residents here in this Country. Without seeming to oversimplify the Catholic answer to our Country's major contradiction I might say that the Catholic Church as she looks to a man - any man - she does not see nor does she allow the pigmentation of his skin to determine her judgement. She looks rather to his origin and she knows then that he is a child of God, made in God's image and likeness; she knows then regardless of skin pigmentation he is part of the Race's integrity, radically sharing the flesh and blood of the same father and the same mother, Adam and Eve, protoparents of all mankind. In the Blood that flowed on Calvary she sees the race's integrity re-established in God and so among those whom the Catholic Church has raised to the dignity of her altars and toward whom she demands veneration are Negro Saints as well as White Saints but to her they are not Negro or White but rather the elect of God.

Unfortunately, our modern age lacking the influence of God's grace and motivated by a philosophy of our self-interest, born of the sophisms of false economies has obscured man's inherent dignity and left him a pawn in a play for power. The Catholic Church refuses to go along with this fallacious concept of life and so she is regarded as an anachronism in these modern times. Undismayed by sneers and jeers, because confident of her place in God's economy she continues to reiterate and repeat the age-old truths which give meaning to life without which life is meaningless, - without which life is but a jungle and men are but beasts refined in the way of torture and slaughter.

The Catholic Church is so un-modern that she sets limits to the concepts of liberty and freedom and thus acting contrary to the spirit of this modern world she insists upon her right to take God's creature, man, in the earliest stages of his

years and to instill into that creature a conviction of his inherent dignity and that of his fellows and further to teach him the restrictions of God's moral law so that while he enjoys liberty and freedom he will so act that his actions do not degenerate into license and anarchy, denying to others what he claims for himself. As he begins his education with the Church the child is taught that man, - every man, - is a creature composed of body and soul and made in God's image and likeness. Throughout his years the Church constantly dins into his ears this most fundamental of truths, - the equality of every man. Throughout the years, too, of man's development and growth the Church keeps repeating God's law as set down in the Ten Commandments, bringing out into bolder relief the fact that this law with its restrictions on personal liberty and freedom is written, so to speak, on the fleshy tablets of the human heart and so all men are entitled to its protection, all men are subject to its restrictions. Briefly and fundamentally this is the Catholic answer to the so-called Race Problem and thinking this answer through the Church's position on such mooted questions as Inter-marriage, Social Equality, Segregation, Political Rights, Equality before the Law, and Economic Equality is manifest and obvious. For a Catholic to assume a position other than that taught by the Church is to convict himself of immorality and to expose himself to the danger of unrepentent sin.

The Race Question as posed by America today is definitely a moral question and so comes within the scope of an examination of conscience.

Biologically and culturally the Catholic Church teaches the Negro's potential is as good as any segment of the Race of Mankind; unfortunately victimized by injustices and a lack of Christian love the Negro more frequently than not finds the opportunity for growth and development denied him. This denial as it relates to the Negro results in his being described as inferior; as it relates to the perpetrators of the denial it results in sin and "twisted" souls. Discrimination with its companion piece, exploitation, is definitely a sin against God's eternal law of justice; segregation, with its emphasis on separation because of color offends against that law which is more than any other the distinguishing mark of the Religion of Jesus

Christ, the law of love of God and of neighbor.

Unfortunately, Emancipation came as a by-product of war and war never engenders sympathy and understanding but rather hate. Thank God, then the basic values of our Southern Region are Christian and in spite of war and its residual backwash we find these values asserting themselves; - not as assertive, perhaps, as we would like them but nevertheless a ferment in the body politic. We look forward confidently then because the only real regenerative force, influencing men's thinking and forming men's heart, - the regenerative force which is Christ, - is still active in our Region. Our prayer is that our Region and Country will not have to suffer crucifixion to show forth the benefits of Calvary's Cross.

November 25, 1946

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
Cathedral of St. John the Baptist
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Msgr. McNamara:

We are very grateful for the contribution of Bishop Haas to the Southern Regional Council. I wish that every one of our Board members could find $50.00 as quickly as you did! Our deficit would soon vanish into thin air.

I agree that our annual meeting was highly successful. I wish you could have attended the conference of Fellows, also. They are a splendid group and they really had a good time with their informal discussions for two days. I felt so good about all of the meetings that I almost regretted my decision to move back to Chapel Hill.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

November 20, 1946.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

RECEIVED
NOV 22 1946
Southern Regional Council

check for $50.00

Dear Dr. Johnson:

On the occasion of my recent visit to New York I met Bishop Haas, Chairman of F.E.P.C. before his elevation to the episcopate. Bishop Haas is intensely interested in our work and when he learned that we were faced with a deficit for the current year he indicated that he would send a contribution. The enclosure is that contribution.

I am likewise enclosing a copy of Bishop Haas' letter. I do not know anyone more sincerely interested in our objectives than the good Bishop.

I thought our recent annual meeting highly successful and "chuck full" of encouragement. The only disconcerting and discouraging note was that which came with the announcement of Miss Clay's going and the threat of your departure. I can well appreciate the motives which prompted your announcement and while I am thoroughly sympathetic I am at the same time distressed.

With every good and best wish, I remain,

Sincerely,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

enc.

DIOCESE OF GRAND RAPIDS
265 Sheldon Avenue, S. E.
Grand Rapids, 2, Michigan.

RECEIVED
NOV 22 1946
Southern Regional Council

Office of the Chancellor

November 18, 1946

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara, V.F.,
Cathedral of St. John the Baptist,
222 East Harris Street,
Savannah, Georgia.

Dear Monsignor McNamara:

Inclosed is check in the sum of $50 which I kindly ask you to deliver to the Southern Regional Council as my contribution to the Council in appreciation of the fine work it is doing.

With every good wish, I am,

Faithfully in Christ

/s/ *Francis J. Haas

Bishop of Grand Rapids.

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

File

November 29, 1946.

Dr. Harold L. Trigg,
Associate Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Trigg:

And I, too, am proud of the fact that I am so intimately connected with the work which has the good fortune of having you as one of its Directors. It has been a source of continuing satisfaction to observe your work and to reflect on your approach to the all important problem of Race Relations.

Press reports would indicate that the Southern Conference on Human Welfare were not as conclusive in their presentation to the New Orleans Auditorium Board as we were on the occasion of the Catholic Committee of the South Convention. I do not say this critically but only by way of expressing an opinion. Religious motivation plus tact and cordiality seem more potent than pressure and blatancy.

With sentiments of esteem, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

November 26, 1946

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
Cathedral of St. John the Baptist
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Father McNamara:

I have seen several press reports of the seminar on Negro problems conducted recently by the social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. The recommendations were of tremendous interest to me and I am very happy to receive from you the complete printed report.

It is a forthright statement and is a tribute to the fearlessness of distinguished leaders like you. There are thousands of others who will readily agree with this report and were merely waiting for somebody else to have the courage to take a stand.

I am proud of the fact that you are so intimately connected with the work of the Southern Regional Council. It gives us new courage and I am sure we will be able to make steady and substantial progress toward our objectives.

With best wishes and highest personal regard, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg,
Associate Executive Director

HLT:ms

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

April 23, 1947

RECEIVED
APR 25 1947
Southern Regional Council

Miss Inez B. Tillison,
Secretary-Treasurer,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Miss Tillison:

I am sorry that there has been a delay in acknowledging your kind letter of April 14, 1947, but I am happy in the knowledge that the delay has occasioned no inconvenience for you.

You stated in your letter that not hearing from me the revised paragraph, as transcribed, would be inserted in the minutes.

With every good and best wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

April 25, 1947

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Msgr. McNamara:

I greatly appreciate your letter of April 25. The Council is a big job, and can be as much bigger as we all make it.

We are delighted that we can count on you for the meeting on May 28.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

April 23, 1947

RECEIVED
APR 25 1947
Southern Regional Council

Personal

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

My calendar has been properly inscribed in accordance with reminders contained in your communication of April 16, 1947. I will be on hand for the meeting of Wednesday, May 28, and anticipate attending as well the meeting scheduled for August 27.

I agree with you that a meeting every four months will serve the need just as adequately as one every three months. There is always the authority for a call meeting, when circumstances require it.

I have been so much on the road, so to speak, that I have not had the opportunity of writing you as I had planned since your tenure of Executive Director began. I wanted you to know how pleased I was to learn that you had accepted the position. Ever since we received the distressing news that Guy was to leave us, I had entertained the hope that you would be his successor. Now that that hope is realized I look forward confidently.

It is my prayer that success will attend on your efforts and that God will support you in the arduous duties that are yours.

Sincerely,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

April 29, 1947

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Father McNamara:

Thanks for sending me the copy of the Nolan religious news service.

No, we do not receive this, and I think we ought to have it. I found one or two items useful to New South in the issue you sent me.

I appreciate your offer, and I shall be very grateful if you would arrange for it to be sent to us.

I hope you are well and that we may see you again soon.

Sincerely,

Ray Warwick

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

May 14, 1947

RECEIVED
MAY 16 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Ray Warwick,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Ray:

Thought the following Resolution, as adopted by the Diocesan Council of the National Council of Catholic Women, in Convention assembled at Brunswick, Georgia, April 19-20, 1947, might prove of interest:

> WHEREAS: The Diocesan Council has noted with regret, particularly during the past year, frequent manifestations of racial hatred in this, the sovereign State of Georgia, as well as in many other sections of our country, and
>
> WHEREAS: This racial hatred has been expressed in many ways, including bloodshed, intimidation, unjust discrimination, and recent attempts of disfranchisement, and
>
> The Diocesan Council recognizes such practices as a violation of the God-given inalienable rights of all men, the full protection of which becomes the responsibility of every human being and which protection is the guarantee of the Constitution of these United States,
>
> BE IT RESOLVED: That the Savannah-Atlanta Diocesan Council strongly deplores any semblance or form of racial hatred and intolerance, and pledged its constant efforts to assure to all men, irrespective of color or condition of life, or religion, the full and free exercise of his rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, of equal justice before the law, and of the free exercise of his right of American citizenship of the use of his voting privilege.

The Diocesan Council in this instance is of the Diocese of Savannah-Atlanta.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,
James McNamara

September 18, '47

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
Cathedral of St. John the Baptist
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Monseigneur McNamara,

I am cordially inclined toward your suggestion that the Council join in sponsoring a meeting of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems. The field of enquiry is a proper part of the Council's work, and we should be honored to work with your group on it.

You and I will be together at Charlotte next week, and I can there learn from you the det ils of the proposal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1947
Southern Regional Council

September 15, 1947

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

Would our Council be interested, and, if so, could it find it possible to co-sponsor a Conference on Industrial Problems with the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems?

The Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems is a national organization formed to promote the study and understanding of industrial problems by the calling of conferences at which no vote is taken on questions of industrial policy. President of the Conference is Dr. George F. Donovan, President of Webster College, Webster Groves, Missouri; Secretary-Treasurer, Father Raymond A. McGowan, Director of the Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference, and Field Secfetary is Miss Linna E. Bresette, also of the Social Action Department, N.C.W.C.

A reference to the files of the "Constitution" and the "Journal" for February 8-9, 1943, will give you an idea of the type planning and programming.

With every good and best wish,

Sincerely yours,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

CC Miss Margaret Garrity.

McNamara

November 17, 1947

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Msgr. McNamara:

I am so glad you wrote as you did to Paul.

I had seen the same thing, and had talked with Guy and one or two others about ways to advoid it in the future. I don't know yet whether it means a change in the by-laws or merely a change in the schedules for our series of annual meetings. I want to talk at length with Leonard Haas about it.

We are deliberate and careful at every point except in that hasty post membership board meeting. The risk of un-deliberate action there is conside able, and I do not think we should run that risk.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

McNamara

November 25, '47

Rt. Rev. Magr. T. James McNamara
Cathedral of St. John the Baptist
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Monseigneur McNamara,

Thank you for your letter, and most particularly for your comforting check for a hundred dollars, in fulfillment of your most generous pledge at the meeting. It is the first one in!

I would welcome a new statement of the Council's objectives and methods, though I must say I have enough to do now to cause me to shrink from adding that task. Certainly we reject anything other than due lawful processes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

November 25, '47

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
Cathedral of St. John the Baptist
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Monseigneur McNamara,

Thank you for your letter, and most particularly for your comforting check for a hundred dollars, in fulfillment of your most generous pledge at the meeting. It is the first one in!

I would welcome a new statement of the Council's objectives and methods, though I must say I have enough to do now to cause me to shrink from adding that task. Certainly we reject anything other than due lawful processes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

November 22, 1947

Personal

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

It was good to receive your letter giving reassurance on the observation I made in my letter to Paul. It is equally comforting to know that you plan to discuss this matter at length with Leonard Haas.

I feel we have arrived at that period in this development when we might reasonably and profitably set down specifically the objectives of the Councils and the procedures we are committed to employ to achieve these objectives.

As I look to the history, I see the Durham Statement as informing, giving authority, and indicating the crystallization of objectives and procedures. Indeed, it is the assurance to the people of good-will, as well as to those who look suspiciously upon us, that S.R.C. acts within the legal framework of the South while working toward an adequate economy for the total Region.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

CC Mr. Paul D. Williams

McNamara

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

January 11, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Secretary,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

It will be a pleasure for me to meet Mr. and Mrs. Karnopp, and doubly so since they are in "my" section of Georgia. Don't for a moment think me a secessionist, for I do sincerely regard Chatham County as a part of Georgia. Of course, I am "crossing my fingers" as I watch "M.E." and Herman battle for ascendency in this coastal region.

As indicated, I am sending a copy of this acknowledgment to Mr. and Mrs. Karnopp so that they may know I am anticipating the pleasure of meeting them.

With greetings for the New Year.

Cordially yours,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

CC Mr. & Mrs. Charles Karnopp.

Mr McNamara, Msgr. T. James

April 2, 1948

Msgr. T. James McNamara
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Monsignor McNamara:

Thank you most gratefully for your gift of $25.00 covering membership and contribution which you have been making annually now for some time. I need not tell you how very welcome it is, nor the many good uses which clamor for it.

Thank you, too, for your good wishes and kind words. A visit from you is always a pleasure to us here.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Check for $ 19.28, covering travel to Ex.Com.Meeting of (Feb.25,1948, enclosed.)

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAR 29 1948
Southern Regional Council

March 25, 1948

Mrs. Agnes McKay
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKay:

You are very kind to remind me that I failed to file my expense account for our recent Executive Committee Meeting. I am submitting it herewith. Please know I appreciate this kindness.

I, too, enjoy seeing friends at SRC and regret deeply that the exactions of time on the occasion of other visits to Atlanta defeat me in my desire to visit headquarters.

You and your associates are doing a grand job and we who come occasionally are indebted to each of you.

The enclosure in the sum of TWENTY-FIVE ($25.00) DOLLARS represents my annual membership and contribution.

With a prayer that the Risen Saviour will grant to you and our staff-members the full joy of Easter, I am,

Sincerely,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

Mc/b

94 - McNamara, James T.

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

April 16, 1948

Dear Friends:

As one native to Savannah, it pleases me to no end to know that Savannah in the Spring does offer some extenuation of its unwillingness to render full justice to its total citizenry. Perhaps nature's prodigality and loveliness at Springtime, shared as it is equally by both black and white, is an omen of the social justice to come.

I am happy that I could contribute something to the satisfaction of your stay and do hope your visit will be frequently repeated.

With greetings from our Southland,

I am,

Sincerely,

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

Mr. and Mrs. Charles F. Karnopp,
461 Linden Street,
Winnetka, Illinois.

RECEIVED
APR 19 1948
Southern Regional Council

DECRIES PATTERN OF SEGREGATION

MSGR. McNAMARA SAYS TERM "REEKS WITH CONTRADICTIONS"

"The legal pattern of segregation of our Southland dramatizes our South's flair for making laws and then disregarding their content. . . The negro does not resent segregation as such but he does resent the legal pattern of segregation which stigmatizes him and makes him a second-class citizen," declared Msgr. T. James McNamara in an address today. Speaking before the Kiwanis Club at the Hotel De Soto, the prelate, rector of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist, pointed out the irony of a segregation which in reality does not segregate, and merely permits one people to victimize another.

"My purpose is to face facts and my hope is that facing them we may be inspired to give greater substance to the American dream of equality before the law," he said.

After sketching in the background of President Truman's civil rights bill, Monsignor McNamara turned to reaction expressed in the South, terming it "a hue and cry that developed into a crescendo."

"The dominant note of the crescendo is the terms segregation, with all the ugly connotations associated with the term," he said. "Looking to these ugly connotations, the word segregation reeks with contradictions. The legal pattern of segregation of our Southland dramatizes our South's flair for making laws and then disregarding their content. I ask you, gentlemen, have we segregation as the laws of our Southland proclaims it? If we have, how explain that out of 13,000,000 reputed negroes in these United States not more than 7,000,000 are biologically negro in the full sense of the term. Do you wonder that the negro irks under the burden of the legislative pattern of segregation when he finds the dignity of motherhood exploited to serve the passions of those who cry segregation?"

Monsignor McNamara's address continues, in part:

"When last I had the pleasure and distinction of speaking before your club I presumed to urge that we avoid dogmatism in matters, relating to legislative proposals before the National Congress, the State Legislature and the City Council—that we rise above our prejudices, knowing that all from time to time are victims of pre-judgments, and realize that it is highly possible that views, which are opposite to our own, are more in harmony with our country's declaration, com-

SAVANNAH EVE[illegible]S: TUESDAY, APRIL 20, 1948

DECRIES PATTERN OF SEGREGATION

Continued from Page Eighteen

nitments and welfare. This caution was made more specifically in reference to legislative proposals before the National Congress, relating to displaced persons of war-torn areas of the world. I repeat, it is my conviction that we, as a nation, would act more consonant with our nation's traditions, commitments and welfare, if a legislative proposition such as the now much talked of Statton bill were enacted into law. I likewise repeat, that I realize that there are those among my fellow-Americans who do not agree with this sentiment and while I regret this I would be willing to fight for their right to disagree. As I see it, certainly a person, who has suffered exile in the cause of democracy, would have less an 'ism' to contribute to the welter of confusion, which besets our national life today, than the so-called native-American, who hides his face and his identity and who is, as yet, to reach the maturity of the founding fathers of our glorious nation. Indeed, I believe the blood, which such a person would bring to the life-stream of the body politic, would go a long way toward ridding that stream of the virus of the 'isms' whose poisons are not the result of foreign matter.

"John Temple Graves in his book, 'The Fighting South,' tells us, Southerners, that ours is a region of contradictions, and those of us who are native to the South know how accurate is Graves' description. As a priest of the Catholic church I personally have experienced these contradictions. I have known men, Georgians, whose friendship I treasure—men, whose loyalty in the realm of personal friendship is unquestioned, and yet I know them as men, who at one time or another have subscribed to the objectives of hate-groups, whose venom has been directed against my church. A contradiction, indeed, for no church enters more intimately into the character-formation of its people than does the Catholic church.

"The time has come if we are to save values, which add up to the survival of the American Way, to face facts and in facing facts to let our public conduct be as our personal relationships are. We can no longer profess one thing and act otherwise. If we believe the principles of the Declaration and the Bill of Rights to be truths, solidly established, on which a governmental structure can be successfully reared, then it is highly imperative that our personal and public relationships reflect these principles. There has come into our modern world a philosophy of government, which is the antithesis of our own and its agents are alerted to the contradictions within our national life. They seize upon these contradictions and seek through them to set the stage for the octopus of government, which they represent, to move in and snuff out the greater values of liberty and freedom, while distracting the people with their grievances.

"Within the limited time that is ours on this occasion, let us look to one such contradiction within our southern region. My purpose in citing this particular contradiction is neither to condemn nor approve, but simply to get the historical perspective, which will enable us to render a judgment free of prejudice. My purpose is that we may face facts and my hope is that facing them we may be inspired to give greater substance to the American dream of equality before the law. Mark you, I did not say 'social equality,' because in my estimation that is red-herring used by those inimical [illegible] country's best interest to divert [illegible] the sv[illegible]tance of [illegible] tion to [illegible]ion. total energy, is not served best by an ostrich-like attitude.

"On December 5, 1946, Mr. Truman, by executive order 9808, established the President's committee on civil rights. In what might be described as the prologue to this executive order the President stated that the preservation of civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution is essential to domestic tranquility, national security, the general welfare, and the continued existence of our free institutions. I am sure that all right-thinking people will agree as to the validity and soundness of this statement. The committee addressed itself to four basic rights and made its report accordingly to the President in November, 1947, on (1) the right to safety and security of the person; (2) the right to citizenship and its privileges; (3) the right to freedom of conscience and expression; and (4) the right of equality of opportunity.

"With the publication of the committee's report under the title, 'To Secure These Rights,' there began a hue and cry that our Southern traditions were in dire peril and the hue and cry developed into a crescendo with the President's civil rights message to the Congress. . . .

"What about housing and the legal pattern of segregation? Restricting our view to our own city, can we say that we have segregation in housing in accordance with the requirement of law? Of course, I refer to the total picture of our lovely city—lovely, because of nature's endowments; otherwise ugly, because of the abuses which we, the citizens, tolerate. I am sure that we could have segregation in Savannah, even within the limitations as set down by law and that both segments of our city's population would be happier in consequence. But no, thus far we have failed to face up to the facts. Back in October, 1943, the Diocesan Council of the National Council of Catholic Women proposed to the post-war planning committee of the city that the negro be permitted to move from the lanes and alleys of the city to housing projects, which would be available, once the war was terminated, and thus reduce police problems, improve public health, and recapture the charm of old Savannah. I am sure that had such a plan been followed the negro would not have resented the segregated pattern, which would have resulted.

"Reference to this proposal of the Diocesan Council reminds that at the time the Catholic women proposed improved housing for our negro citizens they likewise urged the appointment of negro policemen. This measure has come to pass and I congratulate Mayor Kennedy on its passage, but I feel it will not have been fully effectuated until the negro policemen report to headquarters. Theirs is a responsibility to the total community, even though their arresting powers are restricted to a particular segment of the city's population.

"If I were to give the answer as to what the negro wants, I would say that he does not resent segregation as such but he does resent the legal pattern of segregation, which stigmatizes him and labels him a second-class citizen. I would say in the main he would be happy to observe segregation, if the white man would. What he wants more than anything else by the way of civil rights is the assurance of the vote, unmolested, knowing that then and then alone can he earnestly pursue happiness in the sense of our country's declaration of principle, which declares the pursuit of happiness to be the citizen's God-given right, irrespective of race, color, creed or national origin.

"I am sure that all right-thinking citizens, irrespective of skin pigmentation, will subscribe to the statement, as made by the President's committee, to the effect that, 'In a democracy each individual must have freedom to choose his friends and to control the pattern of his personal and family life.' Today too much is done outside the law with impunity, even though the law forbids."

Visiting the meeting today were Gen. Haywood Hansell and the Rev. Ernest Risley. Visiting Kiwanians were Odell Williamson of Macon and Art Curnick of Daytona Beach, Fla.

Arthur Simkins, a new member of Kiwanis, was introduced by William B. Scott. Monsignor McNamara was introduced by George Williams.

Charles Musante, president, who conducted the meeting, advised members to think over the prelate's "thoughtful and effective" speech after they left the meeting.

McNamara, Msgr. James T.

SAVANNAH MORNING NEWS: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1948

SEGREGATION HELD AN AID TO "REDS"

Monsignor McNamara Discusses Subject at Kiwanis

WANTS TO FACE FACTS

Priest Suggests Negro Officers Report to Headquarters

Racial segregation in the South makes the negro "suspicious timber for the Communistic conflagration that is sweeping the earth," Msgr. T. James McNamara thoughtfully told members of the Kiwanis Club yesterday. In a precedent setting address for a civic club speaker Msgr. McNamara termed the phrase social equality, "a red herring used by those inimical to our country's best interest to divert attention from the substance of things." He charged that "motherhood has been exploited to serve the passions of those who cry segregation," citing as proof that less than half of the negroes in America are "biologically negro in the full sense of the term."

And he labeled "ostrich-like" the attitude that makes segregation "a shunted subject."

Charles J. Musante, president, urged his fellow Kiwanians to "go home and think over the thoughtful and effective speech" of the rector of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist.

"My purpose is to face facts and my hope is that facing them we may be inspired to give greater substance to the American dream of equality before the law," he said.

After sketching in the background of President Truman's civil rights bill, Monsignor McNamara turned to reaction expressed in the South, terming it "a hue and cry that developed into a crescendo."

"The dominant note of the crescendo is the term segregation, with all the ugly connotations associated with the term," he said. "Looking to these ugly connotations, the word segregation reeks with contradictions. The legal pattern of segregation of our Southland dramatizes our South's flair for making laws and then disregarding their content. I ask you, gentlemen, have we segregation as the laws of our Southland proclaims it? If we have, how explain that out of 13,000,000 reputed negroes in these United States not more than 7,000,000 are biologically negro in the full sense of the term? Do you wonder that the negro irks under the burden of the legislative pattern of segregation when he finds the dignity of motherhood exploited to serve the passions of those who cry segregation?"

Monsignor McNamara's address continues in part:

It is my conviction that we, as a nation, would act more consonant with our nation's traditions, commitments and welfare, if a legislative proposition such as the now much talked of Statton bill were enacted into law. As I see it, certainly a person, who has suffered exile in the cause of democracy, would have less an 'ism' to contribute to the welter of confusion, which besets our national life today, than the so-called native-American, who hides his face and his identity and who is, as yet, to reach the maturity of the founding fathers of our glorious nation.

"The time has come if we are to save values, which add up to the survival of the American Way, to face facts and in facing facts to let our public conduct be as our personal relationships are. We can no longer profess one thing and act otherwise. If we believe the principles of the Declaration and the Bill of Rights to be truths, solidly established, on which a governmental structure can be successfully reared, then it is highly imperative that our personal and public relationships reflect these principles. There has come into our modern world a philosophy of government, which is the antithesis of our own and its agents are alerted to the contradictions within our national life. They seize upon these contradictions and seek through them to set the stage for the octopus of government

SEGREGATION HELD AN AID TO "REDS"

Continued from Page Sixteen

which they represent, to move in and snuff out the greater values of liberty and freedom, while distracting the people with their grievances.

"Within the limited time that is ours on this occasion, let us look to one such contradiction within our southern region. My purpose in citing this particular contradiction is neither to condemn nor approve, but simply to get the historical perspective, which will enable us to render a judgment free of prejudice. My purpose is that we may face facts and my hope is that facing them we may be inspired to give greater substance to the American dream of equality before the law. Mark you, I did not say 'social equality,' because in my estimation that is a red-herring used by those inimical to our country's best interest to divert attention from the substance of things.

"The particular contradiction to which I refer is that of segregation. I dare to speak on this shunted subject because it is my firm conviction that this region of my birth, this Southern region, to which I would dedicate my total energy, is not served best by an ostrich-like attitude.

"On December 5, 1946, Mr. Truman, by executive order 9808, established the President's committee on civil rights. In what might be described as the prologue to this executive order the President stated that the preservation of civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution is essential to domestic tranquillity, national security, the general welfare, and the continued existence of our free institutions. I am sure that all right-thinking people will agree as to the validity and soundness of this statement. The committee addressed itself to four basic rights and made its report accordingly to the President in November, 1947, on (1) the right to safety and security of the person; (2) the right to citizenship and its privileges; (3) the right to freedom of conscience and expression; and (4) the right of equality of opportunity.

"With the publication of the committee's report under the title, 'To Secure These Rights,' there began a hue and cry that our Southern traditions were in dire peril and the hue and cry developed into a crescendo with the President's civil rights message to the Congress. . . .

"What about housing and the legal pattern of segregation? Restricting our view to our own city, can we say that we have segregation in housing in accordance with the requirement of law? Of course, I refer to the total picture of our lovely city—lovely, because of nature's endowments; otherwise ugly, because of the abuses which we, the citizens, tolerate. I am sure that we could have segregation in Savannah, even within the limitations as set down by law and that both segments of our city's population would be happier in consequence. But no, thus far we have failed to face up to the facts. Back in October, 1943, the Diocesan Council of the National Council of Catholic Women proposed to the post-war planning committee of the city that the negro be permitted to move from the lanes and alleys of the city to housing projects, which would be available, once the war was terminated, and thus reduce police problems, improve public health, and recapture the charm of old Savannah. I am sure that had such a plan been followed the negro would not have resented the segregated pattern, which would have resulted.

"Reference to this proposal of the Diocesan Council reminds that at the time the Catholic women proposed improved housing for our negro citizens they likewise urged the appointment of negro policemen. This measure has come to pass and I congratulate Mayor Kennedy on its passage, but I feel it will not have been fully effectuated until the negro policemen report to headquarters. Theirs is a responsibility to the total community, even though their arresting powers are restricted to a particular segment of the city's population.

"If I were to give the answer as to what the negro wants, I would say that he does not resent segregation as such but he does resent the legal pattern of segregation, which stigmatizes him and labels him a second-class citizen. I would say in the main he would be happy to observe segregation, if the white man would. What he wants more than anything else by the way of civil rights is the assurance of the vote, unmolested, knowing that then and then alone can he earnestly pursue happiness in the sense of our country's declaration of principle, which declares the pursuit of happiness to be the citizen's God-given right, irrespective of race, color, creed or national origin.

"I am sure that all right-thinking citizens, irrespective of skin pigmentation, will subscribe to the statement, as made by the President's committee, to the effect that, 'In a democracy each individual must have freedom to choose his friends and to control the pattern of his personal and family life.' Today too much is done outside the law with impunity, even though the law forbids."

Arthur Simkins was introduced as a new member by William B. Scott. Visiting Kiwanians included Odel Williamson of Macon and Art Curnick of Daytona Beach, Fla. Visitors were Haywood Hansell and the Rev. Ernest Risley. George Williams introduced the speaker.

McNamara, T. James

May 10, 1948

The Right Reverend Monsignor T. James McNamara
Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Monsignor McNamara:

I have been traveling and so came late to your interesting letter of April 22 with its enclosures.

I like the talk very much indeed. You drove through to the truth.

It is a great help to the whole South that you spoke thus publicly.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

22 April 1948.

RECEIVED
APR 23 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thought you would be interested in the enclosures from the two Savannah newspapers. Would like to have your comments?

I might remark in passing that the quote at the head of the article in the "Savannah Morning News" is inaccurate. What I really said was "a conflagration is sweeping the earth and it is well for us to look to our national structure to discover wherein there are timbers, which might be ignited by this conflagration." Then I developed the theme of of "contradictions," and more specifically the contradiction of the legal pattern of segregation.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara

P.S. The "News" made a correction accordingly.

FROM THE DESK OF

Alex Miller

TO Mr George Mitchell

Attached is a copy of a newspaper article which represents a significant and interesting development.

May 11, 1948

RECEIVED
MAY 12 1948
Southern Regional Council

McNamara, Msgr. Jas.

North Carolina Catholic (Nazareth, N.C.) Friday, May 7, 1948

Georgia Priest Calls Segregation Aid To Reds; Speech Draws Praise

SAVANNAH, GA., - Racial segregation is an aid to the "communistic conflagration that is sweeping the earth" and the South's position in the matter is an "ostrich-like attitude," Msgr. T. James McNamara, rector of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist, here, declared in an address before members of the local Kiwanis Club.

The Monsignor spoke in favor of President Harry S. Truman's civil rights program. He asserted that his purpose was to face facts and "my hope is that in facing them we may be inspired to give greater substance to the American dream of equality before the law. Mark you, I did not say 'social equality,' because in my estimation that is a red-herring used by those inimical to our country's best interest to divert attention from the substance of things."

When the Monsignor had concluded his talk, Charles J. Musante, club president, urged his fellow Kiwanians "to go home and think over the thoughtful and effective speech."

Monsignor McNamara said the United States would act more consonantly with its traditions if legislation such as the Stratton bill, to permit entry of DP's into the country, was enacted. "As I see it" the Monsignor said, "a person who has suffered exile in behalf of democracy, would have less an 'ism' to contribute to the welter of confusion which besets our national life today than the so-called native-American who hides his face and his identity and who is, as yet, to reach the maturity of the founding fathers of our glorious nation."

After citing the background of President Truman's civil rights program, the Monsignor said that reaction in Dixie was a "hue and cry that developed into a crescendo." He charged that the dominant note of the crescendo was the term segregation with all its "ugly connotations." reeking with contradictions. He said the South's legal pattern of segregation dramatizes a flair for making laws and then disregarding their content. He asked that if the South has segregation as its laws proclaim, how can it be explained that out of the 13,000,000 Negroes in the country, not more than 7,000,000 "are biologically Negro in the full sense of the term." He continued: "Do you wonder that the Negro irks under the burden of the legislative pattern of segregation when he finds the dignity of motherhood exploited to serve the passions of those who cry segregation?"

The rector of the Savannah Cathedral told his audience: "We can no longer profess one thing and act otherwise. If we believe the principles of the Declaration and the Bill of Rights to be truths, solidly established on which a governmental structure can be successfully reared, then it is highly imperative that our personal and public relationships reflect these principles."

The speaker recalled that in October, 1943, the Diocesan Council of Catholic Women advocated to the post-war planning committee of Savannah that Negroes be allowed to move "from the lanes and alleys of the city" to housing projects, and added that had such a plan been adopted it would have improved the city's position in police and health problems. He recalled that the council also proposed Negroes be appointed as policemen. This has been done in a limited way, he declared, and said the full benefit of the plan will not be realized until the authority of Negro policemen is extended beyond the restrictions of a particular segment of the city's population.

Monsignor McNamara expressed the belief that the Negro does not resent segregation, but objects to its legal pattern which "stigmatizes him and labels him a second-class citizen." The Negro wants more than anything the assurance of the unmolested vote, the Monsignor said, "knowing that then and then alone he can earnestly pursue happiness in the sense of our country's declaration of principle, which declares the pursuit of happiness to be the citizen's God-given right, irrespective of race, color, creed or national origin."

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24 - McNamara, Msgr. T. James

August 17, 1948

The Right Reverend Monsignor T. James McNamara
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Monsignor McNamara:

Please forgive us that in the stuffing of thousands of envelopes, some to include dues notices for 1948, some for 1947 and 1948, and, alas, some for 1946, 1947 and 1948, a notice was inadvertently enclosed in yours. You are indeed paid up, with contribution of twenty-five dollars besides, and are so recorded.

We are looking forward to seeing you in Atlanta on September 15. For once, every member of the Executive Committee has expressed his intention of being present on the chosen date, so that, if nothing untoward prevents, we should have a good meeting indeed.

With personal regards and, again, my regrets,

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AMcK:eb

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dear Member:

Time is hurrying by, and already the year is half gone. Won't you sit down,- right now - and send us that check for dues? $2.00 for single membership, $3.00 for husband and wife.

We really need it !

Cordially and with good wishes,

Agnes McKoy

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Membership & Donation in the amount of $25.00 sent March 25, 1948.

Mrs. McNamara
Savannah, Ga

24 - McNamara, T. J.

Sept. 22, '48

Rt. Rev. Magr. T. J. McNamara
Cathedral of St. John the Baptist
Savannah, Ga.

Dear Magr. McNamara,

Here is what we think is quite a fine editorial from Monday's New York Times.

The statement got the very widest play. At least twenty-five of the leading dailies in the South have run one or the other of the wire-service stories on it, and the Chattanooga and Birmingham papers ran the statement in full. And I hear that Northern papers gave it good play, too.

Very nice to have you at the meeting, and at our home.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

24-McNamara, J. T.

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

September 24, 1948

RECEIVED
SEP 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear George:

attended to SWM.

It pleased to no end that Monday's New York Times carried such a fine editorial. In the excitement over this splendid result the secretary failed me. There was no copy in my letter. Seriously, I would like to see the editorial.

It is heartening that the statement has had such wide play, especially in the light of the foul atmosphere the politicians are creating at the moment.

Here at the Rectory we received a man, (a Protestant), yesterday, whose children are in our school. Employed in one of the larger industries of Savannah, he favors reprisals if he does not join the Klan. Already he has been told to take his children out of the Catholic School.

I think our recent Committee meeting one of the best ever and the prawdial and post-prawdial in your homey home topped off satisfyingly a complete day.

Sincerely,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

24-McNama, Msgr. T.J.

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

November 19, 1948

in the South work for its objectives

Dear Member:

Do we, who have accepted membership in the Council, really believe in the Council's objectives? If so, then we should be willing to make the sacrifices necessary to sustain these ~~objectives~~. ends.

Foundation support has reached the vanishing point. Perhaps it is just as well, for the burden of proof for the Council's objectives rests with those of us who have accepted Council membership. are its members

As a Council Member, then, may we ask that you raise $10.00 or more over and above your membership fee in support of the Council's program? At the recent Annual Membership meeting, those in attendance, by vote, urged that each and every member do at least this.

We have 2,700 members. Ten Dollars extra from each will give us our minimum budget. It likewise will so vitalize the Council ~~that no question will remain as to its value to our Southern Region and to the Nation as a whole.~~

Please don't delay in following through on this ~~profession~~ evidence of faith in the Council and its objectives.

Sincerely,

as to enable it to do much more of the urgently necessary work.

November 16, 1948

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Monsignor McNamara:

Here is a rough draft of a letter asking each of our members for a minimum of $10. My guess is it should be for the signature jointly of Paul Williams and Charles Johnson.

Will you please take time to blue-pencil (or completely rewrite!) the letter.

When I get back the five or six amended letters I am asking for, I will do a composite and have it sent out.

This has already had the benefit of advice from our Advisory Committee here in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

McNamara, Msgr

November 24, 1948

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
Rector's Office
Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Monsignor McNamara:

Thank you so much for your letter of November 19.

You are the first one back with your suggested draft for the $10 letter. The present draft incorporates some of your language, for which I thank you. I can't get the letter out now until Monday and Tuesday anyway, and I will hold it for comments from Tydings and some of the others.

How very kind of you to send us the check for $25, and to be ready to send us another such check after January first!

Marion Wright sent in $25, and Mr. Schaeffer from Jackson sent in $100. We have had other good sums. I will see Odum next Monday, possibly with Paul Williams.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Mrs. McKoy

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

November 19, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

RECEIVED
NOV 22 1948
EXECUTIVE
Southern Regional Council

Mine, indeed, is a rough draft, - rough in approach; rough in texture, but I feel we must challenge the sincerity of those whose membership professes belief. Belief is not enough; there must be good works.

I am enclosing my check in the sum of $25.00 as an earnest of my sincere belief in the Council and what it can do, that is, if the members will support it.

Permit me to say again how very much I enjoyed the evening following the close of our recent annual meeting.

Sincerely,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

RECEIVED
NOV 22 1948
EXECUTIVE
Southern Regional Council

P. S. You may bill me for an additional 25.00 after Jan. 1 and if can get even more will do so.

T. J. M.

24.- McNamara, T. James

May 18, 1949

The Right Reverend Monsignor T. James McNamara
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Monsignor McNamara:

We, your associates on the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, add our esteem and affection to the great sum of those which flow to you on the occasion of your Silver Jubilee.

We are deeply appreciative of your generosity in time, devotion, and wise judgment in these years in which you have worked for the achievement of a just society in the southern states.

We are all the stronger for our faith that your tireless work in this cause will keep on.

Respectfully and in admiration,

Charles S. Johnson, Chairman
Executive Committee

Paul D. Williams
Charles H. Gillman
Carter Wesley

Gordon B. Hancock
Charles S. Johnson
Josephine Wilkins

Rufus E. Clement
Guy B. Johnson
John H. Wheeler

Leonard Haas
Harold L. Trigg
Charles Smith

George S. Mitchell

24-McDuce
McLanahan, C J

July 5, 1949

Mr. C. J. McLanahan

237 De Villen St.

Royal Oak, Michigan

Dear Jack:

I have sent a copy of this article in

COllier's by Hodding Carter to Mr. Kaplan.

You will see that on page sixty-four, it

goes into warm praise of S.R.C.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

McNamara

January 5, 1950

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
Cathedral of St. John the Baptist
Rector's Office
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Msgr. McNamara:

Mrs. McKoy is ill, where of I hasten to reply to your welcome letter of Jan.4.

Possibly by typing error, your letter says you do expect to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee Thursday February 22, 1950 at ten o'clock. Actually the meeting is Thursday, February 2, 1950 at ten o'clock. I do hope you can write us that date is open also. Perhaps, that is the date you really have marked on your calendar.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 5 1950
Southern Regional Council

January 4, 1950

Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I am sorry that pressure of circumstances have been such as to make it impossible until now to give you a definite answer to your note of December 23, 1949.

As matters now stand I will attend the meeting of the Executive Committee, scheduled for Thursday, February 22, 1950, at ten o'clock.

That the New Year will be filled with many blessings for you and the staff is my earnest prayer.

Sincerely yours,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara

McNamara

May 5, 1950

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Monsignor McNamara:

Here are the minutes of the Board meeting. We have written the other members with some urging, but as to we merely extend our deep thanks for all you have done already.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

SRC Board Mons corr

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

RECTOR'S OFFICE

RECEIVED
JAN 23 1952
Southern Regional Council

January 20, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

I was not long back from California by way of Mobile when I found a trip to New York demanding and so the delay in acknowledging your kind and good letter of December 18, 1951.

I have felt so much a part of SRC, since its inception, that it is difficult to realize the passage of time. Now that tenure on the Board of Directors has expired there now comes the realization that time at least, adversities to the contrary notwithstanding, has dealt kindly with our Council. It has been a pleasure and a satisfaction to serve and my interest is not lessened by the expiration of my membership on the Board.

My good wishes and prayers are with the new slate of officers. Please express my greetings to them.

Always, dear George, I will treasure the associations membership on the Board and on the Executive Committee brought me.

Sincerely yours,

T. James McNamara

(Rt.Rev.Msgr.) T. James McNamara

Coleman Medina
Uniforms Inc.
610 W. Pierce NW

Jul

December 18, 1951

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. J. McNamara
222 E. Harris St.
Savannah, Ga.

Dear Msgr. McNamara:

I have the sad duty of notifying you that at the time of the annual meeting the other day, we were compelled under the by-laws to let your period of service on the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council lapse. The by-laws permit two consecutive four-year terms and then require an absence!

We were all loth to lose you. I don't know any member of the Board who has contributed more in stability and bouyancy.

You were much in our minds at the Board meeting the other day when some good, eager member suggested a collection on the spot to bail us out. At once there were voices to say that Msgr. McNamara had wisely steered us away from that on another occasion.

The new slate of officers is:

President--Marion A. Wright
Vice-Presidents--Carter Wesley, Gordon Hancock, A. W. Dent, Alfred Mynders
Counsel--Leonard Haas

And the new Executive Committee is:

Charles Johnson, chairman
Mrs. Cassandra Maxwell Birnie
Rev. V. J. O'Connell
Rufus Clement
Paul Christopher
John Griffin
Harry V. Richardson

You will have seen some, at any rate, of the statement we adopted, but here is a full copy.

Do come to see us whenever you can in Atlanta. We count you as a steady and intimate friend.

Sincerely,

December 4, 1947

Msgr. T. James McNamara
222 E. Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear ~~Father~~ Msgr McNamara:

It is with much pleasure that I perform my task of announcing to you your unanimous reelection as member of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council by that body at its meeting on November 12th.

This recognition of the high service which you have so earnestly and unselfishly performed in behalf of the Council is especially pleasing to staff members who have had the privilege of working with you and so know at first hand the fine talents which you have brought to your task.

With every good wish for the holidays, and for the year that follows, I am

Most sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AN:ee

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Right Reverend Monsignor T. James McNamara, V. F.

Born: Savannah, Georgia, 1899.

Formal education: Benedictine School, Savannah: St. Charles College, Catonsville, Md; St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, N.Y., Ph.B. 1919, A.B., 1937.

Occupational history: Ordained Priest June 14, 1924; Assistant Rector of the Cathedral, Savannah, 1924-32; Administrator, Middle Georgia Missions, Milledgeville, 1932-39; Diocesan Superintendent of Schools, Diocese of Savannah-Atlanta, 1937-47; Rector of Cathedral, Savannah, 1939 -. Speaker on the National Catholic Hour - N.B.C. Network; created Domestic Prelate with the title of Right Reverend Monsignor by His Holiness, Pope Pius XI on September 2, 1939; Speaker on Church of the Air, - C.B.S. Network.

Member of: Diocesan Moderator of the United Service Organizations, Inc., and its affiliate, the National Catholic Community Service; Co-organizer and First Chairman of the Catholic Committee of the South; charter member of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. and member of its Board of Directors and Executive Committee; First vice-president of the Georgia Conference on Social Welfare; member of the Board of Directors, the Georgia Social Hygiene Council; president, Savannah Mental Hygiene Society; Management and Labor - member of City of Savannah Panel during war years; conciliator in labor disputes; member of the Board of the Children's Council of Chatham County.

Publications: Magazine articles on Education; Labor Relations; Race Relations, etc. Speaker before National, State, Regional and Local bodies on education, labor relations, race relations, and kindred subjects.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Right Reverend Monsignor T. James McNamara, V. F.

Born: Savannah, Georgia, 1899.

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Publications: Magazine articles on Education; Labor Relations; Race Relations, etc. Speaker before National, State, Regional and Local bodies on education, labor relations, race relations, and kindred subjects.

24-Mr. Hammond T. James

In grateful acknowledgment

of your kind remembrance

on the occasion of my Silver Jubilee

T. James McNamara

ARTHUR J. MOORE
BISHOP
THE METHODIST CHURCH
1976 NORTH DECATUR ROAD, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ATLANTA AREA
FLORIDA CONFERENCE
NORTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE
SOUTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE
LATIN MISSION CONFERENCE

February 9, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Exec. Director
Georgia Temperance League
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Important duties take me to Chicago on the dates of February 16-17, and I regret very much my inability to be present.

I enclose herewith my proxy.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Moore

Encl.
AJM/HH

February 23, 1944

Bishop Arthur J. Moore
1976 North Decatur Road
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bishop Moore:

When you return to Atlanta, will you be so good as to drop me a note, or call me at Walnut 7963, and let me know when it would be convenient for you to discuss with a small group of us the matter of the presidency of the Southern Regional Council?

The Board of Directors voted unanimously to invite you to take the presidency. I think that we all realize that you are an exceedingly busy man and that it is almost a shame to ask you to assume additional responsibilities, but we hoped that you might be willing to serve the Council in an official capacity if the demands on your time are not too great. The Executive Directors would, of course, take care of most of the routine matters. The presidency would involve a certain amount of official correspondence, presiding over the annual meetings, and when possible sitting with the Executive Committee which will meet from time to time in Atlanta.

Hoping to have the pleasure of seeing you soon, I am

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

ARTHUR J. MOORE
BISHOP
THE METHODIST CHURCH
1976 NORTH DECATUR ROAD, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ATLANTA AREA
FLORIDA CONFERENCE
NORTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE
SOUTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE
LATIN MISSION CONFERENCE

February 25, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

My dear Mr. Johnson:

I have been in my office a few days this week, but am dashing away tomorrow to spend Sunday and Monday in Florida filling some important engagements.

I shall be glad to talk with you and those associated with you, next Wednesday, March 1. I think it only fair to say that the more I contemplate the additional responsibilities which the chairmanship of the Southern Regional Council would impose, I am more and more convinced that it will be impossible for me to accept. However, if you and your Committee want to discuss the matter face to face I shall be glad to see you.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Moore

AJM/HH

Arthur J. Moore

Bishop Arthur J. Moore

Letter of May 8, 1944 re SRC Board membership

Copy filed under Dr. N. C. Newbold of that date

OFFICE OF RESIDENT BISHOP

The Methodist Church

1976 NORTH DECATUR ROAD, N.E.

ATLANTA, GA.

May 9, 1944

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of May 8 has been received during the absence of Bishop Moore who is in Texas filling engagements there. He will return to the office the 15th at which time your letter will have his attention.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Moore

Mrs. Helen Harr

Secy.

ARTHUR J. MOORE
BISHOP
THE METHODIST CHURCH
1976 NORTH DECATUR ROAD, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ATLANTA AREA
FLORIDA CONFERENCE
NORTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE
SOUTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE
LATIN MISSION CONFERENCE

May 18, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have your recent letter stating that I have been elected to membership on the Board of Directors of the Council. I am delighted to render whatever service I possibly can in that direction.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Moore

AJM/HH

May 29, 1944

Bishop Arthur J. Moore
1976 North Decatur Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bishop Moore:

When I called you the other day I promised to get in touch with you on Tuesday of this week. I had forgotten that I had an engagement in Nashville tomorrow to speak to the Council of Church Women. I expect to be back in Atlanta on Wednesday, and I shall call you as soon as I return.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

THE METHODIST CHURCH
ATLANTA AREA
1976 NORTH DECATUR ROAD, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ARTHUR J. MOORE
RESIDENT BISHOP

July 1, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

My dear Guy:

It so happens that you are out of the city at the time I have a little spare time. I must leave Atlanta on Tuesday to be away for several days. Dr. Wallace Rogers, Dr. E. G. Mackay and the Rev. Hoke Sewell are now ready to talk to you concerning the rental of certain space in the Wesley Memorial building for the Southern Regional Council. If you will be good enough to give Dr. Rogers a ring, whose number is WA-3238, he will be glad to fix a time.

I sincerely hope this matter will work out to the mutual advantage of all of you.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Moore

AJM/HH

Arthur J. Moore

August 21, 1944

Bishop Arthur J. Moore
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bishop Moore:

We are delighted that plans are maturing for our moving into Wesley Memorial Building, and we are most grateful to you and the Committee for helping us to solve a very knotty problem.

I thought it would be a good idea for me to write out some of the details of our plans for the utilization of the space which we agreed upon. I am sending Dr. Rogers a copy of this letter, and I am enclosing in his letter the drawing to which I refer below.

Since the two rooms leading into the 25' X 40' room can be used as they are at present, I have confined my drawing to the large corner room. We have puzzled a good deal over the best way to divide up the large room, and we think that the arrangement shown on the drawing is perhaps the best we can devise. "A" is a large entrance room for the stenographers. "B", "C", "D", and "E" are offices, and the walls of these should go to the ceiling in order to give us some privacy. "F" is a file and storage room, and the partitions need not go higher than 7 or 8 feet. The half of a large sliding door at "G" which lies within room "E" would remain closed, but the other half should either be fixed so that it will slide very easily or be replaced by a small door in order to give access to the two rooms lying to the left of the large room. We should like to close up the present hallway entrance to the ladies' lounge, and put in a door at "H".

I hope that the drawing will serve to give Dr. Rogers and the contractor a definite idea of the amount of construction material needed and the layout of additional radiators. Of course, we would like to have an electrical conduit run around the baseboard of the outside walls so that we can have baseboard plugs in each room.

If we can afford it, we would like very much to cover our floors with asphalt tile similar to that which has been used in the rooms on the other side of the building. I would appreciate it very much if Dr. Rogers could get an estimate of the cost of covering all of our floor space except the storage room "F" and the mimeographing room.

Several of the windows have narrow panes at either side which do not open at present. I would like to find out whether these narrow windows could be swung on hinges so that they could be opened. I am sure that there is a certain amount of painting which we would want to do, but the details can be worked out later.

I am going to Chapel Hill to superintend the moving of our household goods to Atlanta, and I shall be away for about a week. In the meantime, if there is anything urgent which needs to be decided, I suggest that you call Miss Clay.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure - chart of room arrangement

Copy to Dr. Wallace Rogers

October 21, 1944

Bishop Arthur J. Moore
Wesley Memorial Church
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Bishop Moore:

I have received a letter from Mr. William Y. Bell, Jr. requesting me to look into the possibility of getting space in Wesley Memorial Building for the Southern Field Divison of the National Urban League. Mr. Bell is one of the most able and intelligent young Negro leaders in the South and he has recently been made Secretary of the Urban League's Southern Field Division. He tells me that he has temporary quarters but that they are very unsatisfactory and he is anxious to find a place where he can have several suitable rooms.

I have told Mr. Bell that I would discuss the matter with you. Since I am leaving for Washington, and will be away a week, I hope that you will find time to drop me a note so that in case you are away when I get back I can let Mr. Bell know what the outlook is.

We are delighted with our new quarters, and of course, we are eternally indebted to you for making it possible for us to have space in Wesley Memorial Building. I am sorry that I did not get to see you when you were visiting us a day or two ago. I was suffering from a cold and had to work at home.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

GBJ:j

ARTHUR J. MOORE
BISHOP
THE METHODIST CHURCH
WESLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ATLANTA AREA
FLORIDA CONFERENCE
NORTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE
SOUTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE
LATIN MISSION CONFERENCE

October 23, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Guy:

I have your letter and note the inquiry concerning the possibility of space for the National Urban League in the Wesley Memorial Building.

I have the highest regard for Mr. Bell, and am sincerely interested in the work he is doing. I am compelled to say, however, I doubt the wisdom of our bringing the office of the League to the Wesley Memorial Building at this time. My own attitude would be one of friendliness and willingness, but there is a constituency which we must respect and I am sure we should not take additional steps at the present time.

I hope at some future time to discuss it with you if you so desire.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Moore

AJM/HH

Arthur J. Moore

ARTHUR J. MOORE
BISHOP
THE METHODIST CHURCH
WESLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ATLANTA AREA
FLORIDA CONFERENCE
NORTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE
SOUTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE
LATIN MISSION CONFERENCE

October 27, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Ga.

My dear Guy:

I am dashing away from my office early tomorrow morning and will hardly have an open hour between now and December 10. It will be a pleasure to write a statement concerning the Boy Scout movement among Negro youth just as soon as I can do so. I do not see how I can get to it for the next month.

Please bring it to my attention at a little later time.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Moore

AJM/HH

ESTABLISHED 1869

The Chattanooga Times

DAILY AND SUNDAY

November 22, 1945

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am honored in being made a director of the Southern Regional Council and of course I am happy to accept.

I think that the Council is a great force for unity in the South.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea

SRC Board membership

November 20, 1945

Mr. Alfred Mynders
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Mynders:

It is my pleasure to inform you that at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council on November 14, you were elected to membership on the Board for a term of our years. I sincerely hope that you will accept this election and that you will give the Council the benefit of your wisdom as a member of its Board of Directors.

For your information the Board holds two regular meetings annually. One of these is held on the day preceding the annual meeting of members and the other is held immediately on the adjournment of the annual meeting. The time of the annual meeting is the second Wednesday in November. Special meetings of the Board may be called from time to time. The Council bears expenses of Board members when they attend meetings.

Again let me say that we hope that you will accept service on the Board of Directors. May we hear from you soon.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MS

ARTHUR J. MOORE
BISHOP
THE METHODIST CHURCH
WESLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ATLANTA AREA
FLORIDA CONFERENCE
NORTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE
SOUTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE
LATIN MISSION CONFERENCE

July 29, 1947

(Addressed to #87)

My dear Friends,

Since the 3rd day of July I have been confined to my bed in the Emory University Hospital. On July 15th I was compelled to undergo a severe operation. This is my first opportunity to give expression of my everlasting gratitude for the prayers, thoughtfulness and remembrances of my friends. Telegrams, letters and flowers have come in great abundance. Not only the preachers but the laymen, our elect women and many Sunday School Classes have written. I have always been indebted to my friends but now that debt has grown to such proportions I shall never be able to pay it. All I can say is "Thank you and God bless you".

If all goes well I will be able to return to my home some time this week and I shall spend the next several weeks in complete rest. The cause of my trouble has been removed and there is no reason why I should not be strong as ever after the passing of a few weeks.

Once again, please accept sincere thanks for your thoughtfulness.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Moore

AJM:ER

Arthur J. Moore

Re-election to Board of

Directors

December 19, 1947

Bishop Arthur J. Moore
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bishop Moore:

We are indeed glad to advise you of your unanimous re-election as member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council at the annual membership meeting on November 12.

The year, 1948, holds much promise and we are looking forward to it with confidence strengthened, as we feel reason to be, by the ability and excellence of individuals as well as collective membership of our Board.

With every good wish for the holidays and for the coming year, I am

Most sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:ee

Mynders, Alfred

March 5, 1948

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

We are all very much pleased with the beautiful story on page seven of the New York Times of February 28 about the Southwide Meeting on Civil Rights here in Atlanta.

Mr. Hatcher for the New York Times did handsomely.

Unfortunately, our subscription to the Chattanooga Times some way got mixed up and we are receiving quite the wrong paper from there. We hope to straighten that out soon.

I write this because I had called your office and asked for help in getting the meeting covered.

It was a good meeting and has been well played in the stories we have seen.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

25-Ma-Misc.
Mynders, Alfred D.

July 30, 1948

Mr. Alfred D. Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

I take pleasure in sending you for your glancing over (and kind return to us, if you will) six photostats of recent publicity which the Council has had the good fortune to get.

We are all deeply grateful for your own and Mr. Popham's repeated help. What your paper and the New York Times and others have done is the backbone of this little sheaf of stories.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

P. S. The photostats are going forward to you separately in a roll.

GSM

25-Mynders, Alfred

November 5, 1948

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

We will be very sorry to miss you at the meeting on the 10th. You were the right person to comment on the civil rights statement. I don't know where I will turn for someone else, but we will fill that niche.

That New York Times editorial rejoiced us all. You will see that we have reprinted it in the new issue of the civil rights statement, with editorial comment bound in beginning on page 6.

We are most anxious for the Tennessee Division to have the benefit of the trip through the state which you intend to make.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

P. S. I send also a paste-up of some of the news stories about the statement.

"NO MAGIC FORMULA"

The liberal Southerner's approach to civil rights has rarely been better described than in a statement made public yesterday by twelve members of the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council, after a meeting in Atlanta. This document belongs on the same shelf with the monumental report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, published last October. The civil rights planks in both the major party platforms might have been more usefully phrased if some of the considerations here brought forward had been included.

The argument over the position of the Southern Negro, now as in the Eighteen Fifties, has been, as the committee says, "shot through with fierce emotions—sectional patriotism, resentment of 'outside interference,' charges of hypocrisy—with each side angrily pointing to the beam in the other fellow's eye." The committee introduces the soothing element of cool reasoning. It points out that without education and economic progress federal legislation will not suffice. It points out, too, that if the South insists on "States' rights" it must also accept "States' responsibilities." It points out that with the rest of the world, three-fourths of it belonging to the colored races, looking to us for a demonstration of democracy the South may "defend its right to do the job in its own way" but not to "insist on doing it in its own good time."

The committee finds that there are "shadings" in human rights in the Southern States, and that these shadings correspond to economic variations. Democracy is at "its lowest ebb" in the poorest areas. It rises with prosperity. "Jobs and farms and homes and schools and health—these," the committee concludes, "are the underpinnings of civil rights." Laws may be necessary. People of good-will must strive to "create more democratic attitudes." But, "unless the way is prepared by strengthening the South's economy, laws are dangerously likely to remain dead black print on a page."

It is much easier to pass a law than to build up an economy. It is much easier for a Northern politician to propose "an overnight end to segregation" or for a Southern politician to dramatize the results of such a step than for them to join in a calm discussion of ways to secure the Negro his simple basic rights and opportunities. There is, as the committee says, "no magic formula." Yet progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests.

The Chattanooga Times

November 4, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
NOV 5 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I already feel that I have neglected my obligations to the Southern Regional Council and I feel it even more keenly when I must say that I will be unable to attend the annual meeting in Atlanta on the 10th.

The most bitter political campaign in the state's history has left us all pretty well exhausted. But we must carry on through next week gathering up the odds and ends of the national campaign for editorial comment.

I think the editorial in the New York Times expresses the importance of the executive committee's statement. If some member of the Committee could deliver the brief talk he might get some ideas from the clipping I am enclosing.

After the reverberations of the amazing political campaign have died down, I must make a visit to Knoxville, Nashville and Memphis to talk with the members of the Executive Committee of the Tennessee division. I am ashamed that I have not been able to do this before and I am especially sorry that I cannot attend the meeting in Atlanta for I feel it a high honor to be invited to discuss the splendid report.

I hope that it is not too late to get someone else to fill in on this assignment.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea
Encl.

November 1, 1948

Mr. Alfred D. Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Paul Williams and I have done some talking about the program for the annual membership meeting of the Council on November 10--at the same place as last year, the exhibition room of the library of Atlanta University.

Paul said you are just the right one to speak briefly to the meeting about the importance of the civil rights statement of the Executive Committee.

Here is the agenda for the membership meeting. You will see that we have marked you down for 11:30 - 11:37 A.M., in a rally of such brief reports on 1948 work.

I do hope you can come and take on this job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

C O P Y

RECEIVED
AUG 21 1951
Southern Regional Council

Kefauver

August 17, 1951

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Senator Estes Kefauver
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Estes:

I am told that you have been invited to address a meeting of Southern church women called by Mrs. M. E. Tilly for October 11th. Women church leaders from all over the South who have the utmost confidence in Mrs. Tilly will attend.

Although Mrs. Tilly was a member of the President's Civil Rights Commission and although she has long been a factor in the Southern Regional Council, for which I happen to be Tennessee state chairman, the purpose of this meeting is not interracial but law enforcement.

Mrs. Tilly has succeeded in interesting the church women of the South in attending court trials and watching the administration of justice and in combatting crime. I think this fits in very well with your own great accomplishment for the people of this country.

I especially liked your statement while on the Pacific coast concerning your uneasiness over the attitude of Congress toward the government's effort in the international crisis.

Remember me to Nancy and the family.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

AM/ea

Bd mem

December 28, 1951

Bishop Arthur J. Moore
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Bishop Moore:

Thank you for your letter of the 21st.

We are most sorry to lose you as a member of the Board, and to have you resign as a member of the Council, too. On the Board membership I must not have made it clear that the by-laws require a system of rotation, permitting only two successive terms. It was a matter of real regret to us all that we couldn't keep you straight along.

I know from Guy Johnson and the others, and from my own work with the Council, how important to it your interest, your judgment, and your help have been.

I earnestly hope that you will not withdraw your membership in the Council itself. Your wise judgment has been a source of strength to us, and we cordially wish to continue to have you as part of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:oc

December 18, 1951

Bishop Arthur J. Moore
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Bishop Moore:

I have the reluctant duty of notifying you that at the annual meeting of the Council the other day the by-laws required us to let your term as a member of the Board of Directors lapse. Under the by-laws persons are eligible for two consecutive four-year terms, and not thereafter again until they have been off the Board. So to our real regret, we had to lose you as a member of the Board.

Your kind and understanding interest has been a mighty prop to the Council.

I know we may count straight along on your friendship.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SRC — Board Mems
Corres

February 6, 1952

Mr. Alfred Mynders
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Mynders:

We will appreciate it if you will try to find a vice-president's place on here and sign your John Henry.

Fortunately, Mr. A. W. Dent has a short name, and he might be able to squeeze in by Carter Wesley.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

Moore

September 23, 1952

Bishop Arthur J. Moore
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Bishop Moore:

I read lately in The New Statesman and Nation (London) for September 13, 1952, a most interesting account of the third world conference on Faith and Order, which met in the last half of August at Lund in Sweden, written by D. M. Mackinnon. The heart of the article seems to me the following:

> An important factor in the total fact of the Lund Conference was the wide representation from the younger churches. There was no Chinese delegation; but men from India and Africa continually reminded us how different the outlook was of the younger churches from that of the churches of Europe. Inevitably the churches of the Old World bear as part of their inheritance the whole tragic burden of their history. No Anglican nor English Free Churchman can lightly regard the Civil War of 1642-49; nor can the Continental Protestant lightly esteem the St. Bartholomew and the bitter struggles of the Counter-Reformation. In the Christian inheritance of Europe, there is something profoundly tragic; we are marked by the sign of our fathers' infidelities as well as by that of their loyalty to the truth. For us there is no escape from these things, and they make far harder the road to the healing of our divisions. With the younger churches in India, Burma, Africa and Ceylon it is not so; and they are impatient of European hesitation.

You are so closely connected with these younger churches that I felt sure the whole idea would interest you greatly.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Bishop Arthur Moore

At Sea
Saturday, Feb. 23rd.

Since the middle of last December I have been engaged in completing the details of this trip to Korea and other countries in the Far East. Little did I dream, when the Council of Bishops met in special session at Buck Hill Falls, Pa., that this extra labor would be required of me. It seems that the Methodist Church of Korea is in peculiar need of some one to come out representing the Mother Church, to advise with them as they face the unparalleled problems brought about by nine years of war. While there has been little actual fighting on Korean soil, the Japanese Government has drawn heavily upon their men and materials. Now that the Japanese are beaten and the forty years of Japanese domination and oppression are ended Korea desperately needs help and cooperation in working out her future course.

Perhaps my six years of service for, and fellowship with, Korean Methodists accounts for my being chosen for this special mission. The trip will most certainly not be luxury travel. There are many difficulties, some real hardships, but a glorious opportunity to make a contribution to the unity and strength of the Christian Church in Korea, and that in turn will contribute to peace and the spread of world Christianity. For such a mission I am not worthy, but to do my best will be a genuine delight.

The innumerable innoculations against possible disease are behind me. The long series of conferences with Government and Military leaders concerning the importance and necessity of my going at this time have ended in the granting of pass-port, military permission to enter Korea and the assignment by the War Shipping Administration of space on an out-going ship. It has been hard to decide what to take in the matter of clothing and supplies. Some of my travel will be by air and I am thus limited as to quantity. The country to which I go has been stripped bare of available food supplies. The first part of my journey will be in winter, but before it ends the heat of summer will be upon me. Only experience can tell whether I have planned wisely.

Mr. Asa Candler, Jr., of Atlanta, a dear friend and devoted Methodist layman, was gracious enough to see me from Atlanta to the West Coast in his new twin-motored Beechcraft plane. It is modern and swift. From Atlanta to San Antonio required only 5½ hours and from there to San Francisco another 8 hours. In safety, comfort and swiftness we finished that part of the journey within the United States.

This afternoon we boarded the Marine Phoenix and sailed from Seattle at 6:30 P. M. The ship is a regular army transport and has ~~on board approximately 3000 officers and men going~~ out for duty with the Army of Occupation. By courtesy of the Department of State and the Military Authorities, approximately one hundred civilians have been allowed to have passage. These civilians represent many interests. There is a party of thirty-six UNRRA workers going out to help feed the starving peoples of the world. They are in trim uniform and represent high intelligence and sacrificial spirit. America cannot close its eyes and shut its ears to the distressed peoples of the earth and keep its place of world leadership.

The Department of State has on board a group of its highly trained young men who are spreading out all over the Orient to re-establish our consular service. I am sharing the same cabin with some of these men and they make you feel proud to be an American. The rest of the civilian company is composed of war correspondents, a few business men and a small group of the advance guard of the Christian missionary army.

The 3000 soldiers represent a cross-section of American life. Already I have met men from practically every state in the Union. They seem very young and I can't help from feeling that it is a pity they aren't at home in high school and college. They are good-humored and a fine lot to go with anywhere.

Sunday, Feb. 24th

Soon after coming aboard last night, Chaplain Robinson, who is the Transport Chaplain, came insisting that I preach this morning. It was a service I shall not soon forget. The sea was rough, the ship pitching, with many a lad from America experiencing his first case of sea-sickness. But, the lounge was filled with worshippers. When the Chaplain asked for a volunteer to play the little organ a handsome young Lieutenant stepped forward. When the service was over he introduced himself as Lieutenant Adams from Butler, Georgia. He said the Atlanta papers had announced my trip to Korea and he hoped I would be on this ship.

The Chaplain is a fine fellow, a minister of the Nazarene Church and is certainly busy serving his men. Today he provided a Roman Catholic, Jewish and Protestant service and had a service of hymn singing at 8 P. M., all of this, while himself in the grip of sea-sickness. During the Protestant service he felt compelled to make a hasty retreat but returned in time to hear me conclude my sermon and announce the

hymn,"On Christ The Solid Rock I Stand".

Saturday, March 2nd.

It was exactly a week ago today we came on board this ship. To say that the voyage thus far has been normal would not be exact. The ship is an army transport built by Kaiser at Vancouver, Washington. It is all steel with three decks. Its overall length is 522 feet. It is 71 feet wide and has a cruising speed of 16 knots or approximately 18 miles per hour. It was built for one purpose---transporting men in large numbers to the war areas. There is no thought of comfort. It is spotlessly clean and is kept that way.

The enlisted men numbering nearly three thousand are quartered below. On yesterday I went on a tour of inspection and found them terribly crowded. They have little deck space and if they should all come on deck at one time there would not be room. The officers and few civilians aboard have a small lounge and here it is possible to sometime find a chair. Here in a small space of one ship are enough people to make up a good sized town. There is of necessity crowding and a general lack of comfort. No one thinks to complain and thus far every one has been cheerful and cooperative. The food is typically army. Plenty of it but heavy. For me it is another enriching experience to be allowed companionship with these officers and men for a couple of weeks.

My cabin mates are interesting fellows. Mr. Glenn Bruner, once a Methodist missionary in Japan, now with the Dept. of State, going out to Japan to fill a place on General McArthur's staff. Mr. R. M. Shaplen is a war correspondent with a brilliant record. He represents Newsweek and will be a roving reporter throughout the Pacific Area. Mr. Li Shu Hua, a distinguished Chinese who is the Vice-President of the National Acadamy of Peiking, is returning to his native country after representing China in an important educational conference in London. Mr. Fanson Kuo is a young Chinese banker who after a long stay in America is to take up his work in Kunming. He is a sample of the well-trained China. Mr. William Van Buskirk, a spry gentleman of 82 years, who was a prisoner of the Japanese in China, is headed back to Shanghai which is the place he calls home. Despite our crowded conditions we find time for long and animated conversations on the shape of things to come.

Sunday, March 3rd.

Today's weather, while not sunny, is much better than what we have had since sailing from Seattle. As a result the Protestant

worship service was well attended this morning. The congregation was composed principally of soldiers, officers and enlisted men. Civilians made up about one third of the audience. We had a good sermon by the Rev. Paul Aspach, a Lutheran missionary returning to his station in China. After the sermon I administered the Holy Communion. It was a most impressive sight to behold the entire congregation upon their knees while the boat rocked to and fro with the heavy waves. After the benediction I spent a half-hour in conversation with those who were Methodists or who for some reason knew of me. Not soon can I forget a strong clear eyed young soldier who marched down to a front seat bringing with him his own Bible with which he seemed perfectly familiar. Talk about a lily growing in impossible surroundings, it is not more beautiful than the sight of this lad clinging to his faith and ideals while surrounded by many who seem to have forgotten. While there I thought of his mother and dad and of how proud they must be to have a son like this. He was only one of a goodly company who seemed glad to "go into the house of the Lord".

Friday, March 8th

This is the twelth time I have crossed the Pacific. Frequently I have found it true to its name but certainly not on this voyage. We left Seattle thirteen days ago in a rain storm and bad weather in some form has been our lot. Only during two days have we been able to enjoy any sunshine. As I have already stated, the ship is crowded beyond description and the fact that rain and rough weather has prevented much time on deck has added to our congestion. While these lines are bing written the waves are running so high that the speed of the ship has been retarded, otherwise the waves would break over the ship.

Two things happened today to break the monotony of the trip. The medical officer in charge announced that I must be innoculated against tetanus. So I was. That makes the eighth innoculation I have had for this one trip. Nearly all of them have made me sick; maybe this one will prove to be the exception.

Also today I was invited by the officers of the ship to make an address over the loud speaker system on China. Many of these troops are to be stationed there and they are anxious to learn everything possible about the people and customs of this new land to which they are being sent. I prepared the best address I could and for thirty minutes the entire company seemed to listen with rapt attention. Who am I to pose as an authority on this marvelous and mysterious people

who have made such an enormous contribution to human welfare?

We are now about three days out of Korea. We are skirting the edge of Japan but not near enough to see land. What memories it brings back to me! For six years as I moved to and fro in the Orient I watched Japan mobolize all her resources of men and materials to fit her imperialistic ambitions. How brutal and unwarranted were her aggressions in China and elsewhere! Now in bitterness and disillusionment her people stand amid the ruins of her folly. What a tragedy her leaders did not seek her expansion by peaceful means. When will the nations of the earth learn to say to guns and bombs, "Make way for understanding, arbitration, and peace"?

Sunday, March 10th

For the last two days we have been at the mercy of a real storm. For some days we seemed to play around its edges but Friday and Saturday found us at its center. It was a trying experience. When one remembers that ships like this one were constructed in a week he can but wonder how sea-worthy they made them. The high waves have swept over us in all their fury. At times one hardly dared to leave his bed. But at last the storm has subsided and today has been a lovely Sabbath at sea.

The worship service was well attended this morning. I suppose every one felt some degree of thanksgiving to Almighty God for His protection of ship and passengers from the perils of the sea.

We are now off the coast of southern Japan. If all goes well we should drop anchor at Jinsen Korea sometime Wednesday. This morning the Captain of the vessel called us together for a lecture on the danger of floating mines. From here to our destination we must face the peril of these deadly mines placed in these waters by the Japanese as protection against the American navy. Naturally they have not all been recovered and floating around constitute a real menace. We are compelled to keep our life preservers close at hand at all times. One is not allowed to go on deck without this preparation against possible disaster. Such danger helps to introduce a more serious atmosphere among the passengers. In this as in all other times it is good to put ones trust in Him who rules the seas.

Wednesday, March 13th

At long last we have sighted the land toward which we have been sailing for seventeen days. The eagerness of the fine American lads crowding the rail and catching sight of their first foreign land moves me tremendously. The voyage is almost ended. Tonight we drop anchor

in the harbor at Jinsen Korea and early tomorrow morning we disembark.

It was the spring of 1940 when I said goodbye to our Methodist people in Korea. We had finished the first mission conference following the Union of the Churches in America. How glad we were to be the representatives of a great church to the fine people of this land. But above our heads were the clouds of Japanese oppression. On every hand one saw truth being violated, justice mocked, and brute force triumphant. The church was under heavy pressure while the soiled hands of totalitarianism clutched at the beautiful garments of the Bride of Christ.

What a thrill for me to be in this first "landing party" of the army of returning missionaries. Tomorrow I shall greet with deep stirring of my emotions those with whom I lived and labored in the gathering darkness of war, and together we shall build for the larger and better day.

Seoul Korea
Thursday, March 14th

After seventeen days at sea we caught sight of the Korean shore line early this morning. The three thousand soldiers who are enroute to this country crowded the decks to catch their first sight of a foreign land. The bay at Inchon into which we sailed was crowded with American vessels of every kind. We were greeted with the news that there was an epidemic of smallpox on shore and thus prepared for another vaccination.

This afternoon I came ashore in an army landing craft with the first contingent of troops to be greeted by Chaplain Peters. The news of my coming had reached here but no one knew exactly when or how. The Chaplain placed me in an army jeep and over terrible roads we started for Seoul, the capital city forty miles away. Upon arrival in Seoul, Chaplain V. P. Jaeger, who is chief of the chaplains, took me in charge. Through the courtesy of the Commanding General I was given a room and food. If I was strictly military I would say I was billeted at the CHOSEN hotel and assigned to the officer's mess. This particular hotel has been commandered by the U. S. Army and houses the General and his staff officers. In other days it was Seoul's best and usually crowded with high ranking Japanese. The American officers who are here are all soldiers of distinction, having fought their way up from the South Pacific. They are also courteous gentlemen and seem as anxious for news from home as the humblest private. I am one of the very few Americans in Korea in civilian dress. There are as yet no missionaries except a handful here with the military in some capacity.

Friday, March 15th

Today has been devoted to contacts with the military authorities. Early in the morning I was received by Lieutenant General John Hodge, the supreme commander of all American troops in Korea. I found him to be a gracious and typical American. After we had greeted each other the General said, "Bishop, what do you want to do out here?" I replied, "I would like to make a survey of the situation as it relates to the present state and future plans of the Christian Churches, and especially my own communion, The Methodist Church." He promptly assured me that I had his permission to go where-ever I desired and that he would provide transportation as train and taxi service cannot be had at present.

My next call was at the office of Major General Archer L. Lerch who is in command of the Military Government. Under his direction are all the forces and institutions which govern and direct the life and activities of the Korean people. There is naturally no government at present except that provided by the occupation forces. The General kept me for a long while and seemed genuinely interested in the return of missionaries. It now appears that those who have formerly served here will be able to return and resume their labors at an early date.

From the American side of affairs I turned to the Korean. The Ewha High School was giving a reception to Dr. Henry Appenzeller, one of our missionaries whose father was the first Methodist missionary to Korea. Dr. Appenzeller was born here and his life has been devoted to these people. Like the other missionaries he was forced out by the Japanese. He has returned for a special mission with the Department of State.

For two hours we were entertained by the more than one thousand girls who compose the student body. Never have I heard better choral music. Then, with Faculty, Trustees, and distinguished guests, we went to a typical Korean feast. Food is scarce and prices very high but one could not have discovered it around those tables. It was my privilege to assure these Christian Leaders that the Church in America was bound to the church in Korea with bonds which war could not sever. It was a high privilege to serve as a symbol at least of a band of missionaries who had been forced out by the Japanese but who would soon be returning.

Sunday, March 17th

"Rejoice, give thanks, and sing" is a line from a poem but it is also the language of my heart at the close of this wonderful day.

Promptly at nine o'clock this morning I was in the Chung-Dong Methodist Church for a worship service with our American troops. This is the first Methodist Church built in Korea and is now being used by Chaplain Jaeger of the 24th Army Corp. It is a large brick building accommodating some eight hundred worshippers. Officers and enlisted men almost filled it for the service this morning.

The friends at home would have been thrilled to hear their men sing the hymns. The sermon was the best I can do on "Jesus, The Answer To The Soul's Quest". Following the service I had a half hour to visit with the men. They were there from practically every state in the Union. It was a source of great comfort to have a Colonel say that more than twenty-five years ago he was converted under my poor ministry.

But my day had just begun. The eleven o'clock hour found me in another strange but moving service. The Japanese, while occupying Korea, built in this city as magnificent a capital building as can be found anywhere. The very heart of the building was the Throne Room. Here His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor, sat upon his throne and condescended to receive the favorite few who were granted that "sacred privilege". The room, which accommodates several hundred, is furnished in Oriental splendor. Here they exhibited, in other days, the head of a dynasty which is supposed to have endured for twenty-five hundred years and aspired to world domination.

The capital is now the seat of the American Military Government. The throne room has been set apart for divine worship. When I arrived for the service the place was so crowded that even the Commanding General had difficulty in finding a seat. Chaplain Cleland was in charge. The audience sang heartily "O Come All Ye Faithful", "Jesus Calls Us", and "Faith Of Our Fathers".

My sermon dealt with "The Unchanging Christ and the Everlasting Gospel". It was an exaltation of Christ above men and movements which have their little day and are gone. Nations rise and fall. Like the mad imperialism of him who reigned as Emperor in this very place they end in decline and dust. One banner triumphs over the wrecks of time. The tinseled pomp and glory of evil men fades but the name and glory of Jesus and His Church endures through war, paganism and death. "Unshaken as eternal hills, immovable she stands." So the day closed with my heart saying, "Rejoice, give thanks, and sing".

Tuesday, March 20th

So much of significance is happening out here one finds it difficult to decide what is most important. For example, one of the largest movements of its kind in history was the repatriation of Koreans and the evacuation of Japanese. The problems associated with such large scale movements are many and complicated. At the time these lines are written practically all of the Japanese living in Korea south of the 38th Parallel have been evacuated. What is happening in the zone of Russian occupation is another story to be told later. Of the 600,000 Japanese in Korea only 3,000 remain and they must be out by April first. Each returning Japanese was limited to 1000 yen or approximately sixty dollars. All other property must be left behind. Millions of Koreans are returning from Japan, Manchuria, and Formosa. How happy they must be to return to a land freed of the invader! How unhappy these Japanese who are compelled to leave houses and business to return to a homeland filled with the desolation of war.

For several reasons Korea has become one of the nerve centers of the world. What happens here runs like an electric current around the whole earth and brings hope or despair to other small nations. Korea's future is absolutely in the hands of the so-called Big Powers.

This week witnessed the formal opening of the sessions of the Joint Soviet-United States Commission which has been organized to solve the political, economic, and administrative problems of Korea and to prepare the way for independent self-government. The Soviet Commission numbers more than one hundred. Several of them are living in the hotel where I am staying and you may be sure I have been studying them. Here are Generals toughened in battle, experts on every conceivable subject. In the group are several ladies in uniform whose duties vary.

Korea at present is divided at the 38 Parallel. Thus the Russians hold the industrial North and the Americans the agricultural South, including Seoul, the capitol city. All transportation and communication between the two sections is prohibited. There is no mail service; newspapers are not allowed to circulate across the border. The boundary is carefully guarded and a Korean endangers his life by attempting to leave the Russian zone. However, southern Korea is being crowded with refugees from the north.

Naturally, the Koreans have looked forward with great hope to the coming of this Commission. Can two powerful nations cooperate sufficiently to create a united and independent Korea? The peace of the world as well as the future of Korea is at stake! Arthur J. Moore

25-1770-Misc
Mynders, Alfred

September 21, '48

Mr. Alfred Mynders
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Mynders,

I'll tell you, we appreciate what you did for us.

You put that grand story of Popham's on the front page, and then carried the whole statement. And we have heard that newsprint is scarce!

Then the New York Times gave the story fine play, and ran a heart-warming editorial in the Monday issue.

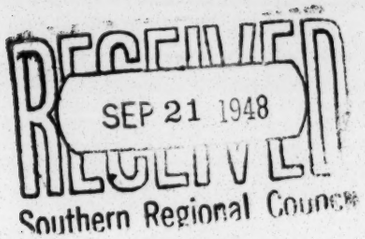
As you advised, I called long distance somebody on the News-Sentinel, the Tennessean, The Commercial Appeal, the Birmingham Age-Herald (which also ran it in full), the Arkansas Gazette, the Courier-Journal, the Times-Picayune, the News and Observer, the Tampa Times, the Columbia State, and the Richmond Times-Dispatch. That helped a lot, because it enabled us to get the statement into the hands of someone who would actually read it. The coverage couldn't have been more gratifying.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

The Chattanooga Times

September 20, 1948



Dr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Here is the play we gave the Southern Regional Council statement in Sunday's paper.

The New York Times' special wire which sends New York Times stories to a number of the leading newspapers, carried John Popham's story in full. I haven't seen Sunday's New York Times but I imagine that they used all of Popham's story since they considered it important enough to put on their wire at great length.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea
Encl.

MP

95 - Mynders, Alfred

The Chattanooga Times

November 8, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.,
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The next report on Negro police will include Memphis. Negro policemen last week were placed in charge of Beale Street. This is really the climax of the Southern Regional Council's campaign, and I claim some credit for it for the Tennessee Division.

Police Commissioner Boyle of Memphis, and Ed Barry, member of our state executive committee, had a full file of the Southern Regional Council's data on Negro police before the commissioner took action.

Of course, you know also that members of our Nashville chapter were largely instrumental in having Negro police put on there.

I am trying to arrange so that I can attend the directors meeting, Thursday, in Atlanta. I can't be there Wednesday. Mr. Puckette, our general manager, had to go to the meeting of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association in St. Petersburg, Florida all of this week, and I do not feel like being away from the paper for two days.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea
Encl.

25 - Mynders, Alfred

December 7, 1948

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

How very kind of you to take all that long, careful trouble with the list!

We are sending each of those you listed the enclosed letter.

I will study with interest the articles on the Chattanooga Urban League Survey. We all read and liked your column on the Negro vote in Georgia.

I have turned over to our secretary-treasurer, Mrs. McKoy, your sentence or two about your very generous pledge of $100 to the Council. She will follow up, in case your recollection fails you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMat
enclosure

cc: Jane Simpson

The Chattanooga Times

December 6, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The extensive list of Baptist ministers which you sent me is hardly up to date. [redacted] J. C. Williamson, who is the executive in charge of the Ocoee Baptist District which covers a large part of East Tennessee, conferred with me and gave me the names of some men who undoubtedly will be interested in our work.

First, Mr. J. C. Williamson, Ocoee Baptist Association, Ferger Building, Chattanooga, asks to be put on the list for our publications. — comp. mailing list, CAC - 4 Dec 47

We culled out some names of men who would not be interested but all of the following will be: _____ cultivated, Nov Dec Jan — JPS

Dr. L. B. Cobb, First Baptist Church, Cleveland, Tennessee (after January 1st.) He is immediate past state president of the Baptist Convention.

The Rev. Carl Giers, pastor, First Baptist Church, Chattanooga. He has just come to us from Alabama and is liberal in his views.

The Rev. Robert E. Lee, First Baptist Church, Dayton, Tennessee.

The Rev. O. Jack Murphy, First Baptist Church, Etowah, Tennessee.

The Rev. Lee Roberson, Pastor, Highland Park Baptist Church, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

The Rev. J. S. Stallings, Ridgedale Baptist Church, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Dr. Ralph Norton, Red Bank Baptist Church, Red Bank (Chattanooga) Tennessee.

The Rev. J. A. Park, White Oak Baptist Church, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Dr. Henry Stokes, Pastor, First Baptist Church, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Rev. E. L. Williams, Belle Avenue Baptist Church, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Rev. Ramsey Pollard, Broadway Baptist Church, Knoxville, Tennessee. (A very valuable worker if we can get him.)

The Rev. B. Wayne Tarpley, St. Elmo Baptist Church, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

I would sound out John W. McCall of Memphis, recently elected president of the Tennessee Baptist Convention.

The Rev. Homer A. Cate, Shelbyville, Tennessee.

Dr. W. Fred Kendall, Jackson, Tennessee.

Dr. R. G. Lee, Bellevue Baptist Church, Memphis, Tennessee. (He is also president of the Southern Baptist Convention.)

Dr. H. J. Huey, Milan, Tennessee.

Dr. E. G. Davis, Temple Baptist Church, Memphis, Tenn.

The Rev. Elbert Henard, Rogersville, Tennessee

The Rev. T. T. Harris, Dunlap, Tennessee

Rev. Henry Johnson, Jefferson City, Tennessee

Rev. Albert M. Hill, Johnson City, Tennessee.

Rev. Dewey Thomas, Harriman, Tennessee.

Rev. G. Edison Burke, Austin Peay College, Clarksville, Tennessee.

Rev. Charles W. Pope, Nashville, Tennessee.

Rev. Thomas Maseley, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

Rev. D. P. MacFarland, First Baptist Church, Bolivar, Tennessee.

These are real prospects for our work. Of course, it is hard to tell how a Baptist preacher thinks, but all of these have been recommended to me as persons interested in interracial work. If you want more names, send this roster of Southern Baptist ministers back to me and I will make further investigation.

The Chattanooga Times is publishing a series of articles giving the Urban League's report made on Chattanooga several months ago but just now released. I will try to get you a copy of the entire survey, although it has not been printed.

At any rate, I will send you a complete file of the series of articles in The Times. Many of the recommendations in the survey have already been put into effect here.

Dr. James L. Fowle, of the local Interracial Commission, is bringing a Negro leader from Meharry Medical College over and has invited me to meet with them to discuss a method by which Chattanooga may send Negro students to the medical college on the promise that they will return to Chattanooga when they get their medical education to serve as Negro doctors here.

We have a number of fine Negro doctors but they are getting old and one or two have recently dropped off. (Dr. Levi Patton, for instance.)

Our Dr. William E. Cole, of the University of Tennessee, (director of the Southern Regional Council) is being considered by Governor-Elect Browning for state commissioner of public welfare. I think it depends on whether the University of Tennessee will give Dr. Cole a leave of absence. They gave him one leave of absence several years ago to do special work for the Tennessee Valley Authority.

I am sorry that gains in membership in the Tennessee Division are slow, but I am convinced that to get a large membership we should have to do as Florida did and put on a membership drive under a trained membership expert.

I pledged $100 to the Southern Regional Council at the directors meeting in Atlanta. I shall send half of it around January 1st and the remainder on July 1st. Don't hesitate to remind me if I get delinquent.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea

P. S. I am going to try to get a copy of the Urban League's Chattanooga survey for Mrs. Havens as well as one for you. At any rate, I will send both of you a complete file of The Chattanooga Times' article.

ADM

Later:

I am now informed that the Urban League Report on Chattanooga will not be printed, as it runs over three-hundred pages. A copy has been placed in the Chattanooga Public Library and will later be microfilmed.

I enclose the first two of The Chattanooga Times articles to give you an idea of how we are covering it. The report was finished a year ago and quietly both races in Chattanooga have been putting the recommendations into effect. We have a local ordinance here which requires an inside toilet for each house. It is not yet being enforced, but we hope that it will be.

Alfred Mynders

AM/ea

Mynders

cc: Mrs. Havens
Margaret Boyd (with request that she present list of recommended Fellows to Advisory Committee Monday, Jan. 17)

January 14, 1949

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Thank you very much for your long and helpful letter about Fellows. With so rich a list of names, it will be possible for the Advisory Committee here to make an easy selection. The names so recommended will be brought to the next meeting of our Executive Committee, which is in mid-March, and thereafter, we should be able to invite three, four, or five of the Fellows.

It was most kind of you to send your check for $50, which we greatly appreciate. We will write you in July if your own arrangements have not brought the other $50 to your attention by then.

It seems to me one of the greatest things to drive on this year is equal school facilities. The things that happened in King George County, Virginia, make it clear that in the next few months the whole South will have to come around on this anyway. So much better to do it in advance, by agreement! At the very least, we can all begin to educate the South on the cost and the unavoidability, as well as the justice, of doing this job.

Mrs. Havens, I believe, is still expecting a joint trip through the state to get the Tennessee Division in motion.

I will be happy to come to Chattanooga at almost any time to see you. Let me know some days when you are going to be there, and I will be glad to come up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

Mynders

May 9, 1949

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Thank you warmly for your letter of May 6.

I greatly look forward to being present for the meeting on the 17th.

You have planned most wisely for the contentious issue of regional education. It is right to take it up.

Good news about the library!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

SRC - Members
addresses checked

RECEIVED
JUL 22 1949
Southern Regional Council

NEW SOUTH
issued by
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Date July 13, 1949

Dear Reader:

The last issue of the New South which was addressed to you as follows was returned unclaimed:

Mr. Wilfred C. Leland, Jr.
Executive Director
Minneapolis Fair Employment Practice Comm.
Minneapolis, Minn.

Sincerely yours,

NEW SOUTH

Complimentary (Expired) Renew for 6 mo.

My correct address is:

Sent back 8-8-49 copies.

NAME Wilfred C. Leland, Jr.

ADDRESS Executive Director, Minneapolis
Fair Employment Practice Commission

~~DATE~~ 407-A City Hall
Minneapolis 9, Minnesota

7/18/49

(over)

Sorry my last copy was returned.
I've talked with the Post Office,
and I'm sure I'll get it
next time. However, better add
"407-A City Hall" to the address.

Thanks,

A. C. Leland, Jr.

25- Wynders, Alfred

August 11, 1949

Mr. Alfred Wynders, Editor
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Wynders:

As you know, the Associated Press here in Atlanta puts out a good many feature stories on Southern problems and progress. Most of them, it seems to us, are well done and useful. The AP bureau has some excellent people with a constructive approach to the news.

Some of the AP features, naturally, draw criticism from the less forward-looking Southern editors. I have privately learned that the feature on the Ku Klux Klan by Ben Price, released for last Sunday's papers, produced a number of complaints. (Some editors evidently regarded it as "biased" against the Klan!) Since these complaints are sent on to the New York office of AP, my fear is that the Atlanta bureau may be forced to tone down its stories on such subjects.

I noted that the Price story was run on the front page of the Chattanooga Times, and it occurred to me that, knowing the situation, you might want to send a favorable note to Mr. Caldwell.

Incidentally, the pamphlet on the handling of race by Southern newspapers is about ready for the printer. It appropriately cites the Chattanooga Times as a leader in that field. I hope you will think the pamphlet a useful piece of work.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

25- Mynders, Alfred

August 12, 1949

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

We shall pretty soon be needing the list of influential ministers about whom I wrote you under date of July 23.

Do send it in as soon as you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

25 Mynders, Alfred

The Chattanooga Times

Dr. George S. Mitchell;

I wrote my friend, Loye Miller, editor of the Knoxville News-Sentinel, urging him to get his morristown correspondents active in support of Mrs. Hill, in pressing for the adoption of the Anti-Klan ordinances in Morristown. I believe he can do something.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders

RECEIVED
DEC 17 1949
Southern Regional Council

25 - Mynders, Alfred

August 23, 1949

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Following your telephone call a few moments ago, I have been able to unearth only two clippings from the Atlanta Constitution on the Bill of Rights Conference. They are quite brief, but I enclose copies of them for whatever they are worth.

I was also able to uncover a list of the "initiating sponsors." A copy of this list is also enclosed. The complete list of sponsors does not appear.

Should you need it for any reason, I have access to a summary account of the proceedings of the conference which was sent about in mimeograph form.

I hope that organization will get its comeuppance if it has made unauthorized use of your name as Kirkpatrick charges.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:wgd

C
O
P
Y

Bill of Rights Conference
Henry Hudson Hotel, New York

Offices: Suite 822, 11 W. 42nd Street, New York 18, N. Y.
Bryant 9 - 8276

INITIATING SPONSORS

Acting Chairman Paul J. Kern
Former Civil Service Commissioner, New York

Bishop Cameron C. Alleyne
AME Zion Church, Philadelphia

Hon. Earl B. Dickerson
Attorney, Chicago

Roscoe Dunjee
The Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City

Professor Thomas I. Emerson
Yale Law School

Hon. Robert W. Kenny
Former Attorney General, California

Arthur Miller
Playwright, New York

Professor Philip Morrison
Cornell University

Bishop Arthur W. Moulton
Salt Lake City

Professor Linus Pauling
President, American Chemical Society

Professor Frederick L. Schuman
Williams College

Professor Colston E. Warne
Amherst College

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Clark Foreman

August 29, 1949

Mr. Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

I am most grateful for your information about Morristown, Tennessee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

25-Mynders, Alfred

The Chattanooga Times

August 22, 1949

RECEIVED
AUG 23 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As you will note by the enclosures which you may destroy, the Knoxville News-Sentinel helped us generously in the Morristown situation.

The League of Women Voters has now asked that the city council enforce the existing Tennessee law which provides electrocution for a person who assaults another person while masked.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea
Encls.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mynders, Alfred

September 9, 1949

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Here are a couple of copies of our latest effort, just from the press.

We think it could be exceedingly useful.

I want to talk to you by long distance telephone on ways in which Mr. Walter Johnson of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association might be willing to help in getting distribution to newspaper offices.

Could you, therefore, find moments in which to look through this so that when I reach you by phone, we can plan together.

Mr. Popham was of the greatest assistance in the meetings yesterday and today.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

25 Mynders, Alfred

September 13, 1949

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

That was such a very cheering message you were kind enough to get through to me yesterday afternoon. We sent off the 425 copies to Mr. Johnson at once.

I am also mailing five copies to Mr. Puckette today. We are flattered that Mr. and Mrs. Sulzberger will see it.

Popham told us he had some idea of writing a story about the pamphlet.

I have taken the liberty of adding in my letter to Mr. Walter Johnson the paragraph about our hope that the pamphlet can have a long life on copy desks.

With warmest appreciation of your assistance.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

25- Mynders, Alfred

September 29, 1949

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Some years ago, in my work with Negro veterans for the Council, I had opportunity to advise an able young Negro man, Frederick D. Carter, who then lived in Tennessee--and, I believe, in Chattanooga. His problem was how, in getting a law education, best to balance benefits available to him under the GI Bill and from Tennessee's out-of-state educational aid program.

He has gone on to the University of Colorado and finished in law. He has taken the Tennessee bar exam and failed it, but will take it again at the next opportunity. He wrote me the other day from Denver saying that he felt the need of friendly advice in Chattanooga. (I think he suspects that the bar examination will be insuperable for a colored man--mixed up with the fact that Tennessee makes no provision whereby a Negro Tennessean can acquire academic training in Tennessee law within the state.)

I have written that some of my best friends have flunked bar exams right and left and have only got through by repeated tries, and that I greatly doubt that he is the victim of any prejudice.

Nevertheless, I took the liberty of telling him that I felt sure you would be willing to take time to advise with him if he felt the need of friendly counsel in Chattanooga.

I quite liked the young man.

He tells me that his present address is: 1411 Pine Street, Chattanooga.

May never show, but if he does, that's who he is.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

25 - Mynders, Alfred

September 30, 1949

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

We are pleased with good mention in the current issues of Time and Newsweek of Race in the News. Here are tear sheets.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

25- Mynders, Alfred

October 20, 1949

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Thank you very much for sending on the request from Senator Kefauver. We have sent two copies to Miss Brewer, as suggested.

That was a fine story, which made us all feel proud!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

The Chattanooga Times

October 19, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.,
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Senator Estes Kefauver wires asking that a copy of the Southern Regional Council's "New South" bulletin containing the article "Laws and Discrimination" on which John Popham wrote a story last Saturday for the New York Times be sent to:

Faith Brewer
State Department
Washington, D. C.

I haven't a copy, so think you might want to send it, marking it sent on request of Senator Kefauver.

In case you hadn't seen Popham's story which was sent out to all the clients on the New York Times news service, I enclose a copy.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM:ea
Encl.

RECEIVED
OCT 20 1949
Southern Regional Counc

October 20, 1949

Miss Faith Brewer
State Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Brewer:

At the specific request of Senator Estes Kefauver we take pleasure in sending you two copies of the September, 1949 issue of New South.

File SRC - Publicity

This contains an article on Law and Discrimination, which was noticed in the New York Times of October 17, 1949.

Very truly yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t
enclosures

DAILY FILE

The Chattanooga Times

Mailed to Mr. Mynders 2/3/50 to be mailed with Race in the News
TO 121 County Weeklies in Tennessee.

February 8, 1950

Dear Editor:

This pamphlet, called Race in the News, is being generally praised as a temperate set of suggestions for the Press to use in matters involving race.

I am able to send it to you partly through the aid of the editor of the Greenville, Mississippi Delta Democrat Times, Mr. Hodding Carter, who is one of the Council's Board members.

The Southern Press is notably giving attention to fairness and considerateness in stories having a race aspect.

I would be grateful for your study of the pamphlet, and for your use in the paper of such of its guides as may seem workable.

Sincerely,

Alfred Mynders

Chairman
Tennessee Division
Southern Regional Council

Mynders.

April 18, 1950

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

A little report on my visit to Memphis. Miss McCulloch steered me about expertly. They have a Community Relations Committee based on faculty people at Lemoyne and Southwestern. Several of them joined the Council this trip and we talked about the possibility, months or a year from now, of getting a growing membership into what could become a Memphis chapter of the Council. They are good people, in earnest, and discreet.

I talked to the Community Relations Committee at St. Mary's Cathedral, downstairs. I believe that the gathering had been discussed and approved by the vestry and was something of a precedent. All went quite well. Other appearances were before the faculty at Lemoyne, several classes at Lemoyne, and a chapel program there. Also for a minute gathering of the people in the Fellowship of Reconciliation and before the Memphis branch of the League of Women Voters. This last was my weakest appearance, as they had billed me on public education, which I don't know much about.

I called on Mr. Barry and had a brief and pleasant chat with him. I also saw Walter Chandler for a couple of minutes, though he had others with him and was mighty busy. At the Press-Scimitar I arrived at the wrong time and was only permitted to wave at Mr. Meenan through plate glass, but I shook hands with Mr. Allgren and met the city editor, who arranged for the assistant city editor, Mr. Robert Talley, to do an interview. Everyone in Memphis spoke of the great advance made by the Commercial Appeal in the last couple of years in handling Negro news.

We got eight or ten new members in Memphis and Lemoyne paid fifty dollars toward my travel. The Community Relations Committee chipped in $25 as a contribution. The Fellowship of Reconciliation put in $5.00 as a contribution. So toward Tennessee's $2,000, count that additional thirty.

Schaeffer in Mississippi wrote us today that Mississippi will raise $2,000 by December 15.

Marion Wright sent in $250 today from Mrs. Coker. Some Jewish friends in

Atlanta raised $1500 the other day, and the Atlanta board members, meeting last Thursday, promised to find about $3,000. I get encouragement from Virginia and North Carolina. All in all, people have rallied quite remarkably.

We were greatly pleased with John Popham's story in yesterday's Times. Henry Lesesne did a good one also in the Herald Tribune for Saturday, April 15.

The picture is one of encouragement.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Mynders

March 24, 1951

Mr. Alfred Mynders
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

I do thank you for staying on as Chairman. That's what we want.

I think enough letters have been written to the FBI about the Highlander business for the matter to have been attended to within the FBI. And I don't think it wholesome to send them still another protest on a matter as to which they have already checked into within the agency. They were, of course, wrong and have, I would guess, taken note of the caution the incident raises.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL INQUIRY STARTS DISPUTE

Friends Maintain FBI Disturbs Peaceful Race Relations — Institution 20 Years Old.

Special to the Post-Dispatch.

MONTEAGLE, Tenn. —Friends of the Highlander Folk school, at Monteagle, Tenn., are protesting against the disturbance of peaceful racial relations at the school which has been caused by an FBI investigation into Negro attendance.

Myles Horton, director of Highlander, said FBI agents have been asking neighbors about Negroes attending or visiting Highlander, with the implication that the school's policy of non-discrimination is "Communistic and immoral."

"While we do not know the reason for the FBI investigation, we do know the results," Horton said. "A community that has accepted the presence of Negroes at Highlander for the past 10 years without a protest (and longer with protests) is again questioning the right of Negroes to come to the school. Years of community education are being undermined by an appeal to race prejudice."

News Release Questioned.

Horton said the FBI agents "wanted to know where people sleep and what goes on after the conferences are over."

He said that when he showed an FBI agent a Highlander news release advocating equal rights for all minority groups, including Negroes, the agent told him he thought it "would be considered Communistic by a majority of Southern people."

Hugh H. Clegg, assistant director of the FBI, at Washington, was asked by Horton whether this was the position taken by the FBI. Horton quoted Clegg's statement at the New York Herald Tribune forum that the success of Communism could be measured by the weaknesses of democracy.

The FBI assistant director replied:

"It has long been the established procedure of this bureau to refrain from commenting on the statement of aims and purposes of any organization, and, therefore, we cannot comment on the policies of your school.

"With regard to the statement that you attributed to a special agent of this bureau, this will advise that I have checked with the two special agents who contacted you on Dec. 7, 1950. They emphatically deny that you showed them the news release or that they made any statements to you remotely approaching your allegation."

Council Discusses Issue.

At a meeting of the Highlander Executive Council, Miss Lucy Randolph Mason, CIO public relations representative for the South, suggested that henceforth the FBI should be asked to put all its questions to the school in writing and that the director of the school should answer in writing, if Highlander's legal counsel advised that course.

Attorney Jordan Stokes III advised the school:

"I see no reason why the FBI should not be required to put their questions in writing, and frankly I would insist on it for your protection and for the protection of the school."

Horton transmitted the school's request to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath.

"If agents can deny what they have said," Horton wrote the Attorney General, "they can likewise report things they have not been told. Since they go in

an FBI agent a Highlander news release advocating equal rights for all minority groups, including Negroes, the agent told him he thought it "would be considered Communistic by a majority of Southern people."

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Horton transmitted the school's request to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath.

"If agents can deny what they have said," Horton wrote the Attorney General, "they can likewise report things they have not been told. Since they go in pairs, the person interviewed is at a disadvantage."

20th Anniversary Celebration.

A twentieth anniversary celebration for Highlander school has been authorized by the Executive Council, and the 1951 program includes four sessions for CIO organizations this spring.

One is the CIO School for the South May 6 to 12.

A one-week institute for the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union will start July 1 and will be followed by a Farmers Union School. A work camp, sponsored by the Unitarian Service Committee, will run through Aug. 25.

John Hope II, industrial relations consultant of Fisk University, served as temporary chairman for the council, and Lewis Henderson, editor of the National Union Farmer, was re-elected chairman. Executive council members re-elected were B. R. Brazeal, Lewis Jones, Lucy R. Mason, George Mitchell, Adolph Benet, Lucille Thornburgh, Eugene Smathers, P.A. Stephens, Jordan Stokes, Tom White, Aubrey Williams, Charles Wilson, John Hope, Joie Willimetz, and Myles and Zilphia Horton.

SLIDING WAGE PACT FAVORED BY INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER

CHICAGO (UP)—International Harvester Co. says it considers its wage "escalator" agreements with labor unions a "stabilizing influence" and prefers to continue operating under them. Fowler McCormick, chairman of the board, outlined the company's attitude toward wage limitations proposed by the Wage Stabilization Board.

He said International Harvester agreed to automatic cost-of-living wage adjustments and "annual improvement" wage provisions in contracts signed last fall with the CIO United Auto Workers and the Farm Equipment council of the Independent United Electrical Workers.

"We considered those wage provisions sound," McCormick said. "Our choice would be to continue to operate, both now and in the foreseeable future, under the wage provisions of the contracts as they now exist." However, McCormick said the company would "comply fully with whatever regulations are finally established by the Government."

Thanked for letter 3/14/51
— BR

The Chattanooga Times

March 12, 1951

RECEIVED
MAR 14 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The only reason I periodically "resign" is that I feel a sense of inadequacy but I am glad to keep on and thank you very much for getting Bill Cole to take over the fund job this year.

I am enclosing a clipping from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch at Myles Horton's request. It seems a funny business for the FBI to be mixed up in and I imagine some amateur G-Man is responsible. I am not saying anything in The Times about it because I don't think it would do any good.

Incidentally, I tried to get Bill Cole to stand for chairman of the Tennessee Division before the second Nashville meeting we held. He said that the president of the University would not look with favor on it and he felt he could not do so.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea
Encl.

December 6, 1951

Mr. Alfred Kynders
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Kynders:

Many thanks indeed for your various kindnesses Tuesday.

And please pass on to Mr. Hixson our praise of his excellent story.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

November 6, 1951

Mr. Alfred Mynders
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Many thanks. I will be at your office at 11:30 Thursday, November 22.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

The Chattanooga Times

November 5, 1951

RECEIVED
NOV 6 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I will be here on November 22nd. Why not drop by the office at about 11:30, if you are here by that time, and go over to lunch with me at the Patten and we can talk things over.

Harry Large, secretary of the Interracial Committee, asked me some weeks ago if I thought it possible to get you for a speaker and I told him I believed you would come. The Interracial Committee has done a good job here within limits.

Guy Johnson stopped off some years ago when I was active in the Committee and made a talk to them while he was holding your position.

Anyway, I have several things to tell you about it and am looking forward to seeing you.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

October 2,
November 2, 1951

Mr. Alfred Mynders
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Mynders:

I had a letter yesterday from Mr. H. W. Large, recording secretary of the Chattanooga Interracial Committee, asking if I could come up and speak at their meeting on the third Thursday in November, (that's the 22nd), 4:00 p. m., YMCA.

I told them I would come and asked them what they wanted me to talk about.

On the assumption that you are to be in the city that day, I will come by your office at, say, 3:00 p. m. for a briefing. If you aren't to be available that day and have instructions for me, let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Mynders

June 13, 1952

Mr. Alfred Mynders
THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Mynders:

I haven't been able to find any record here of the charges of discrimination against Negro voters about which you called yesterday.

Dr. Mitchell will be back in the office on Monday, and I will see if his memory can help us.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:ec

Mynders

September 23, 1952

Mr. Alfred Mynders
THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Mynders:

I don't know whether apportionment of seats in the legislature is in Tennessee the pressing problem that it is in most of the other Southern States.

In New Orleans a couple of months ago I learned of a device which would be sovereign. The TIMES PICAYUNE had an editorial saying that the city council in New Orleans had been refusing for a long time to redraw the lines of the city wards to accord with recent censuses. The TIMES PICAYUNE noted that the proposed new city charter, to be voted on in November, contains a clause saying that if six months after the publication of any decennial Federal Census the city council has not reapportioned the wards, "the salaries of members of the city council shall cease."

That is a device that should be known in any State where there is possibility of constitutional revision. But maybe the terms of reference for the Tennessee constitutional convention preclude this one; in any case, I thought you would want to know about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 16, 1944

Dr. N. C. Newbold
Superintendent of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

I am going to be in Jackson, Mississippi on March 28-29, and I should like to take you up on your kind offer to write to your friends in the State Department of Education.

I was in Birmingham yesterday for the meeting of the Alabama Interracial Committee and I saw Mr. Lambert who came up with a group from Montgomery and whom I have known for a number of years. I shall be in Montgomery on March 30 and if I have time I expect to see Mr. Lambert again.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ/j

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

February 3, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I appreciate your letter of January 31st.

It is my plan now to attend your meeting on February 16th.

We missed you at our Interracial Commission Meeting sometime ago and spoke of you and your work in your new field. All that were present expressed regret that you were out of the State and could not, for the present at least, continue to work with us.

I shall hope to see you when you come to North Carolina next March or April. I should like very much for my friends in the State Departments in the other Southern States to meet you when you visit those States. If I could know when you were going, I would be most happy to write each one of these men a personal letter because I think it is important to them, not so much to you perhaps, for you to know them and be able, no doubt, to help them in their problems.

With best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. Newbold

NCN/m

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

March 20, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Guy:

Thank you for your letter of March 16th

I am delighted to know that you will make trips to Alabama and Mississippi soon. Copies of letters which I have dictated to men in both states are enclosed for your information.

Please always feel assured that anything I can do personally to assist in the important program which you have undertaken will be gladly done.

I enjoyed very much seeing Mrs. Johnson the other day in Chapel Hill and talking with her about your new program.

With best wishes for you and your office force, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. Newbold

Enc.
NCN/m

P.S. Can you or Miss Clay give me any information as to a request we made through this office in January or February I believe, that we be placed on the same basis of cooperation this year as we had last year?

Talked to him about this & told him we probably cannot make any subsidies.
GBJ

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

March 20, 1944

COPY

Mr. P. H. Easom
State Department of Education
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Easom:

A few days ago we mailed you a letter, copies of which are going to all our State men in the South, in regard to a proposition concerning the training of teachers. You will remember that this was discussed in our Committee Meeting in Mr. S. L. Smith's office in Nashville, in May, I believe, of last year. If you feel that you could give some statement at the meeting in Hot Springs next month on this matter, I am sure what you say will be helpful. I think I know that matters of this kind have to be handled with great care and discretion, always remembering that it may require time to reach our goal.

I think you met, while you were at Chapel Hill in 1937, Dr. Guy B. Johnson who is now Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. This organization has taken over the work of the old Interracial Commission as well as undertaking to perform other useful services in the South. If Dr. Johnson makes a trip to Mississippi, as I feel sure he will, in line with his program of trying to visit most of the states, I hope you will assist in any way you can in promoting his cause. Dr. Johnson understands this work of race relations very thoroughly, both from the standpoint of long, assiduous, thorough study, as well as his practical experience in dealing with it first-hand.

We all regretted to lose Dr. Johnson from North Carolina but we also feel that in his new capacity he can render perhaps a larger service to the cause of cooperation and goodwill in the South than would have been possible if his interests had been restricted to one state.

Anything you may deem it wise to do in regard to the matters about which I have written you will be highly appreciated by me personally.

With best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

N. C. Newbold

NCN/m

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

March 20, 1944

COPY

Mr. E. G. McGehee x
State Department of Education
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. McGehee:

You no doubt know that the Commission on Interracial Cooperation which had headquarters in Atlanta has been absorbed by the Southern Regional Council, Inc. This Council will undertake to carry forward, as far as it can, the good work begun by the Interracial Commission and also work to achieve other objectives in which you and I are interested in our own states, as well as in the whole South.

I think you met Dr. Guy B. Johnson in Chapel Hill in 1937. As you no doubt know, Dr. Johnson is now Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and is in the headquarters office in Atlanta. I feel sure Dr. Johnson will be visiting your State, as well as other states, sometime this spring and I hope you will meet him while he is there and cooperate with him in the program of the Council. Dr. Johnson is one of the best trained men in this field of work that I know, in the South or anywhere else. He has had both the theoretical, as we say, and practical side of this matter and knows how to deal with problems which arise in southern life.

I shall also appreciate it if you will communicate my best wishes to Mr. Lambert and say to him that we hope he will devote such time as he can to assisting Dr. Johnson and others connected with the Council in anything they may be able to do in Alabama.

Hoping to see you soon in Hot Springs and with best wishes for you and your family, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

N. C. Newbold

NCN/m

x He is now director of Negro Education in Alabama. Mr Lambert has retired. N

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

May 10, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Coucnil, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of May 8th.

I shall be glad to cooperate with you and others as a member of the Board of Directors and will render any service I can in connection with your program. I am glad that you think there will not be a great many meetings of the Board, though I understand that at the beginning you may have more than later after your program is completely organized.

With best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. Newbold

NCN/m

This letter was sent to:
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Atlanta, Ga.
Dr. Z. A. Looby, Nashville, Tenn.

May 8, 1944

Dr. N. C. Newbold
State Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

At a recent meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council you were elected to membership on the Board. I hope that you will be willing to serve as a member of the Board, for the Council is very much in need of your wisdom and cooperation in shaping its program and policy.

The Board of Directors will hold its regular annual meeting on the second Wednesday of October at the same time as the annual meeting of members of the Council. We will need other meetings occasionally, but I think I can promise that, as a general rule, we shall not heed more than two meetings a year. The expenses of the Board members will, of course, be borne by the Council.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ/j

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM	X	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	
SPECIAL SERVICE		SHIP RADIOGRAM	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206-B

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Mr. N. C. Newbold
State Department of Education
Raleigh, North Carolina

June 26, 1944

Regret very much engagements in Nashville prevent my being in Durham for conference.

GUY B. JOHNSON

CHARGE TO:
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

June 22, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Guy:

I am enclosing a copy of a program which we have planned for July 10, 11, and 12th at Dr. Shepard's school in Durham.

We would be delighted and I am herewith inviting you to be here for that Conference to participate particularly as a consultant and to help answer some of the questions that will probably be brought forward. Perhaps that may be a good time for you to come home for a week or more and spend as much time as you can with us on the three days mentioned. If you find that you can come and will send me a telegram tomorrow or Saturday, I would like to include your name, certainly among those who will discuss phases of the program. Of course, if you could come and cannot spend all the three days at this meeting, we would be glad to have you at such times as you can attend.

With best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. Newbold

Enc.
NCN/m

CONFERENCE ON RACE RELATIONS
NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE FOR NEGROES, DURHAM, N. C.
July 10, 11, 12, 1944

- -

AN ATTEMPTED FACTUAL COMPARATIVE APPRAISAL OF STATE SERVICES IN EDUCATION, HEALTH, AND WELFARE, AS WELL AS OF CERTAIN OTHER PUBLIC AND SEMI-PUBLIC AGENCIES IN NORTH CAROLINA; SOME RESULTING EFFECTS UPON RACE RELATIONS IN THE STATE.

- -

I. Chapel - 11:45 A.M. - 12:45 P.M. each day.

July 10th:

1. Public Education and Race Relations in North Carolina
   a. Address - Dr. Clyde A. Erwin, State Supt. of Public Instruction.
   b. Questions and Answers - Discussion.

July 11th:

2. North Carolina and Race Relations As Viewed by Negro Citizens.
   a. Address - Pres. J. W. Seabrook, Fayetteville State Teachers College.
   b. Questions and Answers - Discussion.

July 12th:

3. North Carolina and Race Relations As Viewed by White Citizens.
   a. Address - Dr. Howard W. Odum
   b. Questions and Answers - Discussion.

II. Seminars - Panel Discussions (Two hours) 3 to 5 P.M.

July 10th:

1. Business, Industry, Labor, Agriculture, Religion, and Race Relations in North Carolina:
   OR Everyday Racial Matters Which Require the Attention of Both Races All the Time.
   a. Address (15 minutes) Dr. C. C. Spaulding, President, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company.
   b. Panel (8 to 10 minutes each)
      (1) Industry and Race Relations - Dr. John Hope Franklin
      (2) Labor and Race Relations - Mr. Forrest H. Shuford
      (3) Agriculture and Race Relations - Mr. R. E. Jones
      (4) Religion and Race Relations - Rev. Ernest J. Arnold
      (5) The Community and Race Relations - Pres. H. L. Trigg
      (6) Teachers and Race Relations - Mr. G. H. Ferguson
   c. Questions from the floor.

July 11th:

2. Public Welfare and Race Relations in North Carolina.
   a. Address (15 minutes) Dr. Ellen B. Winston, Commissioner of Welfare.
   b. Panel (8 to 10 minutes each)
      (1) Public Welfare and Negro Community Organization - Dr. Gordon Blackwell
      (2) Public Welfare and Race Relations X - Mr. W. E. Stanley
      (3) Public Welfare and Race Relations In A Rural County - Miss Mary Robinson
      (4) A Negro Caseworker On The Job - Mrs. Mabel Wortham
      (5) Needed Next Steps In Public Welfare and Race Relations - Mr. John Larkins
      (6) An Evaluation of Public Welfare and Race Relations To Date - Dr. Edgar T. Thompson

X in an urban community.

c. Questions from the floor.

* See III.

July 12th:

3. Public Health and Race Relations in North Carolina
   a. Address (15 minutes) Dr. Carl V. Reynolds, State Health Officer.
   b. Panel (8 to 10 minutes each)
      (1) "Maternity-Infancy" - Dr. George M. Cooper
      (2) "Housing and Health in Rural Areas" - Dr. C. B. Codrington
      (3) Dr. W. J. Hughes
      (4) Nurses - Miss Pearl McIver, U.S.Public Health Service
      (5) Dr. William P. Richardson, Orange County Health Officer
      (6) Dr. J. A. Whitaker, City of Rocky Mount Health Officer
   c. Questions from the floor.

III. North Carolina and Race Relations.

July 11th, 8:00 P.M.

1. Address - Governor J. Melville Broughton.

IV. Discussion of Any Part or Parts of the Three-day Program.

1. Miss Marie McIver, State Dept. of Public Instruction.
2. Mrs. L. B. Yancey, Supervisor Vance County Schools.
3. Supt. W. F. Warren, Durham City Schools.
4. Supt. W. M. Jenkins, Durham County Schools.
5. Mr. A. E. Manley, State Dept. of Public Instruction.
6. Dr. Joseph H. Taylor, Head of History Dept., N.C.College for Negroes.
7. Mr. G. H. Ferguson, State Dept. of Public Instruction.
8. Dr. J. M. Ormond, Duke Divinity School
9. Dr. Miles Mark Fisher, Durham.
10. Mrs. Clara D. Mann, Supervisor Craven County Schools.
11. Dr. A. M. Proctor, Duke University.
12. Dr. Elbert Russell, Duke University.

July 18, 1944

Dr. N. C. Newbold
Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

Thank you for returning the copy of the summer issue of Common Ground. I am also glad to have the copy of your letter of July 15 to Miss Lillian Smith. I think that what you said to her is exactly the sort of thing that needs to be said.

I think it was unfortunate that we had any controversy with Mr. Redding and Miss Smith. Our policy has been to ignore most of the criticisms of the Council, but we felt that we simply could not let the articles in Common Ground go unchallenged. I believe that on the whole the controversy has strengthened the position of the Council.

Incidentally, I have just had a nice note from Lillian Smith in which she says: "I think there is work for us all to do, each in our own way. If at any time I can be of help in any special project, please let me help."

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ/j

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

July 15, 1944

COPY

Miss Lillian Smith
Clayton
Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your letter of June 12th, 1944, which was addressed to Dr. Guy B. Johnson, now of Atlanta.

Personally, I wish you had accepted the invitation to become a member of the Southern Regional Council, even though you may not subscribe to all of its methods or plans. It has been my observation, over a fairly long life, that many people of divergent views working together accomplish pretty sound results. I wonder if you would consider your situation and accept the invitation in the hope that out of your cooperation with the white and Negro leaders in that organization might come many improvements in our Southern life.

With best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

N. C. Newbold

NCN/m

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

July 10, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your note and for sending the articles by Mr. J. Saunders Redding and Miss Lillian E. Smith and the one you wrote in reply which was published in the Summer Issue of COMMON GROUND.

I have both copies of these publications, since I am a regular subscriber, and I am returning your copy of the Spring Issue under separate cover with sincere thanks.

With kind personal regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. Newbold

NCN/m

July 24, 1944

Dr. N. C. Newbold
State of North Carolina
Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

Thank you for your letter of July 20. I shall welcome any comments that you might have after reading the COMMON GROUND articles in whole.

I have seen some of the news stories about the Conference on Race Relations which was held at Durham. It must have been a very successful conference, and I am terribly sorry that I could not arrange my engagements so that I could take part in it. I wonder whether you could obtain or help me to obtain copies of some of the best talks. We should like very much to reprint some of them in the SOUTHERN FRONTIER.

Speaking of the FRONTIER, could you possibly find the time to give us a special article of 1000 to 1500 words on "Equalization of Teachers' Salaries: How North Carolina Did It"? I think that this is a remarkable story which deserves to be widely circulated, and we shall consider it a great privilege to have the story from the man who has done most to bring about this equalization.

As you know, the Council has not yet put on a "campaign" to enlist a large number of members. We are now ready to devote some time to the building up of a large and carefully selected membership. We are asking a number of our members to help us by sending us the names and addresses of persons who would make good Council members. There are many good people in North Carolina whom we should have, and I am sure that if you could send us a list of 50 to 100, well distributed as to race, sex, and occupation, our Membership Committee would accept them at once.

With appreciation for your cooperation, and with all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

July 20, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of July 18th.

I am very glad indeed to know that our friend in Clayton, Georgia, is probably, as the warring people in the contest now going on around the world say, being softened up.

I must confess that I have not as yet had an opportunity to read the whole of the articles in COMMON GROUND, but I shall give myself the pleasure of doing that sometime soon.

With best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. Newbold

NCN/m

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

July 27, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Your letter of July 24th was received this morning.

We shall be very glad to attempt to prepare a list of the kind of people you would like to have become members of the Southern Regional Council. It will probably take a little time to prepare the list. I am not sure that we can get that done before I leave next Tuesday for a few days vacation and to attend a Conference of State Superintendents and Directors of Negro Education of the Southern States in Chattanooga, at the Lookout Mountain Hotel. The Conference is sponsored by the officers of the General Education Board.

Likewise, I shall be glad, as soon as I can, to prepare an article on "Equalization of Teachers Salaries - How North Carolina Did It".

When I have had time to examine the articles in COMMON GROUND I shall be glad to write you my reactions.

With best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. Newbold

NCN/m

August 30, 1944

Dr. N. C. Newbold
North Carolina Department of
Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

Your letter and your article on the equalization of teachers' salaries in North Carolina have just arrived. I am deeply grateful to you for writing up this material for our use. We plan to publish it in the September or October SOUTHERN FRONTIER.

I am looking forward to receiving your list of prospective members of the Council. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

August 29, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Sometime ago you requested me to prepare an article on "Equalization of Teachers' Salaries: How North Carolina Did It". After some delay following my return from a two weeks vacation and attending the conference held in Chattanooga, I am finally able to send you a paper which I hope may prove servicable.

About the time your request came, I had one from Dr. A. Heningburg, now with the National Urban League, for a similar paper for publication in OPPORTUNITY. Not long before that time, a request came from Dr. Walter D. Cocking, now Editor of SCHOOL EXECUTIVE in New York, for a similar statement. A somewhat briefer statement was prepared for him but included much of the same information. Under the circumstances, I shall not be able to prepare two separate articles and I am therefore sending a copy of the enclosed paper to Dr. Heningburg for publication as indicated above. I hope this will not conflict with any publication rights in either case. If it should be necessary, the items which I have marked with red pencil could be omitted without changing the general trend of the story.

Two other matters you wrote me about are:
1. News stories about the Conference on Race Relations held in Durham, July 10, 11, and 12. A committee of five capable Negroes was appointed to prepare a statement covering the three-day sessions of the Conference and doing it as briefly as possible. They have prepared a statement of 29 typewritten pages which does cover the activities of the Conference, I think, very effectively. At the present time I have only one copy which reached me after I returned from my vacation trip on August 16th. I have not yet had time to go over it carefully and determine what we shall probably be able to do about it. We may have it printed or published but I can let you know about that a little later. I think you could have some of the papers which were presented and some of them were of a very high order.

2. You asked about our sending you a list of prospective members of the

Dr. Guy B. Johnson August 29, 1944

Council. We have begun the preparation of a list here which is not yet quite complete. I shall go a little further on that sometime soon and send it to you.

With best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. Newbold

Enc.
NCN/m

P. S. If you desire, you can, of course, change the title of the paper to read as you stated in your letter of sometime ago.

September 30, 1944

Mr. N. C. Newbold, Director
Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Newbold:

Thank you very much for your letter about Mr. Robert L. Cousins. I have known him for several years and since coming to Atlanta have had several very helpful contacts with him. I quite agree with your high opinion of his ability and tact.

We are using your article on the Equalization of Teachers' Salaries in North Carolina in the September issue of the Southern Frontier, which will be out next week. Let me thank you again for your kindness in writing this article for us.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

September 23, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Guy:

I have been thinking recently of improvements that are being made in the Educational Program for Negroes in Georgia and the man who is the leader in the improvements that are being made.

I am not sure that I have written you about him. I am referring to Mr. Robert L. Cousins who is the director of Negro schools in Georgia. He is in the State Board of Education. I have wanted to say that you will find him very helpful I think in certain phases of your work.

He is well prepared, very skillful in handling the details of his work, is a good diplomat and is really getting things done.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. Newbold, Director

NCN:c

Division of Cooperation In Education and Race Relations

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS
STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
DUKE UNIVERSITY

N. C. NEWBOLD, DIRECTOR
RALEIGH, N. C.

November 24, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Room 432,
63 Auburn Street, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Some days ago I received a copy of your bulletin dated November 10, 1944. I want to congratulate you and your associates on getting as far along in your southwide program as your bulletin indicates.

Indeed, I am surprised that it has been possible for you to have organized and developed the splendid plans and programs outlined in your bulletin. Frankly, I am very much more hopeful of what we call constructive service in this field than I have ever been before. It does seem to me that you are traveling in the right direction and going at reasonable speed.

Congratulations to you and all the others. I hope to see you on December 6.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:h

December 22, 1944

Dr. N. C. Newbold
Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

Thank you for your letter of December 18. We have sent Mr. Hollis three copies of the Southern Frontier containing the article on equalization of teachers' salaries in North Carolina.

It was good to see you at the Council meeting. I feel that it was a fine meeting even if it didn't solve all the problems which came up for discussion.

Best wishes for the Christmas season .

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

December 18, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The Superintendent of the State Department of Education has received a letter from Superintendent L. P. Hollis, Parker School District, Greenville, S. C. which is as follows: "Can you tell us how you are meeting the situation regarding equal pay for white and Negro teachers in your state?"

Dr. Erwin has written Supt. Hollis that we are requesting you to send one or two copies of The Southern Frontier to Supt. Hollis. This, I think, will answer his question better than anything that we might say in a letter.

3 copies
12/20/44
m

We shall appreciate your cooperation.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:c

[redacted]

Division of Cooperation In Education and Race Relations

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS
STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
DUKE UNIVERSITY

N. C. NEWBOLD, DIRECTOR
RALEIGH, N. C.

Jan 31-Rs 45

~~November 24, 1944~~

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Room 432
63 Auburn Street, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Some time ago you suggested that we send you a list of persons who might prove to be useful members of the Southern Regional Council.

I have asked a few of my associates to prepare some lists, and I am sending these to you. As yet I have not had time personally to add to it many other names which I would like to see on the list. X

From time to time, however, we may be able to send you additional names. In all probability you already have many of the names I am sending on your list.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:h

x This has since been done. Perhaps it is too long now.

February 23, 1945

Dr. N. C. Newbold
Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

Thank you for your letter of February 17. We shall be glad to have additional nominations for Fellows. I hope you will think of some outstanding young white people, since the Fellow personnel at present is about one-third white and two-thirds Negro.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

February 17, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Thank you for the note and for copy of your list of Honorary Fellows. I have read the whole paper very carefully and want again to congratulate you and your associates on establishing this group to assist you in research and in special reports and other wise.

I think these persons can be of very decided assistance to the cause of the Council.

At the moment I think of two or three outstanding Negroes who would serve well as Fellows when you are ready for additional names.

I think the last Council Meeting was the best we have had so far.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:c

December 4, 1945

Mr. N. C. Newbold
State Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Newbold:

It was thoughtful of you to send me a copy of your fine letter to Dr. Alexander. Dr. Johnson and I appreciate it very much, indeed.

Best wishes from all of us here.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

November 23, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 25 1945
Southern Regional Council

Shared to PBJ

Miss Emily H. Clay
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

Thank you for your letter of November 19 and for the check in the amount of $41.70 covering the expenses for the trip to attend the recent meeting of the Southern Regional Council.

I am enclosing copy of a letter which I have just dictated which may interest you.

Sometime I hope there may be more minutes for conversation and less for discussion at some of our meetings. Perhaps that is not well stated but you know what I mean.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:c

Enclosure

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

November 23, 1945

COPY

RECEIVED
NOV 25 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. W. W. Alexander
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Alexander:

I believe I mentioned to you while I was in Atlanta that the Southern Regional Council seems now to be getting its feet firmly on solid ground. It is certainly taking some steps which in my opinion will produce more valuable results in the years ahead. I understand of course that this organization is an extension or an outgrowth of the Interracial Commission which you helped to establish twenty-five or more years ago. I am enclosing part or all of a letter which I dictated to Dr. Odum soon after our recent meeting in Atlanta. I want you to know how a person who has been connected in one way or another with you and the Interracial Commission and the Southern Regional Council for more than twenty-five years feels about the present possibilities and opportunities of the Southern Regional Council.

I am sure that you feel as I do about it now that it is going ahead in the right direction and moving with a degree of satisfactory progress.

I was glad to see you in Atlanta and hope by now you are thoroughly well and strong.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:e

Enclosure

January 17, 1946

Dr. N. C. Newbold
Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

Thank you for your letter of January 12. I, too, am somewhat worried about what has happened to the proposed education survey in Durham.

As soon as I heard from Dr. Proctor I wrote Mr. Wheeler and suggested that he get in touch with Dr. Proctor. A little later I had a letter from Dr. Proctor saying that he had tried to get in touch with Mr. Wheeler, but that Mr. Wheeler was out of the office and had not called him back.

I have written Mr. Wheeler asking him how the plans are going and expressing hope that he and Dr. Proctor have got together. I hope he will write me soon and let me know just what has happened.

I wonder whether you are a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and whether you plan to attend the meeting which they have called in Durham for January 26 for the purpose of adopting new By-laws. I had hoped to be there, but I do not see how I can make it. We would like very much for one of our Board members to be present and give us a brief report on the meeting. If you have seen a copy of the proposed By-laws, you have noticed that the Southern Conference is "coming South". They are following exactly our structure by limiting their voting membership to residents of 13 Southern States and having non-voting associate members outside the South. I think this a very wise move because heretofore their strongest chapters have been in New York and Washington, and the control of the work has been pretty largely exercised from those places.

With highest regards,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:t

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

January 12, 1946

1-14-46

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Some time ago you requested me to suggest some qualified person who would either direct a study of public education, I believe, in Durham or act as consultant to some group who would make the study. I suggested several persons and indicated my feeling that A. M. Proctor at Duke would probably be a No. 1 choice. Today I have had a brief visit from him in my office since he came to the Department for some work with a committee. I asked him about the matter and he gave me the following statement.

After you wrote to him he thought perhaps he would hear from Mr. J. H. Wheeler who I believe was mentioned in your letter. Not hearing from him, Dr. Proctor telephoned Mr. Wheeler's office two or three times and Mr. Wheeler was not there. Dr. Proctor outlined to the secretary what he was calling for and said he would be glad to hear from Mr. Wheeler. To this date, however, he has had no reply so he tells me he just assumed that perhaps some other arrangement had been made or the matter had been dropped.

I am writing you therefore because I feel that you probably do not know all the facts in the matter. I finally extracted this information from him when he was in my office a while ago.

I hope you and your associates are going to have a most happy and prosperous year in 1946.

With best wishes, especially for you and Mrs. Proctor and family, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:c

March 5, 1946

Mr. N. C. Newbold
Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Newbold:

This letter should have gone to you several days ago, but in spite of the delay I want you to know how much we appreciate your communicating with Bishop Penick and getting him to send us a reply to our letter asking him to become a member of the Board of Directors. I think that we received your letter and his telegram on the same day. We were delighted to have him accept membership on the Board and we hope that he will be able to attend the next meeting.

I cannot remember whether or not I have told you how sorry I was to hear that my brother missed you when he stopped by your office recently. I hope that he will have better luck next time. He is still at the Sir Walter, but will begin to look for a room elsewhere, I think, when he has a car within the next few weeks. He has given us good reports of your city and state!

Thanks, again, and best wishes to you.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

February 14, 1946

RECEIVED
FEB 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

Miss Emily H. Clay
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

Some days ago you asked me to talk with Bishop Penick about membership in the Council. He was away for two weeks on a speaking tour in Minnesota. I talked with him yesterday and he says he is very interested in the work of the Council and expects to join. As a matter of fact, he is an exceedingly busy man since as you may know he has the responsibility of baptizing all that come into the Episcopal Church in his Diocese. He is Bishop of the Diocese of North Carolina of the Episcopal Church. I feel sure you or Dr. Johnson will be hearing from him some time soon.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:c

P. S. Since dictating the above I have read your letter of February 12. Thank you very much for your statement. I shall be glad to meet your brother and to be of any assistance to him. The News and Observer carried a very interesting statement about his appointment with the Commission. I suggest that you have him send you a copy of it.

P.S. 2. Since dictating all the above I have talked with Penick again. He says he is going to write you at once his acceptance. N

January 31, 1946

Mr. N. C. Newbold
State Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Newbold:

Here I come, asking another favor!

At our annual meeting, as you may recall, Bishop Penick was elected a member of our Board of Directors. Although we have written him twice, we have not yet received a reply from him. Dr. Trigg has suggested that you might be willing to call the Bishop and ask him to accept the invitation -- or whether he can. We have been holding up a printing job for sometime, hoping that we might include his name with the other Directors. If you feel that you can do this without embarrassment or without too much trouble, we shall be grateful.

Mr. Paul Williams, our new President, paid us a visit between trains this morning. He really is interested in the Council and is interested in pushing its development. I think that we are very fortunate to have him in this position of leadership.

Best wishes and many thanks.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

* * *

MORE ON THE SOUTH-SAVER AS A GREAT BORE

William J. Robertson, Editor of The Savannah Morning News, and author of "The Changing South," which appeared about a year after "The Advancing South" by Dr. Edwin Mims, kindly sends Incidentally congratulations on last Sunday's piece, On The South-Saver as a Great Bore, and encloses a copy of one of his own editorials, "The Myth of the Southern Liberal" that was reprinted in The Southern Weekly. In this he holds that most Southerners who pose as liberals are no more liberal than the average Southerner in regard to the South's economic and social problems but "would have their friends and admirers in the North believe that they are veritable St. Georges out to slay the dreadful dragon of Injustice." Then he names some of the more prominent Southern "liberals" and says:

"Generally speaking, these gentlemen in some mysterious way have created the impression among the inhabitants north of the Mason and Dixon Line that they are 'courageously liberal' in their attitudes toward political and economic conditions in the South, with particular reference to the race question.

"And yet each of them, as far as this newspaper has been able to discover, has advanced no intrinsically novel idea regarding the improvement of 'conditions' in the Southland.

"A large majority of thoughtful Southern citizens desire to see justice done in behalf of the negro. They want the colored citizens of this region to have better schools, better health and better opportunities to win their livelihoods. They also want these things for the white people of the South, recognizing that the Southern States unquestionably have a long way to go before conditions relating to health, education and job opportunities are what they should be in behalf of both races."

I should like to take an illuminating case right here at home of a solid Southern progressive as contrasted with a flamboyant South-Saver. Have you ever heard Mr. N. C. Newbold shooting off his mouth before a northern audience or in a northern periodical in criticism of the terrible injustices to the Negro in the South and telling the Northerners that there was a courageous minority in Dixie that was fighting for "Justice" against the horrible popular benightedness? Have you ever heard of his writing a salacious novel about the race question in order to secure "Justice"? You bet your neck you haven't! And do you know why? Principally because he is too much occupied attending to his business, too much engaged in doing something really progressive for the South as Director of the Division of Negro Education in the State Department of Education. The limelight does not attract him as the candle-flame the moth. He can sit quietly behind his desk and do a fine, solid, steady piece of work for years in improving educational opportunities for Negroes in North Carolina without the slightest fanfare about it to make himself seem wonderful. He does not spring to the platform or leap upon the front page to denounce his fellow Southerners for their backwardness and by implication exalt himself for his progressiveness. He does not blow his own horn even by indirection, and that is why I am blowing a horn for him very loudly and clearly, indeed. While the South-Savers are viewing with alarm—their fellow-Southerners, of course—and pointing with pride—to themselves, really—he does a corking piece of work in helping the State of North Carolina to eliminate all differentials in salaries between Negro and white teachers in its public schools—and that elimination is now a fact. Of course, many other people beside Mr. Newbold contributed to this truly progressive step, which began with Governor Ehringhaus' appointment of a commission composed of members of both races back in 1934 to study the matter, but he was extremely influential. I am coming back to this matter next Sunday, as I haven't time to do it justice now.

Mr. Newbold is too busy representing the Department of Education in its supervision of the three Negro teachers' colleges in North Carolina and the Negro public schools and advising, upon request, the administrators of the State colleges for Negroes at Durham and Greensboro, to have time to criticize his homeland for the pleasure of outsiders already critical and for his own aggrandizement.

Mr. Newbold holds an official position which gives him wide opportunity to express his real progressiveness, but there are thousands of other North Carolinians who wish the Negro well and want him to have a better chance. And some of them are pretty sick of the South-Savers' "fearless criticism," and of same I am one of the sickest.

* * * * * *

July 21 Raleigh News and Observer

July 23, 1946

Mr. N. C. Newbold
State Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Newbold:

All of us here in the office were quite pleased at reading Miss Nell Battle Lewis' column in the News and Observer for July 21 in which the editor of the Savannah Morning News speaks in highly commendatory terms of you and your work. I agree with the editor that we need many more leaders like you who go ahead and do an effective job without constnatly calling attention to our ills, many of which are too evident.

I trust that your work goes well and I am sorry that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you when I come to North Carolina this week.

With every good wish, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

July 24, 1946

Dr. N. C. Newbold
State Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

President Paul Williams, in a recent letter, mentioned some case concerning a Negro in New Bern, North Carolina, which was described to him as "an apparent miscarriage of justice." Mr. Williams did not know any of the details and we have not seen any news stories about the case. I wonder whether you could tell us something about it.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

July 26, 1946

RECEIVED
JUL 29 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of July 24 has been received. At the present time Mr. Newbold is away on his vacation and will not return to the office until around August 5. I shall call his attention to your letter and I am sure he will communicate with you as early as possible.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Doris C. Lambert

Doris C. Lambert, Secretary

dcl

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

File

August 22, 1946

Mr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Trigg:

This note is to thank you very sincerely for your letter of July 23. I keenly appreciate your taking note of Miss Lewis' column in the News and Observer for July 31 and of the mention of it by the Savannah Morning News. Since then, Miss Lewis has had another reference to the same matter, namely on August 4, I believe.

Since dictating the above, I have received your letter of August 20 and wish to thank you again for your interest in Miss Nell Battle Lewis' articles in the News and Observer July 21 and August 4.

Miss Lewis has certainly been kind in preparing these articles. Both for my sake and for the sake of the cause I represent, I am deeply appreciative. A number of my friends in this state and elsewhere have mentioned these statements by Miss Lewis very pleasantly.

I am very sorry I missed you while you were here in July. I hope you will come to see us as often as you can. I am dictating also a letter to you about the matter mentioned by Mrs. Jordan.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. Newbold

NCN/mah

August 27, 1946

Dr. N. C. Newbold
Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

In Dr. Johnson's absence from the city on a much-needed vacation, I wish to thank you for sending us the report on the Cogdale case at New Bern. Dr. Johnson will return to the office sometime next week, and as soon as he has read the report, we will be glad to return it to you.

Best wishes from all of us here.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison
Office Manager

Newbold enclosed letter from Clara D. Mann and copy of Court Judgment, showing Cogdale found guilty of "Breaking & Entering with intent to commit a Felony", also "B. & E. with intent to commit Rape".

Appeal Bond $100.00

Appearance Bond $5000.00

Mrs. Mann says sentiment

against Cogdale ran high in courtroom; hot words between solicitor and defense lawyer, so latter walked out and gave up case. Judge said, "If Cogdale remains in County jail, his friends will have to feed him. He can't be any expense to County."

Not enough detail to give a clear idea of the case.

WBG

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

RECEIVED
AUG 20 1946
Southern Regional Council

Aug 19 - 1946

Dear Guy,

Your letter about the New Bern case was received a long time ago. Last Monday was the only day in three weeks I have had a secretary. On that day I dictated a letter to Mrs. Clara D. Mann, our very capable Negro teacher in Craven county. This morning I received a letter and some facts about a case.

I am sending you Mrs Mann's letter and some other material which I hope may be of service to you. Will you please return it after you have finished with it?

With best wishes.

Very sincerely
N C Newbold

P.S. Can you send me 10 or more copies of the "Survey of Veterans Services for Negroes in Ark. Kansas?" N — I hope a similar study may be made in N. C.

August 28, 1946
(Dictated August 27, 1946)

Mr. N. C. Newbold
State Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Newbold:

I thank you very much for your letter of August 23rd, and the enclosed correspondence between Mr. C. C. Brown and Superintendent N. A. Melton, of Polk County. I had surmised that the situation is as described in this correspondence.

As I recall, Polk County is one of the few in North Carolina that has a small Negro population. I believe that it is also one whose high school pupils should go to the nearest accredited high school. In any case, I was sure that they had not been deprived of transportation since this type of service is so well established in North Carolina that there is seldom any difficulty in connection with it.

I shall write the persons who brought this matter to our attention, and I am sure that they will understand the situation.

With kindest good wishes and highest personal regards, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG,
Associate Executive Director

HLT:MJ

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

RALEIGH

August 23, 1946

Mr. H. L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Trigg:

Your letter of August 20 in regard to a statement made by a Mrs. Jordan about the transportation of colored high school children in Tryon, North Carolina has been received. This information came to us a few days ago and we immediately brought it to the attention of Mr. C. C. Brown of the transportation Division in this department and he wrote to Superintendent N. A. Melton of Polk County on August 14.

I am enclosing a copy of his letter. Superintendent Melton dictated a letter to Mr. Brown on August 17. I am also enclosing a copy of this letter. I think these two letters will ~~establish~~ dispose of the statement made by Mrs. Jordan.

If you desire, you are at liberty to send her or anyone who has inquired about the matter copies of these two letters. There is no reason to blame South Carolina in connection with this matter. As you know, Polk County in North Carolina borders South Carolina.

If we can render any further service in connection with this matter please let me know.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N. C. Newbold

N. C. Newbold

NCN/mah

Copy

August 14, 1946

Mr. N. A. Melton, Superintendent
Polk County Board of Education
Columbus, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Melton:

A lady who spends her winters in Tryon has recently made a statement that colored high school students in Tryon will be deprived this winter of continuing their education because of the lack of a school bus.

This information came to us as a surprise and I question its fairness. As far as we know here, the colored high school students at Tryon will be given the same transportation service as they have in the past.

We will appreciate your advising us on this in order that we may intelligently answer this statement.

Very truly yours,

C. C. Brown

B/b

August 17, 1946

Mr. C. C. Brown
Division of Transportation
State Board of Education
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Brown: RE: COMPLAINT OF WINTER RESIDENT OF TRYON

I have just had a conversation with Supt. Singley of the Tryon Unit concerning your letter of June 14th.

No one has presented any such complaint to either one of us as has been sent to your office, that "colored high school students in Tryon will be deprived of continuing their education because of the lack of a school bus.

As a matter of fact precisely the opportunity of the past several years is being continued there. Mr. Singley tells me that a high school teacher has been alloted to the colored school in Tryon as heretofore. We are planning to operate the same contract bus for the rural children who live between Columbus and Tryon.

Mr. Singley says that he has heard of some lady, who seems to be something of an agitator, that has been writing letters about a colored girl who works for her. It appears that she has matters very much mixed up confusing conditions in some South Carolina school or schools with conditions in the Tryon Unit. However, she has not been to see Mr. Singley about these things, but has written letters to other people, North and South. She has not written me nor come to see me. I do not know her name, but I am quite sure that she is the lady who has written to you.

If there is anything which either one of us may do, we shall be glad to co-operate.

Very truly yours,

N. A. Melton, Supt.
Polk County Schools

September 25, 1946

Mr. N. C. Newbold, Director
Division of Negro Education
State Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Newbold:

I am very grateful for your letter of September 20 with its further enlightenment on the situation in Polk County.

I recall my visits to that region and the difficulties attendant upon making even a semblance of progress. I am sure, however, that something will be done in the near future.

I trust that you will find it possible to be present at the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council which is to take place in November.

With kindest good wishes, and looking forward to seeing you, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

September 20, 1946

Mr. Harold L. Trigg
Assistant Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Trigg:

Your letter of several weeks ago, in regard to the Polk County matter, ~~located~~ in the town of Tryon, was received a long time ago. I have had no office help for the last several weeks, until this week.

It seems that the lady in question was not well-informed on the matter which she discussed with Mr. Zook. However, another matter has come up which is almost as serious.

I have talked with Mr. Credle here, who knows the situation, and he is going to be in that section sometime soon. Mr. Duncan, our new Supervisor of High Schools, has made a visit there, and he reported this morning. He is of the opinion that much needs to be done in that community to assure good school conditions and promote healthy inter-racial conditions.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:mn

As you know some of our western areas do not seem to know that the war is over. I mean the Civil War of course. N

February 11, 1947

Dr. N. C. Newbold
State Dept. of Public Instructions
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

Thank you for your check for $7.00 which has been received to cover your 1947 dues and an additional contribution.

In sending the enclosed receipt, I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to tell you how much we appreciate your financial assistance and also your moral support as a member of our board of directors. In carrying out a task which at times seems discouraging, it gives the staff assurance to know that we have your continued confidence and support.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

Inez B. Tillison
Secretary-Treasurer

IBT:h

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

February 13, 1947

RECEIVED
FEB 16 1947
Southern Regional Council

Miss Inez B. Tillison, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Tillison:

I appreciate your note of February 11th. I wish you had ten thousand members in the South who would do even as well as I have financially.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:mn

April 3, 1947

Mr. N. C. Newbold
State Department of Education
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Newbold:

Maybe I have talked to you in the past about the job done in getting an Indian boy and girl from Pembroke educated in agriculture and in home economics. The girl finished college some years ago and has a job as rural social worker in Robeson county.

The boy's name is Abner Nash Locklear. He is now home with his mother, Mrs. Nettie B. Locklear, who has a farm near Prospect School which is near Pembroke.

Abner went three years to Ohio State and then the draft got him. During the last part of the war they let him boss a vegetable raising project on some forsaken Pacific island. When he got back to the U. S. he went to Ohio State again and two weeks ago got his B. S. in agriculture.

I have been urging him to go to the University of Wisconsin for graduate study. He wrote me the other day that the people at Madison said his grades would not qualify him to get in, though they will see if an exception can be made. His marks ran to C's and B's. Now he wants a job.

I have written him what on-the-job training is and have told him that if he got on the bus and hunt up you or some of your helpers he could get on the track of starting a class of Indian on-the-farm trainees around Pembroke.

Abner came out of a real poverty. He stuck to his studies. He is the potential leader of the fifteen thousand Indians around Pembroke.

I will be most grateful for whatever steering you can give him.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:k

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

RECEIVED
APR 14 1947
Southern Regional Council

April 11, 1947

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

First of all, may I congratulate you on your new work and wish for you the fullest success which you abundantly deserve.

It might be possible for Mr. Abner Nash Locklear to be employed by the Veterans Administration for Robeson and some surrounding counties. I mean, of course, that he might have financial backing from the Veterans Administration to work among the Indian veterans in his area. I have not heard from him, but would be glad to talk with him and offer any suggestions that I can.

Several of us here, I think, would be willing to make an appeal to Mr. Hemingway of the Veterans Administration to employ him, if possible.

I do not know if there would be an opportunity for him to begin as a teacher in the Indian college at Pembroke. Dr. Hillman, my associate here, is a member of the Board of Trustees of that institution representing the State Department of Education.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:mn

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

May 16, 1947

RECEIVED
MAY 19 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Complying with your request, I am dictating a note to Dr. Hamilton at once, and I sincerely hope he may be able , at least, to dictate a brief article such as you suggested. Dr. Hamilton made remarkable contributions to the ultimate achievement of securing enactment by the Legislature of our fine new Public Health Program.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:mn

cc - C. Horace Hamilton

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

May 16, 1947

COPY

Dr. C. Horace Hamilton
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Hamilton:

This note is to express the hope that you will find it possible to prepare, at least, a brief article for Dr. George S. Mitchell about our great Health Program.

You yourself did so much in helping to lay the ground-work for this project, you, no doubt, would be able to dictate a statement in a comparatively short time that would be exactly what Dr. Mitchell wants.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:mm
Enclosure

cc - George S. Mitchell ✓

July 3, 1947

Mr. E. C. Newbold
Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Newbold:

This will acknowlege your letter of June 27 with the enclosure from Dr. Sharpe.

When I left North Carolina in December 1945 there was much enthusiasm over the prospects for developing the "Hammocks." I have not kept in touch with the project since then and am therefore unable to make any suggestions. At the time that I left, the State Teachers Association had not given consideration to the property on Hargett Street.

I shall hardly be able to attend the meeting of the Board prior to September 1. Please be assured, however, that I shall give every possible cooperation to the project when I return to the State.

With [illegible]est good wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLTPk

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

August 19, 1947

RECEIVED
AUG 20 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

Thank you for your letter of August 14. I am very pleased, indeed, to have the news which it contained. I should be very happy to do anything I can to promote the interests of the Council.

With continuing good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:mm

Newbold, N.C.

November 28, 1947

Dr. N. C. Newbold
Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

We are very happy to send you the attached copy of Resolution which you prepared concerning the GI Bill of Rights and veterans. Whenever we can be of service please do not hesitate to call on us.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

AM:ee

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

November 24, 1947

RECEIVED
NOV 25 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

Thank you very much for your note of November 21, and for the check covering expenses to attend your very fine meeting of ten days ago.

If you can do so without too much trouble, I will appreciate if you will send me a copy of the resolution which I prepared in regard to the G. I. Bill of Rights and veterans.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:mm

Newbold, N. C.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

January 31, 1948

RECEIVED
FEB 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I am enclosing, herewith, my check for $7.00. Thank you for reminding me of this.

I think the last meeting of the Council was an excellent one, and I hope you and your associates are finding it possible to continue on high levels of service, which means that I hope you are collecting plenty of money.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:mm

Enclosure

6th Pr

November 17, 1948

Dr. N. C. Newbold
Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

It was a great pleasure to have you with us for the Annual and Board meetings. In addition to their actual function, they represent the ~~full~~ fore gathering of friends, and as such we look forward to them.

With every good wish, I am

Cordially and sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosure

26 - Newbold, N. C.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

November 12, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I am enclosing the expense account as I promised you yesterday.

May I say again how much I appreciated your courtesy in looking after me after the meeting for lunch, and taking me with others down town.

With good wishes and good luck, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:mm

Enclosure

SRC-Bd. of Dirs. - Memberships

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

December 13, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 14 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of December 10.

So far as I can render service, I shall be glad to continue as a member of the Board of the Southern Regional Council for the four year term, 1948-1952.

With kind personal regards for you and Mrs. McKoy, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:mm

SRC - Bd of Dirs
Membership

December 10, 1948

Dr. N. C. Newbold
State Department of Education
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

The Southern Regional Council has been honored by your service as a member of its Board of Directors for the four-year term 1944 - 1948.

It is a pleasure to inform you that at the annual membership meeting on November 10, 1948 in Atlanta you were reelected as a member of the Board for the four-year term 1948 - 1952.

Unless I hear to the contrary from you, I shall take for granted your acceptance.

We are grateful for the assistance which your continued interest in the Council gives to its work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
cc: Mrs. Agnes McKoy

26-Newbold, N C

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

January 28, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of January 26, and especially for sending me the copy of New South which contains a story of the Virginia situation as it applies to equalization of educational opportunities. A week ago I wrote to Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, requesting copies of some issues of his paper. He has sent me some of this material, so I shall have both your statement and the one from his paper.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:mm

RECEIVED
JAN 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

NC Newbold

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH November 3, 1949

RECEIVED
NOV 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

Thank you for your note of October 26, which came a few days ago.

I read your letter to Bob Cousins very carefully, and you know, I am sure, that the matter has my keenest, most sympathetic interest. I wish I could be of some service, and may be able to after a while. You may know that Mrs. Newbold has been ill since the first week in July, and still spends practically all her time in bed. She made two trips to the hospital, one for six weeks, and one for ten days, and the doctors say she may have to return again later. Obviously, I cannot do as many things as I thought I could formerly for that reason, as well as for the fact that our work in North Carolina has been very much stepped up by the increased appropriations made by the Legislature last winter. Also, I cannot forget that I am older than I was twenty-five years ago.

Because of the condition of Mrs. Newbold outlined briefly above, I do not think it wise for me to attend the meeting of the Board of Directors in Atlanta on November 9. I will appreciate it if you will advise Mrs. McKoy of this, and suggest that she cancel the hotel reservation she may have made for me. done, 11/7/49 - JPS

I shall be keenly interested in the work of the Board and the membership conference as well.

With cordial good wishes always, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:mm

N - Newbold, N. C.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

June 26, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your note of June 22.

It has been a pleasure for me to cooperate with you and the Council, and I shall be glad if what I have done has been of any real value.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:mm

RECEIVED
JUN 27 1950
Southern Regional Council

SRC-6
2

N. C. NEWBOLD
129 W. PARK DRIVE
RALEIGH, N. C.

RECEIVED
MAY 9
Southern Regional Council

May 8-1953

Dr George S Mitchell
Atlanta - Ga.

My dear George.-

First, may I tell you how proud I am of the contacts you have made with the Ford Foundation! Surely you must have been sleeping better since that wonderful contribution was made! I congratulate you and your associates!

About next week, I have been hoping I could make the trip, but since April 3rd I have not been up to standard. At 9.30 next Monday, I am to be checked over pretty thoroughly, and of course, whether I am able to leave here for the afternoon of the next day - the ~~after~~ 12th, depends to some extent upon what the doctor's say.

This, together with Mrs Newbold's long-continued illness places a double handicap in my way. If I can go, I'll be there on time, if not please understand.

Best wishes always - Sincerely N C Newbold

November 16, 1950

Dr. N. C. Newbold
129 West Park Drive
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

It was a great pleasure to see you at the board meeting, and we appreciate your interest and participation.

Thank you for returning your expense account. It is indeed generous of you to contribute $10.00 of the expenses incurred on your trip. For bookkeeping purposes and also so that the amount will show as part of the North Carolina pledge effort, we should exchange checks. I am enclosing a check for $10.00 which you can endorse and return to the Council or write us a check for the same amount. In this way the contribution will pass through our cash receipt book and enable you to account for a contribution which is tax exempt.

Although we would like to reimburse you the $46.13 immediately, our pay day has left us with a depleted treasury. We do count on getting this check to you within a few weeks and ask your patience in the meantime.

Our many thanks for your kindness.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

NH:bj

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

January 10, 1944

Dear Guy:

I saw in the papers yesterday that you were officially elected, and I am hoping that everything went off just perfectly.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I have just written Virginius Dabney. I shall be sending you things regularly. You need not acknowledge them unless there is some special point to writing.

I shall also be sending you a list of nominations myself for the Council and for the honorary fellows.

Mostly, however, this letter is to wish you a good beginning and a fine continuing program of distinctive service to the South and the Nation. There is always a feeling of semi-depression and nostalgic restlessness with me whenever I undertake a new task. I have usually found the first stages more or less discouraging in a way, but I hope this will not be the case in your position. One thing we know is that everybody is agreed that this is a major national job that must be done and that you can do it better than anybody else now known. Even a small measure of success in so difficult a problem becomes a large measure of achievement.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

ENCLOSURE:
Copy of letter to
Dabney

SESQUICENTENNIAL OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY
Provided for in the Constitution 1776; Chartered 1789; Cornerstone Laid 1793; Opened 1795

Copy for Dr. Guy B. Johnson

January 10, 1944

Dear Dabney:

Replying to your letter with reference to our Board of Directors for the Regional Council: First, we agreed that we would have a board not to exceed seventy-five with about one-third of them to be made up of business and professional people and the professions of law and medicine.

Second, each one of us was to nominate a panel of names from which we were to choose these. It would be fine, therefore, if you would sit down and write Dr. Guy B. Johnson, director of the Regional Council, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia, and nominate certain Virginia people, giving briefly your reasons for nomination. Dr. Johnson and Dr. Reid are instructed to present such a revised list to vote on at our February meeting. I am sending in such a list, as will be others. The names you suggest seem to me to be admirable. In the third place, I think we should not have women members just because they are women. I believe we have approximately enough indicated. I shall want to nominate Dr. Mildred Mell, head of the Department of Economics and Sociology at Agnes Scott, because she represents the extra liberal of the old Milledge circle of Athens, Georgia, and because she is in Atlanta and will actually help work out details. My thought would be that on our national advisory committee we ought to use Mrs. Newell and some other southern women not now in the South and perhaps on the national advisory committee. There would be other women at large.

The third item was that we wanted about a hundred honorary fellows rather than sponsors, and these would be made up mostly of young people of both races and sexes, selected for their actual training, distinction, and willingness to work, and to constitute a sort of five-year covenant group for the young South. Dr. Guy Johnson is peculiarly fitted to think out a council plan of operation which would develop leadership as we want it developed.

I wrote H. Galt Braxton of Kinston and expressed appreciation for his editorial in the Free Press. I have had a nice letter from him.

I am glad you saw Jackson Davis and noted his great enthusiasm for Guy Johnson. There seems to be a fine unity among all groups now as to the sort of Council we can develop, quietly but surely working toward something that is organic in the South and the

Nation. I did not go to the Executive meeting Saturday, but our Dr. Johnson, Charles Johnson, and Alexander were there, and I have noted in the Associated Press that the charter was officially adopted and Dr. Johnson and Dr. Reid officially elected directors. We are apparently under way.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond 13, Virginia

RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Richmond, Virginia

January 7, 1944

Dear Dr. Odum:

I am trying to remember what you asked us to do in Atlanta suggesting new names for the board of the Council.

Just in general, I think we badly need more business and professional people, and I am sure you agree. I had thought often of suggesting the name of Dr. J. Shelton Horsley, our most eminent surgeon, but I had refrained from doing so for fear of overburdening Dr. Horsley whose sons are off in the service, and who has extra work to do at his hospital. But he has displayed a very active interest lately in our editorial proposal for repealing segregation on urban carriers, and I feel inclined to invite him to serve, if agreeable to you. He is just the type we need, I think, but I do not believe he could do a great deal in the way of attending meetings. He is about seventy years old, and heavily loaded with work.

Was it your feeling that we need any more women on the board. It seems to me that we have a pretty good cross section already, and my preference would be definitely for business men or professional men to any other group, if we can get them. How many more members of the board do you wish from Virginia? Also will you refresh my memory as to the group of 100 or 150 who would be listed as sponsors, or something of the sort.

Jackson Davis, who was in the office this morning, expressed great enthusiasm for Guy Johnson. He also gave me the welcome news that the General Education Board has made a grant to the Council.

By the way, do you know H. Galt Braxton, editor of the Kinston, North Carolina, Daily Free Press? He is the only Southern editor inside or outside Virginia who has backed us up on the need for abolishing segregation on urban carriers. I should think he would be an excellent man to work with you in North Carolina.

Sincerely yours,

Virginius Dabney.

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

January 19, 1944

Dear Guy:

I hope you will go over and see Ralph McGill sometime at your convenience with a view to seeing whether he would be a good co-chairman to work in my place. I have the feeling that both he and Virginius Dabney can be expanded and developed into full-fledged cooperators. There would be a good many advantages in having him if Charles Johnson would agree to it and if he carried, therefore, the confidence of the group.

This letter is a sort of personal one and perhaps it had better not go in the files. It will be very important for me to come off, I think, both because we want the Southern Regional Council to have its new start, as Dr. Alexander and I agree, and, in the second place, the fact that I am from North Carolina would not at this time be the best possible representation, especially in view of the fact that you were originally here.

There would be some advantages also in having a man in Atlanta.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

January 21, 1944

Dear Guy:

I suspect Cole sent you a copy of this memorandum, but I am sending it on to you.

Cole's suggestions and outlines are always good. However, you understand that we all expect you and Reid to do the planning, and I'll expect to back you up 100 percent. Dr. Alexander and I are both agreed that we are to keep out of it altogether, except as members of the Board.

I think you know I have always held to the theory that a Board of Directors is a legislative body and should have nothing to do with the details of administration and function. We will help whenever we are called on, and we will back your program. Other than that, you understand we want you and Reid to be the arbiters and the directors. We will count ourselves fortunate if we can be of some help in the ways that you want us to.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

ENCLOSURE: Suggestions of
Cole

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

January 25, 1944

Dear Guy:

Let me hasten to discuss the points which you inquired about in your letter of January 20. First of all, let's don't have a president. Let's have the Board very, very simple with only a chairman.

Second, let's don't invite any members who are not Board members for this meeting. Dr. Alexander and I agreed in our talk yesterday that from our viewpoint we have unity, and everybody in the present Board understands what has been done. If we get new members we will have to go over the ground again and again. Let's keep the present Board and then build it up at our next meeting.

Next, I think it is even more important for us to have a National Advisory Council. I enclose a copy of an article which was to be published by COMMON GROUND. I was requested by Miss Anderson to write a letter in reply. I did not do that, but I wrote her as per the enclosed letter. I think you and Reid ought to know about this, although I do not believe Miss Anderson will publish it.

It might seem discouraging to have a man like Redding attacking so many of his own people and so generally on a complete misstatement of facts when we are trying so hard to do the most and the best that we can. This doesn't alter my attitude towards anything or my enthusiasm to keep on, but it is unfortunate.. You will see from this why all along I have insisted that we have a national council and then an advisory council.

We know that a national council now is being set up, and it might be that we would select our advisory council from it. Dr. Alexander will have all the facts in the February meeting.

What I am saying, therefore, is that we want an advisory council as well as our Board.

Next, I think it is very important to have the hundred young people who will be willing to go with us through the extremes if necessary for a five-year period. Then, following this, it seems to me we might work out a policy of having members without limit, but members would have no vote in the control. The national council would be somewhat on this order:

It's a corporation run by its members, and if you call them members, then they have a vote.

Our levels of participation would be then, first, the Board with a chairman.

Second, an executive committee with a chairman.

Third, 100 honorary fellows.

Fourth, members at large.

This is the way it looks to me, but I have no definite feeling about any of it.

I plan to be there on the morning of February 16 and will stay through the whole day. I may have to leave, so that Johnson will take charge on the following day.

We are all very enthusiastic about everything as it is working out, and you can count on us to be right with you.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM.

ENCLOSURES:
Redding article
Anderson letter

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

February 1, 1944

Dear Dr. Odum:

Before I forget it I am enclosing a proxy blank for the Incorporators' meeting. I cleared with the other four Incorporators, and all agreed on the resolution concerning charter members. In order to be on the safe side, I am asking proxies from you and Charles Johnson, so that the three Atlanta men can hold the Incorporators' meeting on any day they can get together. Incidentally, such days are very, very scarce. We have completed the list of charter members, and the invitations to the additional ones will go out tomorrow. This will still give them two weeks notice, and that ought to be enough. As a matter of fact, since they will be paying their own expenses I doubt if a great many of them attend in person.

Thanks for your various letters and enclosures. They are all helpful. Mentioning a few specific things:

1. The tentative budget will be completed in a day or two, and then I shall write to Jackson Davis.

2. Redding's article is certainly skunkish! He has just a germ of truth here and there, and the rest is pure spleen. However, I don't believe he will have much effect, because he doesn't really have many friends. He is a cynical, frustrated, ivory-towerish sort of bird. Someone should ask him to write an article beginning where he left off in his proposed COMMON GROUND article.

3. I had a good talk with Ralph McGill. They are on his neck again now, since the January 8 meeting, and he is not exactly happy. He is absolutely out as far as taking the chairmanship is concerned, and he even has doubts as to whether he should be on the Board. However, I think we can get him to stay on. I'm afraid Dabney is the same way, and, anyway, it would be better to have a chairman from the deep South. If you are insistent about withdrawing --and I say most reluctantly that you have some sound reasons-- then we have to move in a hurry to get someone lined up. How about a churchman? Bishop Moore? McDowell Richards? Both right here in Atlanta. If not, what about Bridges of Florida? Rush me any suggestions that you have.

But I seem to remember you told me that Bishop Moore was on the Board. Would it be the Planning Committee?

Best wishes,

Guy B. Johnson

Encl.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

February 3, 1944

Dear Guy:

I got the proxy this morning at the post office and immediately got a stamped envelope and rushed it to you, so that it would not be delayed. I appreciate the fine way in which you are taking care of everything.

I meant to say to you that the letters and criticisms which come from the Negroes (and more of them are coming in) do not bother me at all. I consider this evidence that we need to be more careful, more earnest, and more objective, and to work harder. There is nothing that we can do about some of these things. In some ways such an article will naturally strengthen the Council, both North and South, because it will show the need for such a Council in the midst of so much unreasonable and picayunish fighting spirit.

I hope at our meeting that we can all covenant together again that no matter what happens it isn't going to keep us away from our singleness of purpose.

I would appreciate it, and I know all the others would, if you and Ira Reid and the Executive Committee would be exploring the possibilities of a chairman. Of the three that you mention, I would rather have Bridges in some ways, because I would be afraid that Bishop Moore might not be able to give as much attention to it as would be wanted. On the other hand, it would be a very fine thing if we had a bishop at the head of it, and the more I see of Bishop Moore the better I like him.

Suppose we leave it this way: Find anyone that would be satisfactory; then we will elect him at the February meeting. It would, of course, be some advantage if one of the men in Atlanta would be chairman.

You are going to get lots of fellowship and rich experience out of this as well as lots of pains.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

SESQUICENTENNIAL OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY
Provided for in the Constitution 1776; Chartered 1789; Cornerstone Laid 1793; Opened 1795

March 25/44

Dear Dr. Odum:

"March of Time" called us today and wants to come to Atlanta early in April for story on S.R.C. Since we will need another meeting of the Executive Comm. real pretty soon, I thought you might authorize call for it so that it can meet when "March of Time" Man is here — probably about April 4 or 5. And you'll just have to be there.

Send us your thoughts as to good types of "shots" portraying the sort of thing the S.R.C. is aiming at. This can be a big boost to S.R.C. if it is done right!

Busy as Hell,

Guy

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

March 3, 1944

Dear Guy:

I suppose you got a copy of this. It is a valuable exhibit in the total structure of our southern problem. I have made a copy of it and will use it in some of my teachings and discussions. I imagine there are a great many groups of Negroes in the South who feel that for the sake of a few Negro intellectuals and climbers the mass of Negroes are being sacrificed on the alter of conflict. It seems to me this might be brought out in some issue of the Frontier simply to illustrate the complexity which the problem has and to show how the Negro needs great sympathy on all levels.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

ENCLOSURE:
Letter

This was sent air mail to Chapel Hill.
Forwarded to me at Atlanta

Birmingham, Ala.
February 28, 1944.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
University, N. C.

Dear Sir:

We, the Committee on Investigation of Delinquency of our Race, speaking for those whom we represent, believing they have the best interest of this country at heart, feel it our duty as citizens of this country to inform you that you are taking too much authority in speaking for the masses of the American people.

We feel self-appointed individuals who take upon themselves the right to force social and racial standards, a scheme that is bound to bring about disunity among our people, especially in these perilous times, are going beyond all sense and reason, uncalled for, and against the better judgment of the better class of our race. And, too, in these perilous times, taking advantage of a situation that calls for the better judgment of all concerned is unfair.

We are now in war and we don't need any more agitation, therefore, we are asking you, in the name of common sense and reason, to desist from any further agitation on the race question.

From investigations of over 100 colleges and hundreds of high schools, it seems you would busy yourselves in cleaning up the stinch from under your own nose, of your own race, rather than trying to pull a smear at this time when we should be using every effort to win a war. With what you termed a progressive educational program in your schools and colleges, which has played havoc with our people and is a direct source of the increased immoral conditions among our race. These statements come from hundreds of teachers, college professors, and students themselves, as well as many secret societies, who have the evidence sufficient to prove these assertions.

When we take into consideration a movement that has been the leading contributing factor in bringing about its toll of human suffering in the form of thousands of suicides, divorces, illegitimate children, and continuously making criminals of our youth, and prostitutes of our womanhood, should be the uppermost question in the minds of those that have the welfare of this country at heart.

It is the opinion of many of our people today, judging from what seems to be a money proposition, some of our fellow citizens most likely are getting paid from two sources, as there has been millions spent for the advancement of one race while millions have been spent for the undoing of another. Surely they are not so gullible as to not feather their nests in selling the future hope of thousands of helpless and innocent souls, therefore, we feel any movement so important, especially in the hands of those that have proven such a farce in the last decade, are incapable of solving a question so vital as a "race issue" in times like these.

The well informed people of this country well know the Indian from India, the Negro from Africa, the Malay from the Orient are not coming over here to force social equality (that leads to a mongrel people) for the benefit of a few Negroes in this country.

With what we believe to be a thorough understanding of the situation, we are confident that you will have plenty of opposition in every center of this country of ours. The above thoughts have already dawned upon the minds of thousands of our people throughout this country, and it is our firm belief that your scheme will not work without a struggle. It is true no honest or fair-minded person would object to the elevating of the moral fibre and standards of any race, yet he is a cruel and ungrateful creature that would lower the moral standard of his own, or be an accomplice to such a scheme.

Yours very truly,
Investigating Committee on Basic Cause of
Increased Delinquency of our Race,
Francis C. Jones, Jr., Supt. of F. W.
Claud C. White, Assistant.
A. S. Smythe, Assistant.
T. P. South
Porter B. Ingram
Supervisors of Investigation of South
and Eastern Dst. Private Special Agents.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

Wrote him further about membership Com. 5-17-44

May 13, 1944

Dear Guy:

Thank you very much for your note about the committees. I was just about to write and ask you to make your suggestions. If it is all right with you, I will appoint them the last of next week; or I might get to it before then.

In the meantime, I would be glad if you yourself would choose the Committee on Membership and write a letter appointing them and sign it by me, or you write the letter and say that we had appointed the group. I suggest this, because you will know the ones that you prefer and because you wanted to get this committee started.

I think we shall just adopt a policy of having you two ex-officio members of these committees. This is important because you will have to do the work. As you know, personally I do not think much of the efficacy of committee work, but we do have to have them.

I want us to study hard on this Committee on Fellows, because I believe we have got something that has to be done there that will be different.

We had an unusually good meeting of our Science and Industry group this week, but I am convinced more and more of the opportunity and importance of the Southern Regional Council.

I presume you have written the new members of the Board of Directors and informed them.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM.

HWO-m

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Jenkins chg. Dr Howell's letter which he asked me to send on

I think you do well to have Dr Howell chairman of publication committee

Mary offered this Committee, too

May 10, 1944

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

I suppose you would like to have my reflections on the subject of the personnel of the standing committees of the Council which you were authorized to appoint. I am enclosing some suggestions for committee personnel and a list of additional members who might be useful on committees.

As you remember, the Board voted that committee chairmen should be members of the Board, but that other committee personnel need not be limited to Board members. I am enclosing for your convenience a reprint from the March SOUTHERN FRONTIER containing the list of Board members, and a supplementary sheet showing the persons who were added to the Board at the meeting of April 28.

Don't you think that five would be enough for each committee? Of course, you would be ex officio on every committee, and I suppose that Reid or I or both of us should be either ex officio or regular members of the committees.

These committees can be very expensive affairs if they are scattered over a wide area and have to meet frequently. How would it be to concentrate the majority membership of any one committee in a particular part of our region? It would then be less expensive for Reid or me to go from Atlanta to the place of meeting than to bring several people from a distance to Atlanta. This is just a suggestion, and you may not think it wise at all.

If you want us to notify the committee members after you have decided on the slates, I'll be glad to do the letter writing, though I think it would be better for you to do it. I hope we can get our committees going soon, especially the Committee on Membership, since we need to bring in people who have been nominated or who have requested the privilege of joining the Council.

In the Board resolutions defining the functions of the committees, there was nothing said as to the calling of meetings, and so I think it would be taken for granted that committees would meet on the call of the President.

By the way, I have more or less committeed us to using Gordon Hancock as chairman of the Committee on Publications. I have already asked him to do

one or two things of an editorial nature, and I think that he would give good service as chairman of the Publications Committee.

Thanks for your letter about Miss Lynch and Miss Price. We might be able to take on one of them within the next couple of months, but I am afraid that if we took both of them, we would be loading the staff up too much with white gals.

I hope to find some excuse to get up to Chapel Hill before long, but right now I don't know what it would be.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure

SUGGESTED COMMITTEE PERSONNEL

Those who are not members of the Board are starred (*).

Committee on Membership

Bond - Georgia
Clement - Georgia
Wilkins - Georgia
Hamilton - Georgia
Dent - Louisiana
Havens - Florida
Mays - Georgia
Herbert - South Carolina
Washington - Georgia
Vivion* - Tennessee
Gilman -

Committee on Public Relations

Jaffe - Virginia
Dabney - Virginia
McGill* - Georgia
Scott* - Georgia
Griffin* - Georgia
Hamilton - Georgia
McDowell - Kentucky
Dalpit -

Committee on Publications

Hancock - Virginia
Tilly - Georgia
Dabney - Virginia
Jackson - Virginia
Ames - North Carolina
Cousins* - Georgia
Newbold - North Carolina
Cole ~~Pee*~~ - Tennessee
Eleazer* - Tennessee
Pollard - Va.

Committee on Finance

Alexander - North Carolina
Wheeler - North Carolina
Spaulding* - North Carolina
C. Johnson - Tennessee
Matherly - Florida
Milton - Georgia
Brown - Virginia
Patterson - Alabama
N. Beall* - Georgia
Weisiger* - Georgia
Rogers - Florida

Committee on Fellows

Wilkins - Georgia
Washington - Georgia
Hamilton - Georgia
Mell* - Georgia
Griffin* - Georgia
W.Y. Bell* - Georgia
Foreman - North Carolina
Jackson - Virginia
Willcoxon - Mississippi
Burnham - Alabama
Taylor* - North Carolina

NEW MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

To Fill Vacancies:

Miss Lillian Smith, Clayton, Georgia
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, 1976 N. Decatur Road, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.
Archbishop Robert Emmet Lucey, San Antonio, Texas

Additions to Board of Directors:

ARKANSAS:	Dean T. S. Staples, Hendrix College, Conway Mrs. A. M. P. Strong, Box 503, Marianna
FLORIDA:	Dr. H. D. Goode, Pensacola Walter Matherley, Dean of the School of Business Administration, University of Florida, Gainesville
KENTUCKY:	Charles W. Anderson, Jr., Member, Kentucky House of Representatives, Louisville
MISSISSIPPI:	Jacob L. Reddix, President, Jackson College, Jackson
NORTH CAROLINA:	Dr. N. C. Newbold, State Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh
OKLAHOMA:	O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma A. and M. College, Stillwater
TENNESSEE:	Dr. Z. A. Looby, 419 Fourth Avenue, North, Nashville

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

May 4, 1944

Dear Guy:

This is a little note to remind you that Miss Ruth Lynch and Miss Margaret Price, two of our graduate, young women who want to work more before they take further study, would be available for some sort of job if you should need them. Both have had elementary statistics and both are tops in ability and conscientiousness. Both have good personalities.

They are not ready for one of your major positions, but it might be that you would need them in the work of keeping a clearinghouse of information and research.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Who did the ASP story

Who did the AP story?

SESQUICENTENNIAL OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY
Provided for in the Constitution 1776; Chartered 1789; Cornerstone Laid 1793; Opened 1795

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

April 18, 1944

Dear Guy:

I'll check up on Wendell Brooks Phillips in some indirect ways and see what we know about him and let you know.

I am scheduling the 28th at 9:30 A.M., in your office, for the Executive Committee meeting. I am hoping to get in to Atlanta sometime the night before from New Orleans, so that I'll be on hand in plenty of time. This date really suits me much better than the later date in May.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

9 mail here at Chapel Hill April 22

June 20, 1944

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Thank you for the things which you sent me the other day. I believe you did not enclose the editorial by David Clark, and I would like very much to see it. That fellow da Ponte almost split his britches, didn't he?

Thanks for sending me the letter from Mr. Francis. We have letters from several people who sound very good, and when we come to the point of employing another white person, these letters will come in handy. Right now, the next personnel problem is to get a Negro staff member who can devote a lot of time to field work and public relations. Needless to say, it has to be someone very good. By the way, Miss Fisher is really going to town. She is a swell gal—level-headed, lots of drive, and a knack for getting along with people. She has already done a good piece of work toward getting some constructive things in the Atlanta newspapers, and, as you know, that is saying a lot.

I am not sure whether I sent you a copy of Dr. Fuller's reply and my response so I am enclosing them now. His insistence that his name was used got my goat a little bit, and I couldn't resist asking him to let us know if he is ever able to lay his hands on proof.

How did you like Lillian Smith's letter to me explaining why she is not accepting membership in the Council? It was quite an explanation, wasn't it? Methinks the girl's ego has suffered a tremendous injury, and that she felt impelled to write this letter in order to restore equilibrium. I am glad that she has sent copies of her letter to the directors, as well as to quite a number of other people, because I believe that the letter is going to help us a great deal more than it helps her. Incidentally, the grapevine has it that the letter which she mentions on page 4 of her epistle was one which you had written to someone. I know that Miss Smith and several of her close friends believe that you are the one who kept her from being invited to the Atlanta meeting. They seem to think that you single-handedly set up the whole conference. Strange how history can get so muddled in so short a time!

Dr. Alexander thinks that July 22 would be a good date for the first meeting of the Finance Committee. Do you suppose you could manage to get here? By the way, we received a check and a letter from the Rosenwald Fund the other day, saying "This is the final payment on our appropriation of $10,000 for the current year." Is this a formality, or does it mean that they are not

giving us any additional appropriations throughout 1944?

I will be in Chapel Hill on June 29 and 30. I hope you will be there.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosures

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

June 13, 1944

Dear Guy:

I may be seeing you pretty soon and then again I may not. I enclose copy of an editorial from Dave Clark and a letter from a New York southerner. I'll be glad if you will show these to Ira Reid. I enclose a copy of the citation simply to indicate the wide range of this great American democracy of ours. There is no harm in either of the citations.

The good part about it is that the Governor wrote a good letter back to this man in a very fine and dignified manner.

Your letter to Fuller was admirable, and I think for the present I will not write him. I want to see him later and talk this matter over.

I am trying out a little outline under the title "We Are not Afraid." I want to try it out on a few leaders and see whether we are ready for such a statement.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

ENCLOSURES:
C. citation
Clark editorial
N. Y. southerner's letter

SESQUICENTENNIAL OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY
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THE CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH

DR. HOWARD WASHINGTON ODUM

native Georgian, eminent sociologist, author of the monumental volume, "Southern Regions of the United States," founder of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina, President of the Southern Regional Council, advisor to countless Southern groups and agencies,--The Catholic Committee of the South salutes you and begs God's Blessing upon you.

Through your life and work, particularly your scholarly research, you diagnosed the chief ills which afflicted a sick and exhausted South of yesterday, and prescribed the remedy for a healthy and vigorous South of tomorrow. Scholars yet unborn will consult your volumes and breathe your name in reverence.

You have demonstrated the power and the influence that one man, undaunted and unafraid, can assert in dispelling ancient errors and doubts; you have given flight to our dream of a finer, happier South and have lifted high the hopes of everyone who loves Dixie. You have placed the entire Southern region and all its people irrespective of their color or creed, greatly in your debt.

THE CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH honors itself in presenting its annual award for 1944 to one of the finest gentlemen and most distinguished leaders of the South,

DR. HOWARD WASHINGTON ODUM

Given at Memphis, Tennessee, April twenty-fifth, 1944

Gerald P. O'Hara
Episcopal Chairman Catholic Committee of the South

Thomas E. O'Connell
Chairman, Catholic Committee of the South

May 31, 1944

Governor J. Melville Broughton
Raleigh
North Carolina

My dear Governor Broughton:

Re: Howard W. Odum
Professor of Sociology
University of North Carolina

Professor Odum, according to an editorial in the May 15th issue of TEXTILE BULLETIN published in Charlotte, N. C., is an associate of communists and an advocate of Negro social equality with whites.

If the charges are true (and it would seem unreasonable to doubt the statements made in the editorial) it seems to me that the University of North Carolina should be no place for Professor Odum to expound his theories and try to pervert the mentality of the youth of the South.

I am a Southerner, living in New York, where I have had ample opportunity to note with horror the evil conditions that have come about because of the obeisance paid to the Negro by the New Deal administration in Washington, and the New York City administration.

The same sort of conditions should not be allowed to become part of the life of the South, and the paths of those who advocate such conditions should not be made easy.

I realize that the South is in a dilemma wedged between the communistic and Negro-phile New Deal, and the no less Negro-phile Republican party. But we need not give precedence to creatures of the sort that Professor Odum is alleged to be, and I believe that statesmen of your stature and acumen have the ability to relieve the South of the Od(i)um which threatens it, and the stranglehold which Mrs. Roosevelt, her husband and the New Deal party have upon it. Let us nominate and vote for a Southern Democrat for president.

Yours truly,

T.S. da Ponte

70 Haven Avenue,
New York City

June 22, 1944

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Thank you for your comment on Miss Lillian Smith's letter. I think it is fine. My reply to her will be brief and courteous.

I think the idea of getting out a progress report to the Board of Directors is excellent. In fact, I have been considering doing this very thing. When we get more help, we probably should get out such a report monthly or at least quarterly. Since time has marched on as usual, we can call the first issue "The First Six Months."

When do you plan to come down? I will be in Chapel Hill from the morning of June 30 through July 2. I have an engagement in Richmond on June 29.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

June 20, 1944

Dear Guy:

I have a copy of Miss Smith's letter. The next time I come down, or perhaps I would mail you, I would like for us to consider sending out a little notice to members of the Board of Directors discussing problems and progress, since we ought not to try to have meetings too often.

In this letter we should call attention to many communications such as Miss Smith's. We would say that, of course, we know the white man is the world's problem, that old man human nature is our problem, that the war has us all in psychosis, et cetera, et cetera, but our problem happens to be a problem seeking specific ends. First, we must do something to help in the race problem that will be good for the Negro and, second, we must if possible stem this sure tide of bloodshed that is coming.

We have no objection to people organizing for reconstructing the white man and human nature and helping in all the world's needed ideologies. The value of our organization is that it is specific, and that it is our business to work at our job and not on something else, and above all not to argue or debate. Common Ground, like a good many of the others, seems to think that when they set up an argument and get people to split among themselves they are doing something liberal. It is going to be one of the pathetic spectacles of American life when the total tragic consequences of this sort of thing develops--unless indeed we might stop some of it.

Let me know whether you and Reid would be willing to consider a letter that we might send out simply reporting progress, keeping the Board informed as to what we are doing, and recognizing the fact that we cannot have meetings in these days of such travel,

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

SESQUICENTENNIAL OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY
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Odum

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

June 22, 1944

Dear Guy:

Suppose we put down July 22 for our meeting of the Finance Committee. I think this is very important.

I do not think there is any relation between the Rosenwald formal statement and their future contribution. I do think, however, we will have to push to get what we need. I'll see you on June 29th and 30th.

I had previously written you about Lillian Smith's letter. I cannot imagine how all these rumors get around. I have written her quite a few enthusiastic letters. So far as I know, I have never mentioned her in relation to the Council, although I do not trust my own recollections. I am practically positive, however, that I have not written such a letter.

I believe you know that I slipped out of the Atlanta meeting with the intent and purpose of not being in the way of directing or dictating or whatever they might assume. You remember that there were quite a number of people that I thought ought to be on the Board, but that I left no list of any sort.

You understand I do not mind this. It is all in the day's work, and we must really come to like it. However, it is good for the facts to be known sometimes. I enclose copy of the Dave Clark editorial. I think it would not be bad at all if it is known how hard we are hit as being too radical.

It might be well for you casually to find out which one of Miss Smith's friends said that I did so and so. I think you understand that I never correspond and argue on these things and am not going to do it now. Miss Smith's case is just another one of our tragedies illustrative of the fact that we cannot work together. As I wrote you yesterday, we are working on the Negro race question, and there are plenty of ethical societies to try to handle the white man and his human nature.

I might have offended Miss Smith sometime ago by writing her as one of the elders to one of the youngers, expressing the hope that now she had achieved certain attainment and influence on the basis of working specifically and concretely

in the South she would not desert that procedure for some cosmic, abstract, global effort. The last number of The South Today was, as you recall, devoted to child welfare and freudian promotion. We do not object to them doing this. The point is that they have gone into another level, and, so far as I know, they are not doing anything on the Negro.

You are correct always in opening all mail that comes to me at Atlanta.

Cordially yours,

HWO-m

HOWARD W. ODUM

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

ENCLOSURE:
Clark editorial

Odum

MEMORANDUM TO: DR. HOWARD W. ODUM August 1, 1944

FROM: GUY B. JOHNSON

SUBJECT: PROPOSED STUDY OF HOUSING IN THE SOUTH

FOREWORD

An authoritative sampling study of Southern housing, urban and rural, followed up by a popular dramatization of the needs for better housing, and the practical possibilities of obtaining better housing, would be a distinct contribution to the welfare of the South. Such a study should be conducted cooperatively by such agencies as the university research institutes, state planning boards, the Southern Regional Council, and socially-minded citizens in public and private life. It should be developed and completed as quickly as possible in order that definite plans may be available for consideration before we reach the era of post-war public works projects and frantic real estate activity. I offer below some tentative ideas on such a project.

1. NAME

An organization might be set up to conduct the study under the name of The Southern Housing Commission, or The Southern Commission for the Study of Housing.

2. STRUCTURE

The Commission proper should probably be composed of about 25 prominent citizens, with a chairman, a vice-chairman, and a secretary-treasurer.

In order to drew in a larger number of interested persons in an advisory capacity, there should be an Advisory Committee of 10 to 20 persons drawn from the ranks of public-spirited businessmen, churchmen, welfare administrators, etc.

Working under the Commission and in cooperation with the Advisory Committee would be a Research Committee. This would be composed of 6 or 8 research experts, some of whom should be experts in housing studies, whose function would be to plan the research policy and strategy.

Under the supervision of the Research Committee, directly responsible to a Research Director, would be the Research Staff. It is difficult to say at this stage how many workers would be needed, but we might suggest that in addition to the director, the study would require from 5 to 10 field workers, 2 or 3 research assistants for combining and processing the data, and one or two special writers for putting the results of the study into form for popular consumption. In addition, it would of course be necessary to have 3 or 4 stenographers.

3. PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

The main object of the study should not be to accumulate a mass of additional facts on the physical aspects of housing, but to attempt to answer such questions as the following:

a. What do we already know about the extent of substandard housing in the South?

b. What do we know about the practical possibility of good housing for low income people? What has been the experience of private and governmental ~~[illegible]~~ agencies with respect to the financial soundness of their housing projects?

c. Who owns the slums? Are slums profitable to anybody? If so, to whom? Are slums being subsidised indirectly by the public?

d. What are the essentials of good planning for better housing? In rural areas? In small towns? In cities? What should be the relation of housing projects to the total community?

e. What are the prospects for sound financing of better homes, both individual dwellings and apartment projects, on a basis which will make it possible to build better housing far down into the lower income groups?

4. SAMPLE SURVEYS

There is already in existence a large amount of factual material about housing, and there is no need to engage in a large-scale survey of the physical aspects of the housing problem. However, it will be necessary to do a certain amount of new surveying in order to give the study a base of up-to-date, authoritative information, and to get new light on the questions which were raised in the preceding section. It is suggested, therefore, that spot surveys of housing be made in four states, say North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Mississippi, covering at least one rural community and one city, and preferably adding one town or small city, in each of the states.

5. THE WRITE-UP

One of the most important aspects of the whole project would be the way in which the results are written up and presented to the public. A clever writer who has a sincere interest in social progress should be employed to dramatize the problem of housing and the possibility of building good housing within the reach of millions of citizens who do not now enjoy it.

The findings and recommendations should be publicised through an attractive small book, illustrated with photographs and pictographs. They should also be popularized through the press, the radio, pamphlets, and conferences, with the object of stimulating a great deal of public interest and citizen pressure for the realization of better housing in the South.

6. TIME SCHEDULE

It ought to be possible to complete the project in 12 months, allowing 7 or 8 months for the survey work and 4 or 5 months for the processing and lining up

writing

of materials. Some of the field workers would not be needed during the latter part of the study, and it would not be absolutely nedessary to have the write-up man during the first part of the study.

In view of the prospect that the post-war period may be upon us earlier than had been anticipated, it is important that this project be started at the earliest possible instant. If various interested groups can coordinate their efforts quickly, it may be that they can organize a Southern Housing Commission and find financial support for it within the next two or three months, so that the actual work could begin in October or November, 1944.

7. COST OF THE STUDY

The following is a crude and tentative budget based on the assumption that the study would be completed in one year and that the staff would be of the approximate size which was suggested above.

Executive Director, one year	$ 6,000
8 field workers, at average of $2,500 per year, for nine months	15,000
2 research assistants, at $2,500, for one year	5,000
3 stenographers, at $1,600, for one year	4,800
Write-up man, five months at $500 a month	2,500
Travel	2,000
Miscellaneous field expenses	500
Supplies and materials	500
Rent	800
Publishing	1,000
Contingency fund	1,900
	$ 40,000

It might be that the salary allotted for the Executive Director could be saved in whole or in part if the services of some qualified person of independent means could be obtained. Several other items might possibly be scaled down, but my judgment is that it will require from $40,000 to $50,000 to see this project through in an effective way.

If a group of cooperating agencies can get together and agree upon the kind of project which should be promoted, there should be little difficulty in getting the project financed through one or more of the foundations, such as the General Education Board or the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

8. SPONSORING AGENCIES

In view of the fact that the project needs to be based upon sound survey and research by qualified persons, the sponsorship should come in part from the universities of the South which have shown the greatest interest in social science research. Among these would be the University of North Carolina, Fisk University, the University of Georgia, the University of Florida, the University of Virginia, Emory University, Atlanta University, Vanderbilt, the University of Alabama, Louisiana State University, and the University of Texas. Whether all these and perhaps others should be included as sponsors is an open question. From a practical standpoint, the burden of planning the research would probably fall upon a few research centers such as those at the University of North Carolina and Fisk.

The Southern Regional Council, with its broad interest in social, economic, and racial problems of the South, might logically serve as the overall sponsoring and coordinating agency for the project. The Council has headquarters in Atlanta, and its members and directors include many of the most liberal and progressive people in the South. A project such as this housing study is exactly the sort of constructive work which the Council wishes to promote. When the Council moves to larger quarters, as it plans to do within the next two months, it could probably provide office space and various cooperative services for the Southern Housing Commission.

August 15, 1944

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

I am glad that you think that we should not have a special commission for the housing study but should let the Council sponsor it directly. I suppose I was being too modest about the part which the Council should play in the housing set-up. Various organizations or interests can be represented in some kind of advisory committee.

We have about completed negotiations for moving the Council quarters to the Wesley Memorial Building. We certainly hate to move from the Standard Building, but this seems to be the only thing to do if we are going to expand any. The Wesley Memorial location is not so convenient, and service will not compare to what we get here in a commercial office building, but we can have more room for less rent — $1200 a year as against $1600 a year. We will have to do most of the fixing up, but the saving in rent for the first year will practically take care of this.

The family moving job will also come off some time soon. The house which we bought on East Wesley Road is being vacated today, so we hope to get moved some time before the first of September.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

August 12, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

We had a good conference with Dr. Alexander on the housing.

Mr. Palmer is coming up here in September and we will have a great time, after which we can agree on a plan.

The only point that I want to maintain now is that we must not have a commission since we want the Council to have maximum credit as a southwide organization.

As it points up the Council would direct the study, the Institute here would probably have to direct the research, but the chanelling and utilization of it will all go to the Council. This has to do, of course, with getting the funds and with previous general commitments that the Council itself would not go into the field of research but would stay in the field of action.

Cordially yours,

HWO

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C

September 14, 1944

Dr. W. W. Alexander
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Alexander:

Dorothy: see attached letter. Know they are, HWO

The enclosed letter seems to me to be the best way quickly to ask if you can arrange to see Vice-President Wallace as soon as possible. The program was worked out by Charles Johnson, Guy Johnson, and Ira Reid in Atlanta. The assumption is that we will meet in Lester Rumbel's church and that we will have two real first class meetings of a high order.

I am still of the opinion that the Southern Regional Council task is the most important task that I know of and if Vice-President Wallace really means to help here is a chance where it will fit in admirably. Let me know whether you would want me to write a letter to him, as president of the Council, and send it through you. My own feeling is that the surest and most appropriate way would be for you to simply go get him to do the job.

The plan of the program provides that in between the 6th and the 7th we would have two full meetings of the members of the board and would, therefore, get a great deal of business attended to within the range of two evenings and one day. I am sending a copy of this letter to the Cosmos and to Chapel Hill so as to catch you as soon as possible.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C
Encl. 1

P.S. We had thought of asking Bishop O'Hara if he would be on the stage and lead the prayer for one time and perhaps somebody from the Louisville Theological Seminary or Lester Rumbel for the second evening.

The reasons for holding the meeting in December are that Dr. Clement doesn't feel that Atlanta University could get ready for it until December and it would be far enough away from the election.

September 14, 1944

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Lilienthal:

A few days ago I asked Mr. Gant if he would approach you with reference to a very important invitation which we were going to extend to you. I am now writing about this and should be glad if would like to make an occasion to talk it over with you at such later date as you might wish.

The invitation is to address a public evening meeting of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta on the evening of December 6. The subject which we should like for you to discuss would be some phase, in your own phrasing and arrangement, of what you consider a balanced culture and economy in the South.

On the next evening we are inviting Vice-President Wallace, to be introduced by Governor Arnold, and we are asking him if he will discuss the America of tomorrow and the regions, or, if he prefers, the South.

Since it is the purpose of the Council to work surely but perhaps slowly toward a better balanced culture as between the races, as well as a better balanced economy, it has seemed wise, especially to the Negro leaders, that we have addresses on the total South with no special mention of the Negro in your address and in that of the Vice-President. For the first evening, I should crave the opportunity to introduce you following a sort of keynote preliminary short talk somewhat like I made at the Gatlinburg Conference. Gant could tell you about that. We would then have a short address by Carter Wesley of Texas, who is a rather brilliant Negro editor but one with his feet on the ground.

On the evening on which Vice-President Wallace speaks, we would have Dr. Gordon Hancock speak on the regional goals and ideals of the Council from the viewpoint of race relations.

For a presiding officer we are proposing that President Goodrich C. White of Emory University would preside over the second session and Virginius Dabney would preside over the one in which you speak.

We have changed the date of this meeting until after the election so that there will be no possible implications of politics and it seems to us to be one of the most important meetings in potentiality that any of us have attempted to arrange in the South in a long time. It is forward-looking, creative, constructive, optimistic, seeking to focus the attention of the people on positive things, rather than on mere discussions and emotions. Please don't fail us in this and, if this date is not exactly right, please let us know what other dates might be available. We are having Dr. W. W. Alexander, and perhaps one or two others, call on Vice-President Wallace with the same urgent invitation and also with the understanding that we must find the correct dates mutually acceptable.

With appreciation,

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C

file

October 23, 1944

Doctor Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Doctor Odum:

I finished yesterday your book "Race and Rumors of Race". I read it with great interest. It represents a tremendous amount of investigation and far-flung conferences with other distinguished persons interested in the subject. As usual you have approached the subject profoundly, with integrity and courage and with intense sympathetic interest.

Through the years as a business man, and not as an educator or a publicist, I have given considerable thought to the matter, and in my narrow circle I have written somewhat on the subject, and have made some talks before local gatherings.

As I pointed out to Doctor Guy B. Johnson in exchange of letters with him on this subject, the attitude of southern politicians is rarely constructive. Naturally they veer to the popular clamor and invoke popular approval. This is one of the weaknesses, if not penalties, of what you call a democracy.

There has been a disposition in the South to let the hoodlum of the city and the pecker-wood of the rural district solve the problem rather than men of affairs and the leaders who are called by the people to solve other important problems. Until such men of affairs can achieve a position of more consequence politically they are not going to be able to bring to bear their influence on the politicians. Perhaps these men of affairs are responsible for the lack of influence which they possess with the politicians. I think if they had been more forthright, courageous and interested in presenting their views they would have been measurably more effective. This has been my experience.

When you come to Mississippi again, I hope that I may have an opportunity of meeting you personally.

With assurances of my high esteem, I am

Very sincerely

ALEXANDER FITZ HUGH

November 17, 1944

Dr. Howard Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

On checking over our standing committees I found that we had neglected to appoint a Committee on Public Relations. Using the authority which you gave me some time ago I have asked the following to serve on the committee: Virginius Dabney, Richmond, Chairman; C. A. Scott, Atlanta; John Griffin, Atlanta; Mrs. Henry Havens, Jacksonville; William Y. Bell, Jr., Atlanta. I hope that this is satisfactory and I hope too, that all the members accept appointment.

I wonder whether you have made any progress in sounding out Mr. Taylor and Mr. Herbert. I am seeing Mr. August Gill in Washington next week about the possibility of coming with us to do publicity and editorial work. He apparently has a fine record in this kind of work and Gordon Blackwell thinks highly of him as a person. If we don't get some first rate staff members soon and enough money to pay them I am going to be reaching the point where I will be applying for a job at Chapel Hill !

We are harassed and worried but not too downhearted. The resignation of Miss Fisher was not a pleasant affair and it will be some time before we hear the last of it. There are grumblings among some of our Negro members--in Virginia, for instance--who have the idea that you "grabbed" control of the Council and put me in as Director in order to see that the Council was "safe" and, of course, Mrs. Ames continues to talk in a way which could not exactly be described as helpful. And so anything might happen.

I am enclosing a copy of the memorandum which went out to the first group of Fellows who were selected by the Committee on Fellows. I believe there are thirty-two of them. This leaves sixty-eight to be chosen.

I hope you can be here through every minute of the committee meetings on December 5, and the annual meeting. The tentative schedule is as follows: Public Relations Committee, 10:00 A.M.; Executive Committee, 2:00 P.M.; Finance Committee, 4:00 P.M.; Publications, 4:30 P.M.; Fellows, 5:00 P.M. We are making reservations for you at the Piedmont Hotel beginning December 5.

Cordially yours,

GBJ:j

November 28, 1944

Dr. Howard Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

I have just returned to the office after a trip to Richmond, Washington, and Chattanooga. Your letter of November 17 came while I was away.

I hope that the Rev. Herbert of Wilmington is worth giving a try in our campaign for finances or in some other part of our work. As for Taylor, Dr. Reid has recently talked to him about the possibility of coming with the Council. I had told Dr. Reid that we were going to see Taylor and so he assumed that we had already said something to Taylor.

While I was in Washington I had a chance to see Gus Gill, the man whom Gordon Blackwell recommends highly for publicity and editorial work. He impressed me as being a very likeable, well balanced, and highly skilled person. I believe he is definitely interested in the Council but he has a prior obligation to work with the War Shipping Administration when his present OCD work is discontinued. He will not know definitely for two or three weeks whether WSA will insist on his transferring to them. He seemed to be hopeful that they would not insist, inwhich case he would definitely entertain an offer from the Council.

I like your suggestion of asking Universities, churches, and other organizations to lend us personnel for short periods on leave with pay. I shall certainly put this on the agenda. Why don't you go ahead and try the idea out on several organizations?

I was glad to have the little talk with you on the telephone from Wilmington the other day. The Wilkins letter does not worry me so much as it makes me rather heartsick to think of all the petty personal gossip and misunderstanding in the background. The whole thing would be amusing if it were not for the fact that it can do real damage to the Council.

Cordially yours,

GBJ:j

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

November 17, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Dear Guy:

I am having a conference with our Wilmington prospect this coming Tuesday. I wrote him a little of what we had in mind and he seems enthusiastic.

I am less sure about Dean Taylor and think that perhaps I'll put off the conference with him until after our December meeting if that is satisfactory with you. There are several complications here.

In the meantime, what would you think of putting in as a detail in your agenda our intention to ask for specific collaboration on the part of certain churches, universities, and business organizations.

For instance, I should like to ask the Methodist Bishop in charge to assign this particular minister to a period of work with you there at the Council.

I should like to ask the Louisville Seminary to make a similar assignment.

I should like to ask North Carolina and Duke to give leave of absence for a quarter on pay for similar cooperation.

I should like to ask the United States Chamber of Commerce or certain southern groups to do the same thing.

You can see the double purpose here of increasing your force and budget but more important to have our major institutions acknowledge the first-class functional nature of the Council.

Let me know how you feel about this.

More later.

Cordially yours,

HWO.

H. W. O.

HWO-b

Odum

December 5, 1944

Dr. Howard W. Odum, President
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Odum:

My experience as Associate Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council since its inception has convinced me that the work of building the organization necessitates more in time and energy than is possible through the part time services I am able to give. As I review the work of the past year I am convinced that the ends of the organization might be more truly and efficiently served with a full-time associate. Such full-time services I am not able to give.

I am compelled, therefore, to submit to the Board of Directors, my resignation as Associate Executive Director, effective as of December 31, 1944. I have expressed to Dr. Guy B. Johnson my willingness to render in the future such cooperation as might be mutually agreeable.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha
cc: Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

December 15, 1944

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Your letter of December 11 came while I was in Louisville. It is a fine letter and it helps my soul. I shall try to follow your advice and "take it easy".

I think you are exactly right about Reid. I gave him the letter and I think he is in agreement with your proposal.

I hope you will prepare the letter for the Board members wight away so that we can be sure to get it out just after Christmas or early in January.

Yes, I think we had a splendid meeting. Two good reasons for its success were the talk which you made at the beginning and your fine job of presiding.

I am curious to know whether you were asked to take part in a meeting of the "Committee of Editors and Writers of the South" which is scheduled for December 21 in Atlanta. Mark Ethridge signed the letter of invitation. I say him in Louisville Tuesday. He says it is a temporary committee for the sole purpose of getting editors and writers to make a strong fight for the abolition of the poll tax, that it has no connection with any other organization, and that Barry Bingham has put up the money to pay the committees expenses. The list of sponsors includes several people who are neither editors nor writers and a liberal sprinkling of Southern Conference for Human Welfare people such as Dombrowski and Foreman, but up to the present Reid and I have not been approached in any way. I was completely in the dark until a friend sent us a letter which had come to him, and asked us what we knew about it. And so I was just wondering whether you had heard anything at all about it. It is all rather amusing in a way. Ethridge, no doubt, thinks that we have been invited, but it is apparent to us that those who made up the list did a good job of neglecting. I think it is interesting that the Executive Assistant of the committee was lately Public Relations Director for SRC !

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON

GBJ:J

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

December 11, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I am enclosing a letter to Ira Reid. If you approve of this letter, will you hand it to him? If not, will you write me back?

I had a good talk with Dr. Alexander after I had talked to you. That is, I talked to him about ten o'clock the night before I left. He told me that you talked rather frankly to him. I believe, therefore, that each of us understands the situation pretty well.

It seems to me that it is very important for Reid to stay with you until June for several reasons. In the first place, he is very much interested in the segregation study and he will be good in helping with that and perhaps, as you and I agreed, to start immediately into the division on definitions and range. This is his strong forte and we particularly need to get started right now.

Another reason why I think it would be well for him to stay is that we don't have a very definite idea of what further orientations we will make until after our meeting on January 31. It may be that we shall be able to come shortly to a very clear cut delineation of our field. If we should agree and decide to go on in a big way, that would be one thing. If, on the other hand, the Council should have to concentrate on a relatively small membership and on its hundred fellows and take a really advanced position, that would be another thing. I thought I would write a letter around to our Board members when we remind them of the meeting, if you approve of the letter, and point up the nature of our tasks at this time.

Still another reason for keeping Dr. Reid is that there is no possibility of getting a satisfactory full time man before June as I see it. This would mean we wouldn't have a Negro executive secretary and that would be bad.

And finally, I have the feeling that if he should resign the same people around town, Miss Fisher and others, would be starting the same rumors that we were too conservative for him, although, as you know, you and I and Dr. Alexander and the others voted right with Reid against the proposition suggested by Miss Wilkins and others.

Right now we know we have done a good job so far and that we have one or two major tasks to complete and that we are going to complete them.

Your situation there (and, of course it is mine too and all of us) is very much like mine has been here on two or three occasions. When there has been evidence that the thing couldn't be done, we have had to specialize on something of great value and then it has turned out each time that this was the best thing to do anyway.

I reiterate again that this is the most important problem in the South and in America and that the thing you are doing is the most important single thing that I know of.

And, we had one of the best and most "American" meetings that has ever been held in this country.

Now to give you a smile I will give you a little advice from Pop: take it easy like I do.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

December 27, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

You no doubt have a copy of Bridges' letter. I enclose an extra one and also my letter to him.

I think all of this is to the good and is going to help us work out our situation so that whatever else happens we are going to come to a clean cut piece of work.

I personally think we ought to publish his letter. The suggestion that Reid was talking about, namely to keep all these communications and publish them later, seems increasingly important.

More later. Happy New Year.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C
Encl. 2

P.S. Please revise my letters to the directors and nominating committee to be adapted any way that you think best.

December 27, 1944

Mr. Francis R. Bridges, Jr.
Florida Parole Commission
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Bridges:

Thank you very much for your letter. You have stated your position so well and so clearly that there doesn't seem to be any grounds for debating your assumptions. I enclose copy of a little letter I wrote Virginius Dabney in reply to which he has written another fine and generous statement.

The only thing I would suggest might be that it would be worth your while to attend the January 31 meeting where I think we must decide to define the situation somehow in terms of the things we agree upon and work within this field, leaving the ultimates for the professors and philosophers. I am not sure we can do this but it may be worth trying out.

I should think also it might be helpful if your letter could be published in The New Frontier since it states very clearly your position and what is manifestly the position of the South. I am sending a copy of this letter to Guy Johnson and will be glad if you would write him commission to publish your letter.

If you would prefer, I should be glad to write you a cordial letter. I agree with you that if the Council is forced to "issue statements with reference to principles and philosophy" that you would not and should not go along with that minority group. Even so, I think that we are all doing well to face these issues and work them out in as big spirit as is humanely possible.

My mother is still living and if she were competent to put in written language her philosophy it would coincide exactly with that of your mother. I am not sure that she would be quite as generous, although within the framework of her experience and culture she has been the best and wisest woman I have ever known. I mention this

to indicate how difficult our problem is. Every time I realize that my mother is "wrong" strangely enough I feel a higher esteem for her, knowing the power of religion, culture, and conditioning.

Some things, however, are bigger than what people think of us or what we think we ought to do and some things are bigger than blood kin and personal loyalties--perhaps.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C
cc to Guy B. Johnson

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O
P
Y

FLORIDA PAROLE COMMISSION
TALLAHASSEE

December 21, 1944

Dr. Howard W. Odom, President
Southern Regional Council
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odom:

It is with considerable regret that I write this letter.

I had hoped that the Southern Regional Council was the organization which would attract southern white men and women who would be interested in a proper handling of the racial question. However, if I am able to judge by trends, the Council will not meet the problem and, therefore, will not attract into its membership those individuals whose support must be gained if the situation is adequately faced.

Unless and until the minority group recognizes that the active support of influential white men and women must be gained, then their problems will be a continuing source of trouble to both races. They must realize that they have a responsibility, probably more than the white men and women.

The members of the minority race and those people of the majority race who are interesting themselves in the racial question must be fair in their appraisal of situations. They must be able to view the entire picture.

Please accept my resignation from Council membership, and I shall appreciate your issuing instructions that my name be stricken from all material which comes from the central office.

It has been a great pleasure for me to know you personally, and I can assure you that I will continue my efforts as an individual and as a constitutional officer of the State of Florida to carry out what I think is the right thing in connection with interracial matters.

I think my attitude is correctly reflected in a human relations code written by my late mother just before her recent death. That code is as follows:

> "I believe in the separateness of races; in the integrity of races. By integrity I mean the state of being entire; unimpaired; complete; sound. I believe in the separateness, the integrity, of each and every race, the black, the brown, the yellow, the red, the white.
>
> "I believe in justice, and equal opportunity for all the children of men, without thought

of superiority, or inferiority. God made of one blood all nations upon earth, and it is presumptuous for any race to claim superiority for itself, or to ascribe inferiority to any other race.

"We have ruined the word segregation by our ignorance, our misinterpretations of it, our selfishness, so I use the word separateness.

"I believe in the separateness, the integrity of races."

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

(signed) Francis R. Bridges, Jr.

FRB/agw

C
O
P
Y

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

January 4, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I hope you are not being disturbed by the resignation of Matherly and Bridges. Others will come, I imagine, pretty rapidly unless we should get together on a new level of cooperative program, which I doubt. Alexander was here the other day. Neither of us is disturbed. I think this is a very wholesome process we are going through and that we might just as well face it.

I had thought of writing some such letter as the one enclosed to all members of the Board of Directors. If you think well of it, send it out about a week after you send the other one.

Happy New Year.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C
Encl. 1

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

December 28, 1944

To The Board of Directors:

In accordance with the vote of a brief meeting of the Board of Directors on December 6 I am writing to remind you that it was voted to hold our meeting of the Board of Directors on January 31, 1945. This meeting is called for ten-thirty at the (Will Dr. Johnson and Dr. Reid fix the place?). At that time there will be a number of important matters before the Board, including the election of officers, the receiving of reports, and the discussion of the details of the 1945 program.

I have appointed a Committee on Nominations and I feel sure they will be glad to have suggestions from you. The Committee on Nominations includes Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Mr. Leonard Haas, Mrs. Henry Havens, Mr. Gordon B. Hancock, Mr. Luther P. Jackson, Msgr. T. James McNamara, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Miss Josephine Wilkins, Dr. Horace M. Bond.

Hoping to see you at the meeting and with best wishes for a happy New Year and with the hope that the difficulties of our task may be seen in the light of all the more urgent devotion of the Council,

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

Will Dr. Johnson please re-write this call if necessary?

Odum

Chapel Hill, N.C.
Jan. —, 1945

~~Dear ——~~
~~To the members of~~
~~the Board of Directors~~

In accordance with the vote of a brief meeting of the Board of Directors which was held on December 6 just after the meeting of the Council members, I am notifying you that the Board ~~of Directors~~ will meet on January 31, 1945. This meeting is called for 10:30 A.M. in the at Atlanta University, Chestnut Street, Atlanta, Georgia.

This will be a very important meeting of the Board, and you are urgen~~tly~~d ~~requested~~ to be present if you possibly can. Among the matters of business to be considered are: election of officers and executives for the year, reports of the standing committees, discussion of details of the Council program for 1945, and the consideration of certain important questions of policy.

I have appointed a Committee on Nominations and I feel sure they will be glad to have suggestions from you. The Committee on Nominations includes Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Mr. Leonard Haas, Mrs. Henry Havens, Mr. Gordon B. Hancock, Mr. Luther P. Jackson, Msgr. T. James McNamara, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Miss Josephine Wilkins, Dr. Horace M. Bond. ~~I have asked Mrs. Henry Havens to serve as chairman of the Committee.~~

I hope to see you at the meeting. Let us all work hard to make the Council a strong force for progress.

Cordially yours

H. W. O.

P.S. - Please ~~[illegible]~~ notify Miss Clay whether you expect to attend the meeting or not.

Suggested Letter to Directors

Members of Bd. of D.

~~My dear~~

A few days ago I wrote reminding you of the meeting of the Board of Directors at Atlanta on January 31.

This letter is in the way of urging you to attend if it is at all possible. In addition to the routine matters, ~~which I mentioned~~, it is very important that we discuss at length some of the fundamental issues at stake. Mr. Francis R. Bridges and Dean Walter Matherly have sent in their resignations and they have stated their positions, clearly, frankly and fairly. It is likely that there will be other resignations and it seems to me important for us to have a good conference together with some such democratic Americanism exemplified as we had in our last meeting.

The South is as it is and it is the only South we have. The nation is as it is and it is the only America that we have. Crises are emerging and emergencies are multiplying. I have been one of those who insisted that we should not have conferences and travel in these days except when necessary. This meeting, however, seems to be worthy of all that we could put in it. We must ~~Unless we can~~ get together in some sort of strategy worthy of our opportunity. ~~I should be quite in sympathy with the number of other distinguished and able people who would inevitably be inclined to resign from our directors.~~

Let us see what is the best we can do on the thirty-first.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

Chapel Hill, N.C.
June 1, 1945

P.S. Please write your acceptance or regrets to ~~Dr. Guy B. Johnson~~ Mrs Emily H. Clay.

There is a strong feeling that train will be late and that some of you will not arrive until about noon. However, it seems best to begin promptly at 10:30 if this is an question, so that routine committee reports can be disposed of before noon. The more important matters will come in the afternoon.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill

January 4, 1945

C

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
O 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Johnson:

P

I have been very much impressed with the outline which you and Dr. Ira Reid have worked out for the continuation of the study of equal opportunities with reference to whites and Negroes in the South. As you know, I consider this a very strategic approach not only to the particular problem of segregation but to other problems with which the Council is so much concerned. It seems to me that you have here an extraordinary opportunity to make a substantial contribution which, in itself, might almost justify the total expenses of the Council.

Y

It seems to me also that the suggestion for financing this as a project is an admirable one. If, as seems likely, we can organize our forces so as to have southern funds for the general program and then secure special funds for such projects as this, you will have a fine balanced basis upon which to work. We have found this method very satisfactory in our many years of Institute work, both in the sense that we have become self-sufficient for our basic program and in that we can offer to foundations and others special opportunity for work in which they are interested.

I have the feeling that the Carnegie Corporation might find in this project something quite appropriate to its program and especially something that will realize on the great study which Myrdal made for them. If there is any way in which I can help, I hope you will call on me.

Cordially yours,

/signed/
HOWARD W. ODUM

Odum

January 9, 1945

Dr. Howard Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

I am sorry that I couldn't get a Pullman reservation and that I didn't feel like sitting up overnight, and so had to postpone my visit to Chapel Hill.

Your telegram was not delivered to me. This makes two important messages we have failed to get recently. Please send me a copy of the telegram and the time of filing so that I can raise a little hell with Western Union here. They do not even try to check them unless they have this dope.

Maybe there was nothing awfully urgent about my visit anyway. I guess there were two main things I wanted to talk about, finances and the Council's strategy delimma. We have just received the Rosenwald Fund's first quarterly payment on the 1945 appropriation. This helps a lot, but I still hope that we can get them to send us the fourth quarterly appropriation for 1944. We are about to get a number of things going and our commitments will run us into the red before long if we don't find more money.

We've got to dispose of the segregation delimma as soon as possible or it will keep on blocking the future of the Council. I think that we either have to do what Wesley proposed, stating the resolution in much more palatable language, of course, or do what Mays proposed and take the consequences whatever they are. The consequences of the first course are that we lose some of our Negro members and gain some white support. The consequences of the second course are that we lose a great many, perhaps the majority, of our white members and find ourselves becoming more and more an agitation or a propaganda agency. Personally, I'm ready to take the first course. I think that it was implied in the Durham statement and at the other pre-Council conferences, and that it is probably a necessary strategic step if the Council wants to get anywhere. If you don't mind my "fussing" at you a little, let me put you a question. You have wanted to bring in and hold the support of men like Bridges, Matherly, and Staples, who are darned conservative from our point of view, but you say that if the Wesley resolution had been passed you would feel that you might as well resign. How can you do both of these? After all, the Council is not just a "race relations" organization, and it seems to me that if it is necessary to advance our right wing on this particular issue of segregation in order to dispose of it and clear the decks then we ought to do it as soon as possible.

The first letter to the Board members has been sent out as well as the letter to the Nominating Committee. I hope it was all right to show Mrs. Havens as Chairman of the Nominating Committee. She said you asked her to be Chairman and I thought it wise to list her that way so that any committee members wishing to make suggestions could send them to her.

I was about to say I would try to get up to Chapel Hill next weekend, but I just learned of a meeting which I am supposed to attend on next Saturday afternoon.

Sincerely,

GBG

P.S . We are calling the State Interracial Committee heads for a little conference here on February 1. Could you stay over for it? I have also asked Mrs. Tilly to bring together the leading women who worked in the Association for the Prevention of Lynching. I think that we might reorganize them on the basis of preventive work with the police, etc.

GBG:J.

Encls:

Letter to the Board members
Letter to the Nominating Committee

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

January 13, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I have a copy of Staples letter to you.

What do you think of putting in my second letter this sort of instructions?

> Due to the lateness of trains and the schedules accommodating some of our members, it has seemed best to have the morning session of the Directors begin at eleven and make it entirely informal and primarily discussion, either in person to person or in the group as a whole, and to have the two main formal meetings in the afternoon and evening.
>
> We shall hope, therefore to be seeing you as near eleven as you can make it at Atlanta University (name the place) and we hope that you will be prepared to remain through a long evening session.

I have sent Charles Johnson quite a series of notations and comments and I am going to talk to him a number of times over the telephone this week-end.

With reference to your suggestions about the alternative plans, I am ready to go along with the group at any time they will find a young man willing to take over the presidency of the group who will give it power and imagination and who will actually carry with him southern followship. We tried, as you know, for two days to get Virginius Dabney to consider it but we made no impression whatever. There is no evidence anywhere that I can find that any southerner of the first order will follow if we pass those weakening resolutions. As I see it, there is no reason whatever for going on record with reference to segregation, except in such ways as we have prepared mature statements about the work of the Council and how it works within what sort of framework.

It seems foolish to me to talk about getting the South back of the movement when there is no indication anywhere of leadership or of business and professional people following. The burden of the proof, therefore, is to find such a person or

persons and whenever you do, I will be right there with you.

One reason we ought to have a later meeting in the morning is to give us more time to talk and to give you time to have everything ready for the meeting. Of course, my own train might be late too, but with the difference in time the chances are that I can be there as soon as you are ready to talk.

Before I come down or in our talk I will let you see exactly what I see in the present situation and see whether my recommendations would suit you and Reid. I am very positive that it is not the business of the Board of Directors to have anything directly to do with the administration or even raising money, except as they approve the policy, give their enthusiastic support and push.

There are three big things that we can do in a small way and this seems the only alternative unless you all can find your leaders for the popular southern front. (Where are your Ralph McGills, your Mark Ethridge, your Jonathan Daniels, your John Temple Graves, your Virginius Dabney--that brilliant coterie of liberals that we counted on? Get them and we will go with you.)

First, we can have in existence a first-class bona fide all southern group taking its stand as realists and liberals, unafraid and saving the South of what would be practically a disgrace of having no forward-looking organization in the field. It doesn't matter whether we do much or not. The first essential is to have such an organization and unified. (With such an organization the resignation of Bridges, Matherly and others is natural, logical, commendable, desirable.)

The second thing is quietly to build up our organization of youth, through not just one hundred but perhaps two hundred fellows, gradually selected by recruiting and ready for a quiet and firm organization after the war. I know there are many returning service men and women who would like to belong to such a group and would be just as eager as the militant ones are on the other side.

We can then make an inventory of the cost of segregation utilizing very largely our fellows and a moderate staff for which the money is available.

This is the way it looks to me now in so far as this is the other alternative to the popular southern movement. I will leave no stone unturned to try to get someone to be president that the group wants. I will not quit, however, because the going is hard. In case we decide on the lesser specialized program, I still think it would be possible to find someone who would be willing to be president of that organization under those premises. As soon as we can we will shout "to glory Lord" and put him in charge. Until then, it can't be said of us that we quit because the thing isn't functioning.

Certainly I know that we can't swing the original organization which I know was needed and would have been good, is now needed and would be good. I feel no humiliation, however, in knowing that we can't do that. It is just a fact of realism.

Cordially yours,

HWOc

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C
Dictated by Dr. Odum but signed in his absence.

Odum

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
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CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Chapel Hill, N. C.
January 15, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

The more I think about it the more I think that we should have the morning session begin about eleven o'clock, so that most of our regular people can arrive, and devote the entire morning to the receiving of the regular reports. It may not be necessary for you to send out the additional letter but, if you think well of it, it would serve to remind them of the importance of the meeting.

I have talked over the phone with Charles Johnson and have written him several memoranda and have brought him up to date. I hope he will come in early on the morning of the thirty-first. I would like to have about two hours with him and have arranged to meet him out at the University as early as he can get there.

You remember back here at the University of North Carolina when we started the Department of Sociology we were so unpopular, had no students, and were generally rated to be canceled off. We had to take our old doctrine of letting emergencies make us do something better than we would have without the emergency, that is, we established Social Forces and the Institute for Research in Social Science because we had the time and the University was not quite ready or willing for us to do the other thing. I can't see much an optimistic turn in the Council, but we may yet do our best work because of emergencies.

You speak of the organization being just a propaganda agency. That will be up to you. The three premises that I had set up, namely the building of a youth constituency ready for growth and real work; the doing of a quiet, unpublicized, research on segregation; and most of all maintaining stubbornly the existence of a first class bona fide southern council--all of these are exactly the opposite of propaganda. If we want to let the girls and boys who are propagandists run the institution, then it will be a propaganda institution. Otherwise, it couldn't be on these premises.

Anyway we are not going to have a quarreling institution among

ourselves if we can help it.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C

From: The Federal Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

FOR RELEASE Monday,
January 22, 1945

HOWARD W. ODUM WINS EDWARD L. BERNAYS AWARD
FOR OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENT IN NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONS

Announcement of the Edward L. Bernays Award for Outstanding Achievement in Negro-White Relations to Dr. Howard Washington Odum of the University of North Carolina was made today by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

The award, a $1,000 United States Savings Bond, Series E, and an engrossed scroll was donated by Edward L. Bernays, of New York, Counsel on Public Relations, through the Department of Race Relations of the Council, George E. Haynes, Executive Secretary. ~~Presentation will be made in public ceremonies on February 12 at the Broadway Tabernacle, 56th Street and Broadway, New York City.~~

Five nationally known race relations experts were judges in selecting Dr. Odum: Dean William H. Hastie, Howard University School of Law, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, President, State Teachers College, Cheney, Penna.; Virginius Dabney, Editor, Richmond TIMES-DISPATCH; Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, author, Arlington, Vt., and Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Professor Emeritus, Columbia University.

Dr. Odum was chosen from among 55 candidates because of his accomplishments in improving Negro-White relations in the South, and for outstanding public services as an author, professor in

southern universities, and leader in organized movements.

His books and articles date back to 1909 and include not only research into the social and economic conditions surrounding Negroes in this country and their relations to whites, but also studies in Negro literary and musical fields. His latest book, "Race and Rumors of Race, a Challenge to American Crisis", published in 1943, fosters better understanding of the causes of racial tensions within the United States.

Dr. Odum was born in Bethlehem, Walton Co., Georgia, in 1884; is a graduate of Emory College, Atlanta, Ga., and received PH.D. degrees from Clark in 1906 and Columbia University in 1910, and L.L.D. degrees from Emory and Harvard Universities. He has held professorships at Emory and the University of Georgia; and since 1920 has been Kenan Professor for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina. He has been chairman of the North Carolina Inter-racial Commission and also the Southern Interracial Commission, and at present is President of the Southern Regional Council, a recent outgrowth of the Commission. Known throughout the country for his many works in social research, Dr. Odum is a member of several literary and sociological societies.

Quoting from a statement of the judges Dr. Haynes said:-

"The judges were greatly impressed by both the number and variety of worthy candidates presented by sponsors from many parts of the country. The examination of the records revealed a heartening kind of courageous pioneering along a wide and difficult social frontier. The initiative of Negro citizens is pronounced and manifold. The majority of these pioneers, however, are white citizens who, without apology or fear of personal status, are

determined to do what they can to right the most pronounced wrong now weakening our American civilization. It is pioneering that clearly denies the pessimism of those who would despair of our democracy. And notably in the South there is emerging a liberal white womanhood, uttering a ringing protest against the stark evils of sheer race prejudice and supporting the protest by effective organization.

"The judges feel from their scrutiny of the records of these candidates that our democracy will progressively find its true spokesmen, its practical workers and its convincing leaders. All these are coming forward in art, in literature, in education, in religion, in government and in all walks of labor and industry.

"So much extraordinary accomplishment has been presented to the judges by outstanding candidates from both racial groups that it has not seemed possible or advisable for them to attempt without prejudice the naming of those who are distinctly worthy of honorable mention.

"In awarding this signal honor to Howard Odum, the judges recognize in him highly distinguished service in that part of the nation where the problems of race and of a functioning democracy are most complex, and where the social imagination, moral and intellectual integrity, the efficient and self-sacrificing effort which he has exhibited, constitute for our democratic hopes a sure foundation."

The announcement of the Award last August brought to the Department of Race Relations a quantity and variety of evidence from 55 candidates, 17 Negro and 38 White, 45 men and 10 women from sixteen states and the District of Columbia.

Mr. Bernays, donor of the award, is a pioneer in public relations and author of PROPAGANDA, CRYSTALLIZING PUBLIC OPINION, SPEAK UP FOR DEMOCRACY, and the forthcoming YOUR PLACE AT THE PEACE TABLE. He has given a number of awards to further democracy in this country.

# # #

Odum

January 26, 1945

Dr. Howard Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

I sent your letter on to Mrs. Havens at her Atlanta address. You might be interested in making a note of it. It is Russian War Relief, 236 Peachtree, Atlanta, Georgia.

We have had a request from Mr. Dumont Clarke, Director of Religious Department, Farmers Federation, Asheville, N. C., for some material and some statements concerning trends and progress in race relations during the past year. He wants something he can use as a basis for an article in the Asheville Citizen just before Race Relations Sunday, which I believe is February 11. We are sending him several things. Knowing that you always have time to do one more thing, I am wondering whether you could write a paragraph giving your views of 1944. Mr. Clarke particularly mentioned you and hoped that we had some statement of yours that we could send him. Of course, we are sending him the Frontier containing your presidential address.

It was good to see you last weekend. I feel much better about the outlook.

I hope your car is back in running shape. I was really distressed about what happened to it on that muddy road.

Cordially yours,

GBJ:J

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

February 8, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
The Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

This is a little note to give you a copy of Mark Ethridge's letter and my reply to him.

Let's be sure now not to let this affect our enthusiasm, except to make us more determined to go ahead. At best we had only hoped he would accept. We were all afraid he would not. On the other hand, we have offered it to him and we have been frank and honest in offering members of the Council every possible help to find someone who might catch the imagination of the South. They all at least know we tried and tried hard.

Now, we are ready to go forward. I am enclosing a little statement which, if you and Reid agree to, I wish you would mimeograph and send out to the Council and members. If your Executive Committee is meeting soon, I would have them pass on it.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C
Encls. 3

I suggest that Mrs. Havens make very clear that he was not elected.

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THE COURIER-JOURNAL
THE LOUISVILLE TIMES
Louisville 2, Ky.

February 5, 1945

Dr. Howard Odum
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

I got a letter this morning from Mrs. Havens to the effect that I had been elected president of the Southern Regional Council. I am chagrined about it because I wired you from Washington on the date of your meeting that I couldn't possibly accept.

When I woke up that morning, your telegram was under my door. Before I even had breakfast I sent you a wire saying that with Barry Bingham away, I couldn't possibly take on anything else. I sent it from the Willard hotel about 9 o'clock. It should have reached you in plenty of time. I am terribly sorry that apparently it didn't reach you or that it reached you too late.

I must renew, however, my refusal. I can't possibly consider it as much as I appreciate the confidence implied in it. I intend to go on doing a lot in the field, but it will have to be secondary to my job here.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Mark Ethridge

P.S. Since the other has been written, your letter has come in. Obviously, you didn't get the telegram at all. I appreciate your confidence and all you say, but I still must decline. After all, my primary job must be getting these newspapers out, but beyond that, making them much more effective. I can't do that unless I can give most of my time and thought to them. I have refused not only this invitation but every other that has come to me in the past two or three years, some of them to my very great personal advantage. I am not going to take on anything else that takes any part of my time until Barry gets back except those things to which I have already committed myself.

February 8, 1945

Mr. Mark Ethridge
THE COURIER-JOURNAL
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Ethridge:

Of course I understand your situation. It would be very unwise for you to undertake so important a task with the very genuine handicap which you mentioned.

Be sure to note, however, that you were not elected. The Council was very careful not to elect someone that would not accept. We tried in many ways to get you over the telephone. I did not receive the telegram. The Council was enthusiastic in voting to ask if you would consider it, authorizing the Executive Committee to elect you president if you would accept. In case you did not, the present officers automatically must carry on until others are elected.

I shall consider it my most important work and my greatest privilege to have the confidence of this group and to lead it in whatever directions we may best go. There are many organizations and many people working at the mechanical, commercial and industrial development of the region. There are many individual agencies, including the churches, working for their particular ends. I do not know of any other organization that has so much at stake in the real spiritual testing grounds of the South as this. It doesn't matter what anyone anywhere says about the group as long as we are doing the job. You can rest assured that we are going to do that as far as it is possible.

I hope to have a conference with you later. There is no hurry. Indeed, I am inclined to think that until we get a little further along we should not have very much to offer you.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Chapel Hill, N. C.
February 8, 1945

To Members of the Southern Regional Council:

The recent meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council was to me about the most inspiring exhibit of the American conference at its best that I have ever seen. It was, however, more than inspiring. It was a realistic fact-facing, sincere group of men and women coming to grips with matters of the highest spiritual, social and economic importance on levels of practical strategy and sound principles.

I would rather have the confidence of this group and have a part in its leadership than any other group in existence or any that I can now imagine.

There is no gainsaying the fact that a region and a nation that can produce the type of leadership and character that was demonstrated there offers tremendous hope for the continuity of American opportunity and democracy. There was rare frankness and understanding of each other at the same time that there was demonstrated the basic American principles of understanding, patience, and the pattern of working together on diverse issues.

There are other organizations and agencies, private and public, that are working admirably toward their specialized ends. I know of no other organization in which the over-all spiritual quality of the South is so involved in its search for the truth and its efforts to attain the most and the best that can be done.

For my part, I want to assure members of the Council that we are just ready to begin and, so long as there is a Council of this sort having the support and confidence of its present members and of a ~~an increasingly~~ small, but strong constituency, I have complete confidence that its programs, policies and strategy can be worked out. Of course, we are all making a lot of mistakes, but that is an almost inevitable measure of both the complexity of the situation and our limited time, finances, and personnel, ~~of leadership.~~

We are all sorry that Mark Ethridge could not accept the presidency since he is so heavily committed to so many tasks, especially in the absence of Barry Bingham. So, too, many of our other Southern leaders find themselves caught up in the midst of not only the quantitative load of extra

work, but in technical and routine commitments that do not permit travel and the devotion of extra time to new projects.

Faithfully yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

Dr Odum
Bernays
Award

February 10, 1945

Mr. H. C. Brearley
George Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville 4, Tennessee

Dear Brearley:

It was indeed grand news about Dr. Odum's getting the Bernays Award. I was with him the day after the announcement came out. As you might guess he was torn between pride and embarrassment. I hope he will be able to go to the presentation ceremonies next week but Mrs. Odum is very ill and he may not be able to make it.

Thanks for the reprint of "The Negro's New Belligerency". It is good stuff.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE FOR TEACHERS

NASHVILLE 4 · TENNESSEE

February 2, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I presume you have heard the good news that Dr. Odum has been given the Bernays Award. I am very happy that we went on with our application even when it seemed that the committee was stacked against us. I have had a note from Dr. Odum in which he stated that he was "agin" such awards but that he felt honored to be selected. An account of the decision is carried on the last page of the recent bulletin on race relations of the Federal Council of Churches.

Thank you for sending me the report of the first year's work. I shall read it with much interest.

I am enclosing a reprint of one of my articles which may be of some value to you. With all good wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

Brearley

H. C. Brearley

HCB:mfe
Enclosure

Odum

February 23, 1945

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

I wired you last night in reply to your special delivery note about talking to James T. Taylor. I hope you were able to get some indication of what he might like to do about working with the Council. I still feel that he can be very useful. There are many occasions on which he could be effective with white groups, and there is still need for someone to line up cooperative efforts with Negro organizations and denominations.

I think we could use Margaret Price either on the segregation study or on collection of material which we will need anyway. Goodness knows, there is plenty to do! Reid is working on the segregation study plans, and I think there will be something pretty definite to submit to the Executive Committee next Wednesday. We might start Miss Price March 15 or even March 1 if she would be ready to come that soon. For a while she might have to do a variety of things, such as classifying and filing clippings, writing brief pieces for Southern Frontier, answering requests for information, etc., but later she could settle down to some specific research job. Do you think $2000 would be a fair beginning salary?

I wish you could come to the Executive Committee meeting. Things always seem to move better when you are present. Charles Johnson has written that he will not be able to be present.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
710 STANDARD BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Chapel Hill, N. C.
February 20, 1945

Dear Guy:

This is, I suppose, a sort of formal note since you would not expect me to be present at the Executive Committee meeting. I am glad to have the notice, however, and hope you will have a good meeting.

Let me know if you decide to send out the letter that I proposed. If there are points in it which you think should not be included, go ahead and make minor changes; or if there are major changes, I will be glad to rewrite it.

Could you use one or two young people now starting out on the study of segregation? For instance, Margaret Price could begin making some studies either under a co-operative arrangement with us and our direction or come to Atlanta and start making some preliminary studies there. If you have enough money to put her on until summer, I would be glad to go ahead and see about hunting some supplementary funds. She would like to go to work this spring and I believe she would do a good job. The stipend would not need to be large but would fit in, I believe, with some standard of junior statistician from $1800 to $2400.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
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SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

710 STANDARD BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Chapel Hill, N. C.
February 20, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I am having Taylor over to talk to my large public health education class Thursday night. It is another section of 185. I thought I would talk to him about a full time position with the Council if you still want me to do so. I may telephone you, or if you prefer for me not to talk to him you might telephone me or wire me.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C

SPECIAL DELIVERY

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

February 24, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Taylor would like very much to join the staff of the Southern Regional Council if he could keep a sub-regional office here at Durham. He would be willing to spend a week at a time or two weeks in your office in Atlanta. As you know, his wife has a fine position as supervisor. He owns his home and would find it a very difficult and expensive proposition moving to Atlanta.

If you should decide to combine the study of segregation, housing, and policing in one large cooperative job as between the Council, our Institute, and Fisk, for instance, with other universities like Atlanta, L.S.U., etc. cooperating, would it be possible to make such an arrangement?

We are having a conference with Dr.* Will next week and if there is any outlook for further meetings here I'll let you know. In the meantime, if you are traveling anywhere near Chapel Hill, I wish you would drop by so that we could have a conference. I don't see any chance of my getting to Atlanta now for a little while.

I have a conference with Dr. Shepard this morning on another matter and I am going to discuss a leave of absence for Taylor with him.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C

* Dr well here to-day.

February 26, 1945

Mrs. Henry Havens
Russian War Relief, Inc.
236 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Havens:

Thank you very much for your letter. I feel that we did well to offer Mark Ethridge the presidency of our group. I think the discussion on the floor was a notable one and indicated to me our group of southern Negroes are increasingly minded to do a cooperative piece of work in the best way possible. My own feeling is that Mark Ethridge lost his best opportunity to be a big man and a real leader. I know he doesn't agree with this and I don't blame him. I know he is right in the ordinary assumption that he must do his job there first. Nevertheless, I note that he was in Atlanta just a few days ago making quite a speech on generalities. As I see it, it takes just as much time to go to Atlanta for that sort of thing as it does for the Council.

Of course, you know I am an extremist on this problem and I believe if we can get the South together here and stop our fears and fighting we would be the greatest people on earth. We are a long way from it now aren't we?

So, you might keep my comments sort of confidential, except, of course, as you and Guy will talk over this and other matters.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C

P.S. I wrote your son a few days ago and hope something will come of our project.

C
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Y

February 26, 1945

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

It was a great pleasure to have you present at our meeting on Saturday. I count you as a friend always. Please feel perfectly free to offer any suggestions as to the proposed School of Public Health Education and aid us in every way that you can.

Since talking to you I have talked to Dean Taylor. It will be agreeable to me for you to offer him the position for one year. I do not think he would be interested in a salary less than $5,000 plus travel. He seems averse to moving to Atlanta. You cannot blame him because he does not know the length of the appointment. He has his own home in Durham and I think he could spend as much time as would be necessary in Atlanta. I also think that you could not find a better man for this position than Dean Taylor. He knows how to mix with people, how to secure information, and then again, his feet are on the ground.

We will grant Dean Taylor leave for an additional year from September and then let the future take care of itself. I do not know who would succeed him in the O.P.A. but I think you are on the right track.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

James E. Shepard
President

JES:CJD

C
O
P
Y

Odum

March 2, 1945

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council on February 28, the following motion was passed: "That the Executive Director be requested to write to Dr. Odum in behalf of the Executive Committee expressing appreciation for his willingness to continue in office and confidence in his leadership."

In behalf of the Executive Committee, I want to say that I am sure we all feel that the Council owes you a tremendous debt of gratitude for your willingness to continue as president.

Your leadership is invaluable, and the Council is fortunate in being able to count on you.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Odum

March 14, 1945

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

It looks as if our April 11-13 meeting is going to assume rather large proportions. The theme will be "The South's Economic Potential" or "The South's Post-War Economy", and the meeting will probably spread over April 11-12. We now have definite promises from five government men (Ezekiel, White, Logsdon, Stevens, and Hinrichs) and there is some chance of getting Senator Pepper. Van Hecke or Malcolm Bryan will make a sort of key-note talk. I certainly wish you could be here, at least for the 11th, and preside over the meetings. I note that your engagement with the Texas Commission at Fort Worth is April 14. I presume you have other engagements in Texas, but if, by any chance, you can be here on April 11, please let me know as soon as you can.

If we get Senator Pepper, we would figure on using him either on the night of April 10 or April 11. Incidentally, we have asked Senator George as Chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Post-War Planning, but we have no idea that he will accept.

We plan to call the attention of the Southern governors to the conference and we are inviting a select group of business, labor, and agricultural men from our Council area. Of course, we can't invite a lot of people on account of travel restrictions for conferences, but I think we can count on quite a large attendance locally. What three or four people do you suggest that we invite from North Carolina?

I have had a letter from Taylor expressing a real interest in working for the Council as well as his desire to keep his headquarters in Durham. Reid and I have talked this over at some length, and I have also discussed it briefly with two members of the Executive Committee. None of them is enthusiastic about employing a man who can not come here to live and give 100% continuity of service. One member of the Executive Committee suggested that we try to get William Y. Bell, who is Southeastern Director for the Urban League. Well, it's a tough problem, but I'll talk it over very frankly with Taylor and get it settled as soon as possible.

Do you know Dan Beittel of Guilford College? We approached him last summer on the possibility of doing some temporary work, but we got at him too late for him to get leave from Guilford. I believe there is a possibility of getting him full-time on a year's leave of absence. Reid and I both have a very high opinion of him, and we think he might be a man who would develop into a valuable field person and administrative assistant. Reid has pointed out that if we get Beittel, we had better not have Taylor, since we would be branded as almost entirely a North Carolina crowd. Following the same line of reasoning, maybe we had better go slow about using Miss Price. Incidentally, Dorothy Jones has highly recommended one of her students at Winthrop, and we are going to try to look her over some time soon.

There is a lot more, but this had better be all for the present. Thanks for that most encouraging note to Miss Clay. I think we can keep the right spirit!

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

March 7, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
The Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Several points to write about.

First of all with reference to Herbert, I thought you understood all along that I never did think he could do the job except that if both you and Reid thought he could, then that was completely adequate for a year's experimentation. I got that impression from both of you and my letter was only writing out my reaction to the total situation in case you wanted him. It seems to me that you have done exactly the right thing.

And Hand-Book

Let me write you a little more a little later about the idea of a sort of central clearing house for the South. This certainly is the sort of thing that we had originally hoped to have and, if you all decide to do it, we ought to get back of you.

With reference to Miss Price. She will not be ready for another month and I thought that would give you time to work out a plan with reference to her and the others. You understand when I make these nominations I am not urging you to employ them. I am simply saying that they are available and probably could do a good job.

I am sure we here could arrange to cooperate with you with Taylor, Miss Price, or any of the others who might be doing the research for your central clearing house. Now, with reference to the meeting in April, it just happens that way back there, after canceling my engagements twice in Texas, I promised faithfully that I would go between April 9 and 16. It will not be possible for me to be present and I am sorry, although I don't think that it is at all unfortunate from your viewpoint.

More later.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

SESQUICENTENNIAL OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY
Provided for in the Constitution 1776; Chartered 1789; Cornerstone Laid 1793; Opened 1795

HWO:C Sally: Gordon says the fellows will be glad to cooperate as that the idea is a good one - Lets try to work out a plan

WORKING CONFERENCE ON "REGIONALISM AND WORLD ECONOMICS"

Sponsored Jointly by The Institute of World Economics, Washington, D. C. and The Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Saturday, April 21, 1945, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Morning Session - Chairman G. W. Blackwell

10:00 - 10:15	Welcome	Pres. F. P. Graham
10:15 - 10:45	~~Theory~~ Benefits of Regional Balance	Howard W. Odum
10:45 - 11:15	Transportation Factors, and Regional Development	S. W. Boggs
11:15 - 11:45	Regional Development Project Abroad	Morris L. Cooke
11:45 - 12:30	Discussion: B. F. Brown, W. G. Friedrich, M. S. Heath, H. Von Beckerath	

Luncheon Session - Chairman D. D. Carroll

12:45 - 2:15	Public Policy in Regional Economics	Amos E. Taylor

Afternoon Session - Chairman L. L. Lorwin

2:30 - 2:45	~~Opening Remarks~~ Regionalism & Geo-economics	L. L. Lorwin
2:45 - 3:15	Regional Industrialization and Standards of Living	L. H. Bean
3:15 - 3:45	Regional Development of American Markets for Imports	Wroe Alderson
3:45 - 4:15	National Aspects of Regional Development	E. J. Coil
4:15 - 5:00	Discussion: G. W. Forster, Harriette L. Herring, E. Hexner, R. B. Vance	
5:00 - 6:00	Informal Reception	

Planning Committee

G. W. Blackwell
W. G. Friedrich
R. M. Grumman
M. S. Heath

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

May 7, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I don't see any corrections to be made in the agreement of affiliation which you have sent. Personally, of course, I always like relationships to be as informal as possible but we do have to have some framework.

I wanted to pass on to you a remark made by Hiden Ramsey at a meeting of our Planning Board. What he said was that "Johnson is keeping his head and feet on the ground." I thought that was an extraordinarily fine compliment. I guess we all know that the highest measure of value for all of them is when in doubt do the least possible.

I hope you won't let the positiveness of the Virginia people worry you about the segregation study. All along our first premise was that we would not give any publicity to this and would begin it by doing actual statistical objective studies. We wanted to have the project approved and indicated that in time we were going into this subject as much as we could and do better than anyone else has done. I don't think they need to worry about the preamble of the program which is not a part of the essential working details. Besides, there is nothing new in these positions.

I believe I told you that I wrote Charles Johnson and since then you have asked him for a date. I suppose you know also that Dr. Alexander has been in the hospital for some time and is not so well. If we can get our meeting of the Executive Committee, I would also then like to have some good talks with you and promise to help out more <u>if</u> you want me to. It is not that you need it but that we are not giving you enough quantitative support in terms of persons and work.

Even so, the year has been more successful

than we could hope for. Dr. Mann seemed pleased with his interview with you and is very much in sympathy with the way you are trending the work; or at least that was my impression.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C
Encl. 1

May 3, 1945

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

As soon as I can get Charles Johnson to name some dates later than next week for the meeting of the Executive Committee, I will let you know. We have just got to get the Committee together some time soon.

The South Carolina Interracial Committee voted some time ago to affiliate formally with the Council, and their chairman, Mr. Marion Wright of Conway, has asked me to draw up an agreement which can be signed by both parties. Enclosed are two copies of the document as I have drawn it. If this meets with your approval, will you sign it and return it to me so that we can exchange copies which have been sent to Mr. Wright for his signature. If you don't approve of all of the points, please make suggested changes and send them back to me.

I will write Dabney and Wilson Brown right away, and will send you copies of the letter. I am far, far behind with my desk work.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosures
SC affil. Mem.
m

May 15, 1945

Dear Dr. Odum:

We have now heard from McNamara and he can attend the meeting on May 25. This gives us a quorum unless something happens. If Miss Wilkins can come, we will have one to spare. It's going to be a real relief to have a meeting of the Executive Committee.

We are losing Rosa Lee Jay this week. She has been under a great deal of strain, and her doctor has told her that she must have a complete rest for at least two months. This is quite a blow, and we will have to get someone to take her place as soon as possible. It must be someone who can take shorthand. We have our eyes on one young lady here, but we are not quite ready to offer her the place.

Do you want us to get you a hotel reservation? The Johnsons have plenty of room at home, and would like very much for you to spend the night with them if you will.

Cordially,

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C.

GBJ:m

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

May 12, 1945

Dear Guy:

I am making a reservation to arrive in Atlanta on the morning of Friday, May 25. Unless I hear from you, I will assume that we are going to have the meeting then. I had a note from Charles Johnson confirming this date from his viewpoint.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 29, 1945

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

I believe I told you the other day when you were here that the Esther Morton Smith estate in Philadelphia has finally been settled and that the check for $9,375.46 representing the bequest to the Commission has been received. However, I neglected to ask you to sign the Satisfaction of Award. Please sign it for the Commission and return it as soon as possible. Miss Clay and I will sign as witnesses.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure
5/28 A.
m

May 29, 1945

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

I have rewritten my letter of May 26 to George Mitchell. A copy is enclosed. I have just talked to Mitchell by long distance. I read him the revised letter, and he said, "That's swell. I think that clears up everything. You can count on my being there for work on June 18."

I told him that the rewording of the part about working out procedures and having a free hand to carry out the program was exactly what I had in mind all along and that I was sorry for the ambiguity in the original letter. He said, "That's all right. You had no way of knowing just what understanding I had with Charles Johnson." Shall we consider that all points are taken care of now?

Mitchell asked if you could confirm the proposition as president of the Council. I told him I was sending you a copy of the letter and that he would no doubt hear from you soon.

I will be here all the rest of this week but will probably spend next week in Texas. I am speaking at a two-day institute sponsored by the Texas Commission on June 8, 9, and I am going a little early so that I can have a chance to see my family, none of whom I have seen in nearly eight years.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

June 8, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

A letter from William Cobb of Houghton Mifflin says, "Should Dr. Johnson come back to Chapel Hill, you will be doing the profession a favor to urge his writing this book, and this goes whether we publish it or someone else."

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

May 31, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Your letter to George Mitchell seems about perfect and I am very happy to know about the new development. I'll try to telephone you directly, but in case I don't get you, you understand that my senond letter of yesterday is simply trying to help us find the best way for the next few years. If you decide that you want to stay by the Council and push it, you understand, of course, I am right back of you. For one thing, I am sure I am going to resign as president. I know there must be somebody in the South who will take it. I'll still, of course, work for it harder than ever but I would not now see my capacity to develop it unless we can get adequate southern funds and adequate personnel. In other words, in suggesting that you consider coming back here, I am gauging the level of consideration on the same basis that I would myself judge it.

As I footnoted it yesterday, two publishers have asked whether you would be willing to do a book on the Negro. Houghton Mifflin is one of them and I am writing about you shortly. They want a text and they will give you a couple of years to do it. If you decide to do it, I'll promise to keep out of the field. I don't see how you could do it with your present work and I should be somewhat worried about the effect of the pressure that would be on you, knowing your sensitiveness and sincerity in all these things.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C

June 13, 1945

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Your letters of May 31 and June 8 arrived while I was in Texas. I want you to know that I appreciate them as well as the personal letters of May 25 and May 30 which we discussed on the telephone just before I left for Texas.

It is important all around that I reach a definite decision as to whether I want to stay with the Council. I would like to do this by July 1st, but would also like to talk everything over further with you first. Maybe we can work in a good talk when you are here for the Executive Committee on June 27. If you are not going to be able to attend the meeting, I hope you will call me or wire me by Friday noon, as I am leaving that afternoon for an engagement in Louisville on June 16. I might be able to rearrange my travel so that I can come back by way of Chapel Hill.

I am afraid that Dr. Reid neglected to follow up on his conversation with Margaret Price, so she is probably somewhat in the dark as to when she is to come to Atlanta and what she is to do. Miss Martin tells me that Miss Price will be coming through Atlanta about June 15. I hope we can see her then and work out the details of her job. I think we can put her on as of July 1. I am not sure what progress is being made on the segregation study, since Reid had left when I returned from Texas, and will be away on a speaking tour until June 25, but we will put Miss Price to work on something.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

June
~~July~~ 28, 1945

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Thank you for sending us the revised report of the "Student Planning Committee on the Negro in the South." As you suggest, we will put it in a special file for possible future work.

Thanks also for the criticisms of the Council which Miss Price has summarized. They really are a bit sappy, aren't they?

We expect Margaret Price to arrive tomorrow and to be ready for work July 2. Jane Martin is trying to help her find a place to live. This is quite a problem.

We missed you at the Executive Committee meeting this morning. Unfortunately Charles Johnson is ill and was also absent. Present were: Haas, Clement, Wilkins, McNamara, Hancock, and myself. The meeting went off very nicely, and we were through by 12:30. A copy of the agenda is enclosed. We will get the minutes out as soon as possible.

I had a good letter from Dombrowski yesterday. He says that the Executive Board of the Southern Conference voted to give some special attention to veterans and to do this in cooperation with us. One thing we might do as a starter is to work up a pamphlet on the Negro's part in the war, to be distributed jointly. Mitchell is away but I will turn these ideas over to him when he comes back. I am hoping to have a good talk with Foreman and Dombrowski sometime within the next three weeks. I have a hunch that someone has recently been able to give them some idea of the damage which a certain person has been doing to harmonious relations between the two organizations.

It did me a lot of good to have a chance for a long talk with you when I was there last week. I feel better about everything.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

SOCIAL FORCES
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

June 25, 1945

HOWARD W. ODUM, *Editor*
KATHARINE JOCHER, *Managing Editor*

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Here are two copies of Margaret Price's revised report of the "Student Planning Committee on the Negro in the South." It might be that in time some of your editors could take this as a basis for a little study program. It would need to be worked in very carefully with your "Tenth Man," "Understanding our Neighbors," and with others.

The basis for this suggestion came from Taylor, you remember, who said if he and this committee could work together so profitably for two or three hours discussing, that it could be used by many others.

Why don't you make you a special file on student planning committees and put these in it to await future work. I could then send you other items and in this way it would not clog up your files but you would have them ready for attention. In the meantime, I'll keep a file here and if it seems best to work it out from this angle we might do it. The amendments and criticisms here include those of Shelton Smith and his class at Duke.

I also enclose copies of the summary of suggestions which were made from all angles. The suggestion that there should be a similar paper by a Negro group missed the whole point because this is when completed a joint project of white and Negro groups and would not be published until it was.

I am also enclosing a synthesis of criticisms of the Council, most of which are practically meaningless because they don't focus on any specific relationships.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

SESQUICENTENNIAL OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY
Provided for in the Constitution 1776; Chartered 1789; Cornerstone Laid 1793; Opened 1795

July 6, 1945

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

With regard to our annual meeting, we will soon have to find out whether we can hold it or not. I know that a good many meetings have been called off. Although we will probably get fewer than fifty members in attendance from outside the Atlanta area, it is, I believe, against ODT regulations to issue invitations to a potentially large attendance. We now have more than 700 members, and there ought to be about 1000 by October. I suppose the only thing to do is to plan everything in the expectation that we can hold the meeting, but at the same time check with Mr. Haas as to what sort of business might be transacted by mail ballots.

I would like to see us get moving on our police study. There are two ways of going about it, as I see it: (1) organize a comprehensive research project under the supervision of a university research committee, and finance by special grant to a university; (2) get hold of a capable observer and writer, let him spend two or three months surveying the whole problem and write up a bright, popular series of articles or a booklet. For quick results I am inclined toward the latter. If you think well of it, would you have any suggestions as to who might do the job?

I went to Knoxville last Friday and talked to Harry Williams, who is with TVA, about doing editorial and publicity work for the Council. He is quite young, but is fairly mature and has a lot of enthusiasm. I gathered that he is not interested in working very long in the field of editing because his major interest seems to be graduate work and research. I made him an offer and told him that there might be an alternative course by which he would find it possible to combine his dissertation research with the research interests of the Council. I hope that he decides soon, because we have just recently learned of a very capable young man with Associated Press who would like to work for the Council. We are going after him if Williams does not accept.

More later. All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

July 9, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

This is just a little note to tell you I am planning to write you at length in a day or two both with reference to routine matters that you asked about and with special reference to the future.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:C

August 24, 1945

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Thanks for your notes. As soon as I hear from Charles Johnson I will know more definitely about the best time for the Executive Committee meeting.

The clipping from the Nashville Banner is pretty nasty. If this kind of thing keeps up we will have to be careful as to what sort of cooperation we indulge in. I suppose it is only a matter of time until we will get sniped at, but thank goodness, there are some things which they can't pin on us. As you say, there is all the more need for us to promote a "general scientific and liberal program".

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director.

GBJ:IBT

P. S. Can't tell right now just when I can come up there, but will let you know as soon as possible.

GBJ

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

August 23, 1945 Rec'd. 8-24-45

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

* I expect you saw this clipping from the national papers and others like it. It is the attack on Dombrowski and looks a little like Talmadge. This will help them call many outside the South.

I am thinking more and more that it may be necessary for us to set a stern two-year program and guide with a straight goal in line with general scientific and liberal programs. It doesn't matter what "they" East, West, North, South say about us, nor does it matter that we aren't doing everything that ought to be or could be done. Neither is anyone else. And a lot of them are doing some harm.

Be thinking this over, and I am certainly planning to come down in September if you can arrange it around the 15th.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

hwo:jc
enc.

P. S. Your letter has just come. By all means come up to see us if you can and lets have a real discussion, both of the Council and the University situation, anytime except September 3-4-5.

HWO

* Nashville Banner - attack on S. Conf. Hum. Welfare

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

August 22, 1945

Rec'd. 8-23-45

Mr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Since I am trying to get ready to come to the Executive Committee meeting in September, suppose we talk over the whole situation at that time instead of my trying to write it at this time. The work you are doing is so important that I think we ought to see if we could find a real Executive Committee within range of Atlanta, set up another two-year program, and move ahead. It might fail, but worth staking a great deal on this time limit.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:JC

Lets talk over the state units?
Human welfare Employee — Do we need them?

September 5, 1945.

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Here is a rough draft of the reply that I would like to make to Wesley's letter. Of course, it may be best to ignore the thing completely, except for thanking him for his letter. On the other hand, it seems to me that if we have people who are not contributing anything, but are constantly criticizing the Council, it may be best in the long run to bring the whole business to a head and give him a chance to get out.

I will follow your judgment on this, and I will be glad if you will wire me your reaction.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director.

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

I may call you today.

Rough Draft

September 4, 1945.

Mr. Carter Wesley
The Informer Newspapers
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Thank you for your letter of August 27. I am sure that you wanted every member of the Executive Committee to have a copy of the letter, so I am sending copies to the four members whose names did not appear at the bottom of your letter, namely, Mr. Leonard Haas, Mr. Charles Gillman, Msgr. T. James McNamara, and Dr. Homer P. Rainey.

First, let me say that I sent copies of the Journal and Guide editorials to members of the Executive Committee purely for their information. At the July 25 meeting of the local members of the Executive Committee there was some discussion of the interchange of comments in the Journal and Guide. Considerable concern was expressed over the implications of the editorials and it was suggested that we strongly urge Mr. Young to be present at the August meeting of the Executive Committee and lay before the Committee whatever suggestions he had for the good of the Council. Since the August meeting had to be canceled for lack of a quorum, I sent the Journal and Guide material to Executive Committee members for their information. There was certainly no thought of implying by this action that "Mr. Young's position in our organization has been undermined by his writing these editorials."

Next, let me make it clear that my disagreement with Mr. Young was not over his main point, namely, that it is exceedingly difficult to mobilize the intelligence and good will of the members of both races in the South, but was concerned with the sort of factual evidence which he offered in support of his contention. I am sorry if I seemed stubborn about those facts. Unfortunately, Mr. Young has not been able to attend any of the meetings of the Executive Committee, and it seemed clear to me that his information about the status of the Council was incomplete and inaccurate. I realized that, since he is an esteemed publisher and is an officer of the Council, his words would carry the weight of prestige and authority. Therefore, I felt all the more obligated for the good of the Council to try to counteract the effect of inaccurate statements from the pen of a Council officer. I assure you that this was not a pleasant task. I have always had, and still have, a very high regard for Mr. Young, and I have a natural distaste for personal controversy, but this Council is bigger than any individual.

Your letter raises some fundamental questions as to what the Council can or should do and how. I agree that the Council has not come to a firm decision on certain aspects of its program and strategy. This is probably a perfectly normal thing.

However, I think that we could have been further along in this respect if we had a more adequate functioning of the Executive Committee. Indeed, it seems to me that this is the immediate thing which is pointed up by my disagreement with Mr. Young and by your letter.

The work of the Executive Committee has been carried on by a few of the members. Enclosed is a chart showing attendance at the meetings. Two meetings have had to be postponed for lack of a quorum and one was held without a quorum. If more of the members would participate in the deliberations, bringing their doubts and hopes and suggestions before the Committee for thorough and candid discussion, we would all understand one another much better, and the Executives could function more efficiently. I do not know any other way for the Council to have a fair chance to show what it can do.

We certainly need the benefit of your counsel on the Executive Committee and I hope that you will be able to attend the next meeting of the Committee.

With highest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director.

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

Gilbert

A G E N D A

Executive Committee Meeting

September 18, 1945, 10:30 A.M.

1. ROLL CALL
2. MINUTES OF JUNE 27 MEETING
3. MINUTES OF LOCAL MEETING JULY 25
4. NEW PERSONNEL
5. PROGRESS REPORT BY STAFF MEMBERS
6. FINANCE REPORT
7. DISCUSSION OF PROGRAM AND POLICY
8. STAFF PROPOSALS
9. PLANS FOR ANNUAL MEETING

MADE IN U.S.A.
Clearcopy Onion Skin

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

file

September 19, 1945

RECEIVED
SEP 21 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

As soon as you get a moment, I would certainly love to know how your Executive Committee meeting came out. Of course, I am not too good at rationalizing, but I actually figured out that perhaps the Committee would do better if I were not there. I enclose a clipping showing how the situation was at Sanford. I was planning to drive down to Sanford in my car and take the Seaboard. It was in the afternoon that the hurricane rain struck us again and there wouldn't have been any chance to get to Sanford. And the Seaboard itself had to be routed around. I began figuring in the afternoon and it seemed even if I got to Atlanta, I would be too late, and I would, therefore, be simply wasting time between dates.

I hope you will drop me a line now that the meeting is over and let me know how you feel about the next two years. There would have been a good deal of complaint if you had left this next year. We all understand that there will always be complaints, just as we are full of them around here. If people said about you and the Council what they said about Pres. Graham and the University, we would think we were already devastated. As a matter of fact, it is a pretty wholesome democracy.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

hwo:jc
enc.

Sanford's Water Source Destroyed

Dam At Reservoir Swept Away In Worst Rainfall In History

(Special to Daily News)

SANFORD, Sept. 18.—In the heaviest downpour of rain that Sanford has ever experienced, the entire town is flooded. The great concrete dam at the pumping station broke on both sides about 5 p. m. today with the fire department called to give assistance and the citizens of the town standing by unable to help.

The reservoir was entirely emptied and the dam was swept away. The only water supply for the town is the standpipe. The board of aldermen met to consider putting up a temporary dam.

The concrete culvert across Wicker street, recently built at a cost of several thousand dollars, has been swept away by the flood. The armory, a new storage building and the Fairview dairy have been flooded, causing much damage.

A temporary dam of sand bags is planned. In the meantime, water is turned into the town pipe at two 15-minute periods daily, not enough for drinking purposes. The damage is estimated at about $150,000.

The other greatest sufferer by the flood is the Nance Variety store. The water stood 12-inches deep in the new brick building into which goods had just been moved. New office furniture, as well as most of the stock, was ruined. Nance estimated the loss at $15,000.

All schools in Sanford, Jonesboro and in Moncure were closed. Electric lines are down and the Atlantic and Western train failed to run today as part of the track was washed away. Basements and homes situated in a low level were flooded.

There was a near loss of life when a car on the Greensboro highway was washed from the road and overturned. A baby occupant of the car was brought to the Lee county hospital and was resuscitated. The child was Vincey Cox, son of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Cox, of route 1, Ramseur.

Due to high water and washouts, the Seaboard railroad trains have been detoured for the past 24 hours. Traffic has been at a standstill on most of the highways in this vicinity and Sanford has been without mail service since yesterday.

September 19, 1945.

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

It was a great disappointment not to have you at the Executive Committee meeting. We barely had a quorum, but it was a very good meeting. Those present were Charles S. Johnson, Haas, McNamara, Clement, and Gillman.

They voted to authorize us to offer Trigg the Associate Directorship. A copy of the letter which I have written to Trigg is enclosed.

The Committee also voted to postpone the annual meeting to November 14. This was largely due to the fact that other meetings at Atlanta University would make it difficult for them to take care of Negro guests on October 10. I hope November 14 is clear on your calendar. What would you think of amending the By-laws so that the regular date for the meeting is held the middle of November? The second Wednesday in October comes so near the opening of school that it is a bad date for many of our members.

Don't you want to appoint a nominating committee soon so that it could have plenty of time to work up a good slate of nominees for officers, Executive Committee and Board. Mrs. Havens was chairman of the Nominating Committee last year I believe, but now that she is on Council pay roll, it might not be quite proper for her to serve as chairman of the committee. Will you be coming this way any time soon? I hope we can have a good talk well in advance of the annual meeting.

It was good to see you at Chapel Hill Saturday, and I was glad that you had a long talk with Trigg before I got there. I called your house and office Sunday afternoon, but you were out.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director.

GBJ:IBT
Encl.

September 21, 1945

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

When I wrote you yesterday I forgot to say that the Executive Committee voted to have a public evening session in connection with our annual meeting if we could get Mr. Wallace or Judge Black as the speaker. I am enclosing copy of a letter which I have just written to Dr. Alexander.

The Committee suggested Mr. Wallace as first choice and Judge Black as second. Personally, I think that it would be more politic right now to get Judge Black than Mr. Wallace.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT
Encl.

September 28, 1945

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

I have heard from Trigg. He is accepting the position and is working on his release from his college. Of course he wants no publicity on the matter until his release is definite because he does not want the college subjected to a lot of applications for his position.

I think this is mighty good news, and I believe the work will go forward better than ever.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

file

Chapel Hill, N.C.
September 29, 1945

Dr. David Cushman Coyle
Carolina Inn
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Doctor Coyle:

I am handing you, herewith, a little bulletin showing the nature and purpose of our Southern Regional Conference. Although its genesis and perhaps its primary purpose is found in its objective of better racial development and relationships, it functions as an overall agency seeking the total welfare of the region.

We have the feeling that this is the only region-wide agency which guarantees the spiritual integrity of the South, at the same time that it undertakes to promote genuine progress, both through scientific realism and social justice.

Our Executive Committee has voted unanimously to invite Secretary Wallace to address this Council at its annual meeting in October. I believe this official invitation has gone through Dr. Will W. Alexander. If you have time, however, we would appreciate your personal interest in this invitation and your personal urging of Secretary Wallace to accept. "hat we should like for him to talk about would be one of his major interests, namely the role of small industries and businesses in the development of a region. We believe this would be a fine platform for him and we know that it would be worth a great deal to us in assuring the South and the Nation that we have a singleness of purpose looking towards realistic liberalism in the attainment of desired ends.

Needless to say, we have enjoyed and profited very much by your visit with us. We hope you will come again.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:jc

October 8, 1945

The Hon. Henry A. Wallace
Secretary of Interior
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

At the last Executive Committee meeting of the Southern Regional Council it was voted unanimously to extend you an urgent invitation to address the annual meeting of the Council at Atlanta on the evening of November 13 or November 14. Naturally, we should expect you to choose your own subject if we are fortunate enough to have you accept. On the other hand, if you wished to know the direction of our thinking and action program, it would be for the discussion by you of one of your major themes, namely some aspect of the opportunity for the small businessman in the regional development of America. Or, we should, of course, be very happy if you would care to discuss a more general theme such as the regional equality and balance of America in which you could point out some of the plans which you are making for diagnosing and remedying some of the inequalities of the several regions.

We feel that this would give you a platform worthy of your theme and appropriate to the great work you are doing. We are, of course, particularly interested in how much it would mean to the South and to the Council.

I believe you recall the Southern Regional Council, while devoting itself to the region-wide development of all aspects of Southern culture and economy, is particularly interested in guaranteeing the spiritual integrity of the South with reference to increasing better race relations and development. Under separate cover, we are sending you some special announcements with reference to the Council, marked for your personal examination.

I beg to remain with great esteem and continued respect.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

hwo:jc

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

October 16, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I wonder if you and Trigg, or you and Mitchell, would be willing to name the nominating committee and then write each one of them the letter which I am suggesting. I think a relatively large committee might be good, and it should include both Clement and Patterson. Personally, I would put both Wesley and Young on it.

If you have any doubts about this, you could telephone me or wire. More later.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

SUGGESTED LETTER TO NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Dr Jo. Wesley
Clement
Estill

Dear Mr. Wesley:

I am asking you to serve on the nominating committee for the Southern Regional Council, Inc. As you know, the annual meeting will be on the 13th and 14th of November, at which time the report of the nominating committee will be about the most important item of business.

It is of the greatest importance for the committee to find a dynamic Southerner who will accept the presidency. If a leader who is neither a professor nor a minister could be found, it would seem to be very desirable and very important.

Dr. Guy Johnson will write you in detail about the nominations and about possibilities of meeting prior to the annual meeting of the Board.

With appreciation for all that you are doing,

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

November 7, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 9 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Are there any particular instructions which I ought to have before next week? If convenient, I would be glad if you would send me a little agenda of what is to be done so that I can be thinking about it and be ready.

I enclose a copy of the letter I wrote Virginius Dabney. I was very much pleased with the prospect that you really may find someone to be president. If you can just get over this huddle, I believe you are on the way for two years of the best work that has ever been done.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

November 7, 1945

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Virginius Dabney:

I hope you are going to accept a place on the Nominating Committee of the Southern Regional Council and will help them find someone who will accept the presidency of it. For instance, C. F. Palmer, the housing enthusiast and cosmopolitan friendly man in Atlanta, has been suggested. Guy thinks he might accept it. My own viewpoint is that it doesn't matter much who is president provided he is a good man and comes from the ranks of those outside of the professors, ministers, and social workers.

I have the feeling that the Council really has done some good work, is now on the eve of doing a great deal more, and what it needs now is the type of representation which I mentioned and an increasingly wider interpretation to the people. All of these things are provided for now except the presidency of the Council. You may know that President Trigg of the Elizabeth City Teachers College has accepted a place as full-time associate director, beginning in January. Dr. Trigg really has his feet on the ground, and although he is rated by the Negroes as a liberal, he has no patience with the visionary and propagandist procedures so commonly assumed.

I really believe that the organization is going to function more nearly after the fashion which you would like than it has in the past and is going to do quantitatively a good job. I think you know I have always felt that it didn't matter much whether we do little or much, provided we have a going concern and insist on having a genuine, realistic, southern agency at work in the field.

You, of course, may have other names that could be proposed. I believe you and I really agree on this point, and I shall certainly appreciate it if you will do your best to find someone, in return for which I promise you to work ever harder than I have in the past.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

November 26, 1945

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Thanks for your note. I am looking forward to a good long letter. I have been wanting to write you a ditto, but as you can easily guess, we have really been on the go here trying to "clean up" the usual debris following the annual meeting. We still haven't written everybody who was supposed to be written about something or other, but at least we have notified all of the new officers and Board members and have communicated certain resolutions to President Truman and Senator Barkley.

How does it feel to be a past president of SRC? I imagine it is a great relief in many ways. Just think, now you can take the floor and say anything you please as an ordinary member of the Council! I am sort of looking forward to the time when I can do likewise.

The meeting was encouraging and at the same time a little disheartening. There was some petty politicing of the rankest sort and few members saw through it. Some of the things which were said at the last Board meeting were, of course, downright dishonest. However, the only thing that really got my goat was the fact that no one was thoughtful enough to offer some expression of appreciation for your two years of service as President of the Council. Of course, I know that it is just one of those things, but I regret it all the same. For the record, let it be said that there are some of us here who know how you have worked and sacrificed to make the Council a sound organization, and who appreciate what you have done.

Very best wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Same letter sent also to
Rufus E. Clement
F. D. Patterson
P. B. Young
Albert W. Dent

Dear Guy: I hope this is all right. I am sure we are going on further than we could if we followed an extreme policy which I wish we could implement — But we can't. I want there leaders to back us up more — or I hope to do — or not back just moderately whose

January 5, 1946

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Professor of Sociology
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

My dear Mr. Hancock:

At the beginning of the new year I have found myself wanting very much to sit down and talk with some of the distinguished leaders of the South who have done so much and have offered so much inspiration to many of us during the last few years. Since this luxury of leisurely conference is not possible any more, may I take this opportunity not only to wish you the best of new years but to express a little part of my appreciation of all that you have done, are doing, and will do?

The Southern Regional Council to me represents both an achievement and a dilemma, both an inspiration and a disappointment. I am convinced, as I have said so often, that the one thing we must do in the South is to maintain a South-wide regional agency with continuity of personnel and administration that will guarantee, so far as possible, the spiritual integrity of the South in this matter of race relations. All along, from the very beginning, our framework for the Council assumed that the Negro was to be an equal citizen and that all problems of the South were equally problems of whites and Negroes, and that problems of the white-Negro ratio color all of our other problems. Thus, we did not want to separate them in any organic sense. Nevertheless, we all know that unless somebody does deliberately and continuously make this problem of white-Negro relationship and ratio a special problem, it will go by default as has been the case in practically all of our activities and organizations. Some of us, at times when our main objective is the improvement of race relations and the enrichment of racial development, still are so conditioned that we forget often major elemental factors. Worse than this, sometimes the things that we think are admirable are negative because they "miss the point."

What I am saying here now, confidentially, is that I really believe in the Council more than ever; I am confident that we must back it and finance it; I think they are doing an admirable job, basic to a still much better work. Nevertheless, I want you to know that I know that in the current organization and administration there is wanting the dynamics of unconditioned equality and balance

of the two races in the South. However, as I see it, we have never allowed any assumption to go into our organization or into any action program which could be interpreted as formal admission that the ultimate goals are not to be attained.

What I really started out to do, however, was to express appreciation for both the general and specific inspiration which I have gotten from the work and leadership of a relatively small number of distinguished Negro leaders. As you have heard me say, I have found nothing comparable to it in our own group and do not recall having seen anything comparable to it in the recorded experiences of any other regional leaders. When I look at the biographies of each of these distinguished leaders, note the extraordinary attainments and achievements in the midst of both commonplace and extraordinary difficulties, I am impressed with the capacity and power of the human race to do things. There is something much bigger about this than I think we usually understand. The capacity for tolerance and balance and for continuity and singleness of purpose will always, to me, be a reflection of not only ability and capacity but of genuine statesmanship.

Here at the University I hope we are going to stand by to do more of the scientific liberalism and to continue in any way that we can in going forward. We have added Professor John Gillin, son of the former head of the Department of Sociology at Wisconsin, who is, we think, the ablest of the young anthropologists; and he is enthusiastic about continuing our regional dynamic research on the culture of the South in genuinely scientific and objective ways. Of course we hope in time, perhaps in a few years, to have Dr. Guy Johnson back and to add other youngsters. The point I am making now is that I wanted you to know that in the new year we recognize our limitations along with our aspirations.

In a few days, just as soon as the cloth-bound copies come, I am sending you an autographed copy of our special anniversary volume, "In Search of the Regional Balance of America."

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

Dear Guy:
I saw across this yesterday. H.W.O.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

~~Salt Lake City,~~ Utah
July 4, 1940

RECEIVED
JAN 23 1946
Southern Regional Council

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION
ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, INC.:

I am writing briefly in the way of a report on the further evidence in favor of the establishment of our Council on Southern Regional Development.

Four considerations contribute to my present conclusion that the COUNCIL is the most logical and effective method of conserving the great work of the past and of moving toward even greater work for the future.

First, I have studied the plan continuously; submitted it to a varied group of critics; tested it out in theoretical premises; thrown it on the screen of our recent Conference on Regional Development and Regional Research; and I have found nowhere any valid objections to its plan and program. The maturing of the evidence strengthens my own belief in its merits.

Second, we have watched the trends toward a varied type of substitute for it. These have not demonstrated anywhere the basic strength of our Council. In the earlier stages of some of these movements there was very clearly a motive for divisive influence to get the South to quarreling over matters upon which you and I have long since agreed. I know this to be true. In several instances the Negro has been left out in major considerations and in others the Commission has been sold short.

Third, I have this summer explored the great Northwest and its work done through the Northwest Regional Council, the Northwest Regional Planning Board, the Commission on Education and Resources, and a great unified group of educational institutions. Based on the premises of our regional development, this great Region is getting together as no other region that I know of and they are striking at fundamentals; particularly they are emphasizing the development of human resources and the coordination of institutional help, governmental and voluntary.

I have talked to more than forty groups, in workshops and conferences and in university and college centers: at Reed College, at the University of Washington, at the University of Idaho, at Washington State College of Agriculture, at Eastern Washington Teachers' College at Ellensburg and State College at Cheney, in addition to the University of Utah, special groups such as the Commonwealth Club and Radio. I have commuted by Airways to be able to do this and I have tested our premises from a different vantagepoint. They have matured here the theme of frontiers in the development of resources and regions, both on its permanent, enduring basis, and as an immediate and patriotic opportunity for National Defense. So unified at the present do many of the people here appear that they are already planning cooperative arrangements for the fall of 1940, and for the summers of 1941 and 1942. Now it seems very clear to me that the South needs this sort of substantial development-planning rather than a continuation of more organizations to talk about needs.

Fourth, it must be very clear that recent developments in the area of National Defense demand heroic efforts as never before and we must have substantial deeds rather than just ideologies. This is true for two reasons, one the very real need for us to meet the requirements of a program of national unity, and the other equally important to insure that we don't go off into emotional substitutes for real enduring defense. Here the interests of interracial cooperation are fundamental and must be interwoven into the whole fabric in some such way as we have planned rather than on a propaganda basis which is both ineffective and dangerous.

Now this must be a frank notation. I may be wrong in this diagnosis but I must present it to the Commission, and, if there is any reasonable chance of getting the task done, to the public. It is clearly understood that this conclusion comes from many years of study and that it is not a personal plan; for as we have all agreed previously I could take no prominent part in the set-up since my own work must be of a different sort; I cannot do this sort of thing well, but we do have a score of leaders who can do it. I mention this in order to lead up to the next suggestion, namely:

It is still my unqualified belief that if we can get together on this, there will be plenty of resources to support the program on a statesmanlike basis. The lack of unity is not limited to the Southern group; we need unity and unselfish support on the part of the Foundations and on the part of governmental agencies as well as among our Southern groups. There is not now such unity and I challenge us all to see if there isn't here an extraordinary opportunity for the Greater Patriotism.

I am sending this on to Chapel Hill to be transcribed and forwarded to you. When I return in August, and as soon as I can have conference and advice from members and others, I shall be ready to follow this up or turn it into such other unified program as may be shown to be better. I can see no reasons, other than those implied above why all of our groups working toward the same ends may not unite here. Can you?

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

January 16, 1946

RECEIVED
JAN 21 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I enclose a letter that I wrote four or five of our Negro friends. I had intended to mail it to you the day it was written and so had it on my desk. Since there is some delay I will add a little note.

In the meantime, I had a fine letter from Young in which he was very appreciative, but, in particular, he said that he agreed with me that our program here could not be completed until we had you back with us some time. He has always been an admirer of yours, and I never did consider his editorials a criticism.

Now, I have spoken of the organization and administration there as not being as unconditioned in its all-out ideology as some of us would like. I simply had to say to some of these men that in being so enthusiastic for the new president, nevertheless I knew the implications are for something more conservative than some of us had hoped. It never occurred to me that it could be taken as criticism of you until I showed this to Gordon, and he said you might think that my mention of administration implied that. You know better than I do that this isn't true, but we also know that some of the leaders, and especially northern Negroes, would feel that Trigg represents a middle-of-the-road ground. Of course, we want a liberal rather than a radical program.

As a matter of fact, as you know already, ninety people out of a hundred, if given a chance, would deliberately vote for what your present set-up is over against what I would want as the limit.

Cordially yours,

HWO

HOWARD W. ODUM

January 17, 1946

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Thank you for your letter about the approach to Charles Dollard and your other letter about Charles M. Smith.

I have written Dollard, asking him for an engagement sometime before February 15. Reid is planning to go with me.

Charles Smith was to let me know right away whether he would intertain a definite offer. I am a little worried that we have not had any word from him yet, but I suppose he has to think things over pretty carefully with his family. I believe he would be a great asset to the Council.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

January 11, 1946

RECEIVED
JAN 14 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

Thank you for your letter. My understanding from Dr. Will was that I was to write you and that between and among us we would discuss the best methods for you and Reid to go to New York and make the application yourselves. I suggest that you write Dollard and ask him to give you a series of dates when it would be possible for you to talk to him and present a tentative program basic to an application. Dr. Will has paved the way and done a good job, I think, but I believe that he expects you to make the application, and suggested, of course, that if you needed me to help you that I would be glad to do it.

My own impression is that the best way would be for you to go directly to see him. If you and Reid both went, it would be all the better, although I know Reid may not have time to do it. I wrote my letter to you in such form that you could use it as an unqualified, enthusiastic endorsement of the plan from us here. I believe, however, it would be better to let the application go entirely from you.

I liked the liveliness of the last issue of The Frontier for 1945. I do wish, however, you could still call it The Southern Frontier and not The New South. Even so, you understand, it isn't of first importance, and I suppose The New South is already in the prints.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

January 25, 1946

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Odum:

Thank you for your letter of the 16th and the enclosure of a copy of a letter which you sent to a group of Negro leaders on January 5.

Your letter to our Negro friends is fine. Of course, I know what you meant by the sentence at the bottom of page one, and if some of people who received the letter read it as a criticism, as I am sure they did, there's no harm done.

The 'flu finally caught up with me and I had to spend a couple of days in bed recently. I hope I am through with it because the schedule for February is very heavy. There was a lot I wanted to write about, but I will have to call a halt here and try to catch up.

Best wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Raleigh News & Observer 2/24/46

DR. ODUM TO ACCEPT ASSIGNMENT AT YALE

Chapel Hill, Feb. 23.—The trustees of Yale University have authorized the establishment of a "distinguished visiting professorship" for sociology, and Dr. Howard W. Odum, head of the Sociology Department in the University of North Carolina, has been appointed the first incumbent.

The University here has granted him a leave of absence that will enable him to be at Yale for the academic year beginning next September.

This appointment is a recognition not only of Dr. Odum's achievements as a sociologist but, in particular, of his high standing as a student of regionalism in American social and economic development.

He has been assigned to Yale College and will give four courses, one graduate and one undergraduate in each of the two semesters in the academic year.

In addition to these courses, he will give lectures on a series of topics that will include "The Technicways Make a New World", "Social Morale in an Age of Science" and "The Regional Quality and Balance of America."

Odum

R. W.

Perhaps a news note on this in April

New South

Raleigh News + Observer 2-24-46

April 2, 1946

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Dr. Johnson was leaving for Jacksonville just as your letter arrived, and he asked me if I wouldn't write you.

We have been making a thorough investigation of the Columbia, Tennessee, incident and are now in process of preparing a report on it. The enclosed memorandum is a very brief summary which Dr. Johnson prepared about two weeks ago, and which he thinks stands up pretty well in the light of further investigations. Dr. Johnson has been in touch with the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice and plans to make our findings available to them. Later, we will send you a fuller report.

Kindest personal regards from all of us.

Cordially yours,

Inez B. Tillison
Office Manager

Encl.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

March 28, 1946

RECEIVED
APR 1 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Do you have available for my confidential use a summary of Mitchell's findings of his visit to Columbia and Tennessee? I have talked to Trez Yeatman and others about the situation, and of course, I have the Human Welfare Conference propagands. Do you have any statement that could be used as a fair description of the situation?

Very truly yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO/rb

June 19, 1946

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

I was happy to read your statement in the News and Observer for Sunday, June 16, in connection with the recent Supreme Court decision in the bus segregation case. It is certainly a clear-cut challenge to the South, and comes at a psychological moment when there are apparently many leaders who have the moral courage to step out in the public eye and do something tangible toward changing the traditional patterns of this region which are no longer needed.

We always look forward to a visit from you, and trust that one is not too far distant.

With kindest good wishes, and highest personal regard, I am

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

See you next week
JSR

May 3, 1946

RECEIVED
MAY 7 1946
Southern Regional Council

PERSONAL

Dear Dr. Odum:

Maybe I shouldn't even add this personal note, but as a friend of yours I feel that you will understand it!

I know that such a busy man as you are doesn't always have time to read his letters for typographical or grammatical errors; I also understand that you have a new secretary. It occurs to me that perhaps the new secretary has had little experience in the interracial world and, therefore, doesn't know how much importance the Negro puts on the use of the capital "N" in speaking of him. If you have not already noticed this in her letters, I wonder whether you would want to let her know that the criticism will come back on you if she uses a small "n" in your letters!

Cordially yours,

Dear Guy:
This is a real ~~[illegible]~~ friendship. Just this week I had ~~[illegible]~~ shows how one this error — & see & not see! may have eyes know of any value of ~~[illegible]~~ & ~~[illegible]~~ would like to talk over reelection in person
Jim

Ross

s No End In Sight

Vincent Harding (left) shakes hands with author James Baldwin as the Institute's Pat Daley (center) looks on. (Photo — Ray West)

y Friday, Harding talked ent of the '60s and the per-

points and low points," he high point . . . . Very often a ew lessons.

0s) to look and act like the out what the new problems

ruggle he talks of must con- n't know." He said, however, sand-year struggles in other advancements have been t time."

have entered what's known ican society, Harding does chievement.

"I feel that the mainstream of American life is not helpful to anybody," he said. "In the mainstream there 's sickness - physical and spiritual - a lack of direction, people feeling empty and unfulfilled, pointless violence.

"We've always had some group of folks who are not interested in being accepted into the mainstream.

I hope there will always be people who will be dissatisfied, who have no desire to be assimilated into the unjust system of American society, who don't want to make it, but remake it."

Harding said his book is meant to be "a stimulation" to encourage people to look at the "deeper levels" of black revolution. An audio tape series of the book is available and new funding sources are being sought for a television production of "The Other American Revolution."

Harding and his wife, Rosemarie Freeney Harding, worked in the black freedom movement from 1961-64

ack Studies Program

ticularly the history of struggle," he said, "it can liberate us from the kinds of entrapments of the present.

"To live only in the present is to live in a kind of prison . . . I keep hearing about Reagan, but people forget that we overcame much more . . . (the study of history) sets people free from fear," he said.

Although black studies programs have been around for a while, no accrediting association has been established to evaluate them. Davidson, however, sees the lack of an accreditor as an asset.

"I think we are trying to establish a different tradition based on growth and development as opposed to competition," he said. "An accrediting association is not necessary in the traditional model."

Davidson holds a Ph.D. degree in sociology from the University of California at Berkeley and is a visiting assistant professor at Hampshire College.

• • •

IBW was developed as an "instrument to put black scholarship into the services of black struggle," said Pat Daley, director of IBW.

"Education is 'ferment' between people," Daley said. "The greatest education in the '60s was being out on the street and challenging society."

Daley said blacks must "press the human agenda" because "we were uniquely defined as property."

"Blacks have to have another world view . . . . They have to ask a whole different set of questions," she said.

Originally a part of the Martin Luther King Jr. Center For Social Change, IBW became a separate entity and is now working on creating a "research and conference center."

Daley said the center would be a place where scholars and activists can develop strategies for societal change.

In addition to its research activities, IBW has held summer symposia for young scholars which have featured national figures. IBW staffer Susan Ross attended one of the five-week sessions when she was a graduate student at Atlanta University.

Ross said the symposium resulted in "a group of black scholars being liberated to work in the struggle."

The symposium she attended emphasized the "implications of the struggle of black people" and studied Africa whose development was "interrupted by Europeans," she said.

FRAGMENT

June 21, 1946

Dr. Howard W. Odum
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

Thanks for your letter of June 17 which has just arrived. We are sending you 50 copies of the Columbia Report and we can send more if you need them.

I thought that your statement which was quoted in the press the other day was very good. Of course, you will catch the devil for it, but that is to be expected.

The political situation here is getter hotter all the time. I am afraid that Carmichael is not a very expert campaigner and many people are getting seriously worried now about the possibility of a Talmadge comeback.

Edward is recovering very nicely from his accident. He will soon take his arm out of the sling and can soon get some new teeth put in. Then he will be practically as good as new.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

50 copies D. S. May sep. cover -

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

RECEIVED
JUN 21 1946
Southern Regional Council

June 17, 1946

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I wonder how many copies of your report on Columbia you could send me. It is an admirable piece of work and so far as I can see, as fair a statement as possibly could have been made.

Thank you also for sending me a copy of TALMADGE'S STATESMEN. I guess he has interpreted the Council just about right. I hope my statement did not do any harm. It was worded as a sympathetic approach to the South. I had one or two telephone calls from Atlanta fearing that the ruling might elect Talmadge. You will be glad to know that I had one long distance call to talk to Rotary and another to talk to a church group and so far I have had only one denunciatory letter, this being from Atlanta.

I hope all is better at your house by now.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO/rb

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

August 6, 1946

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

This is just a little note to congratule you on getting out the excellent statement about Talmadge. Continued good luck to you.

Cordially yours,

HWO

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO/rb

Will you please see that Dr. Johnson gets this - 8-13-46

November 26, 1946

Dr. Howard W. Odum
1786 Silliman College
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Dr. Odum:

The third annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council ended on November 14. Several of my friends who were present and who know me well enough to tell me the truth say it was the best yet. All of us were very sorry that you could not be present in person to see certain phases of progress that have been made.

I would list as the high spots of the meeting the following:

1. The functions, objectives, procedures and method of approach of the Southern Regional Council were defined and clarified. I am certain that more people now see what the Council is expected to do and what it is doing than ever before.

2. Frequently during the sessions the Council faced up with the bald fact that neither the Council nor any other organization in this field of human relations is reaching the people on the rim of society in rural and urban areas in spite of the fact that these are the people who are involved in most of our difficulties and who constitute the major problem facing us.

3. The Council approved for the major objective for the coming year law enforcement including police training and the prevention of violence.

At the same time it is possible that the Veterans program will be continued. It was also agreed that a manual on suffrage would be published for the use of states in which there is still considerable opposition to voting by Negroes. A manual for bus drivers is to be written and distributed.

The Council will continue its present effort to induce state divisions to set up projects in community action like that at Jacksonville, Fla.

It will also continue its efforts with the problems arising from industrialization, mechanization and agriculture, with the consequent migration of workers and urbanization.

4. The discussion on civil rights led by Mr. Turner Smith who heads the civil rights division of the Department of Justice was a needed education for all those present. It was one of the high spots of the conference.

5. Dr. Johnson's review of the year's work was forceful and stimulating. You will receive a copy of his report.

6. The thinking of the Council has extended much farther than interracial relations. It is now giving consideration to the entire region with respect to its total strength and deficiencies and the needs arising from both.

7. The meeting of Fellows on Thursday and Friday was unique. Those who were present agreed unanimously that it was the most stimulating series of discussions in which they had ever participated. The Fellows are anxious to do something worthwhile in their respective areas. This meeting was needed in order to integrate their efforts and to take advantage of the initiative and originality of each individual. This group can make a distinct contribution to the work of the Council with the proper direction and integration and with the possibility for meeting annually.

I have now been with the Council for almost eleven months. It has been a great pleasure to work with Dr. Guy B. Johnson. He has done an excellent job and has kept a level head in spite of the many handicaps which he has encountered. I feel that the most difficult phase of the Council's life is in the past due to the wise judgment that Dr. Johnson has exercised during these three years.

I am confident that on the basis of the foundation already laid we are now ready to move forward toward the major objectives of the organization. This will depend upon having sufficient staff and finances. Unfortunately we face a deficit this year, It is not so large but it is evidence of the fact that we cannot do what the organization wants done without more field staff and increased finances.

In order to be of maximum assistance in solving the problems involved in improved law enforcement as well as the many problems that will come from the present trend in industrialization and in mechanization of agriculture, we must be able to help state divisions to set up projects in community action like the one at Jacksonville, Florida. As I have traveled over the region

in the past eleven months, the occurrence which to me contained greatest value for progress in the South was the study which the citizens of Jacksonville made of their own Negro community and the courageous way in which they are handling their own recommendations. If we can get a rural county and an urbancommunity in each state to duplicate the Jacksonville project, the contribution which they make will justify all of the time, effort and finances invested in the Southern Regional Council. The only way to reach tthe people who need to be reached is to project action on a community level and develop self direction in community leaders who have ability and courage. The Council's contribution to Southern progress will be unique if it can get these projects going over a wide area.

If you are planning to make a trip to Chapel Hill any time soon, I would certainly like to come up there and go into detail on certain of these matters.

The Veterans program directed by Dr. George Mitchell has been a distinct success. He and his staff have done much in aiding veterans over the entire region in making proper adjustments. I feel that this should certainly be continued as one of the major objectives of the Council, possibly with a smaller staff.

I am confident that we face the reality in the regional situation and that we are headed in the right direction. We miss you very much and while we know that Yale University needs you, we will certainly be happy when you get back home.

With every good wish and highest personal regard, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director

HLT:ms

SRC - Bd of Dirs
Membership

December 10, 1948

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Odum:

The Southern Regional Council has been honored by your service as a member of its Board of Directors for the four-year term 1944 - 1948.

It is a pleasure to inform you that at the annual membership meeting on November 10, 1948 in Atlanta you were reelected as a member of the Board for the four-year term 1948 - 1952.

Unless I hear to the contrary from you, I shall take for granted your acceptance.

We are grateful for the assistance which your continued interest in the Council gives to its work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
cc: Mrs. Agnes McKoy

27- Odum, Howard

August 4, 1949

Dr. Howard Odum
Dept. of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Odum:

It is mighty kind of you to make your plans to pay in $135.00.

Here is a report as of August 1, on the $250.00 campaign.

I think it will yield another $2,000.00 anyway. Thus far, the total sum pledged is $[illegible],900 and the total paid (including $135.00 from you) is $[illegible],410.00. That is a very substantial help to our straitened budget, and we are extremely grateful to you for making the offer and lending your urgency to the effort.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

RECEIVED
AUG 3 1949
Southern Regional Council

August 1, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Present indications are that by Tuesday I will send you a check for $125. I am not quite sure whether I can get it all together. My routine is to borrow money on my monthly salary check, so you see, I am just like the rest of the boys and girls, only more so.

However, I consider it a special privelege to contribute $250 to the Regional Council. We musn't let the fact that the trend in America is to spend most of the monies on ideological fields and conflicts.

I can't help wishing that the Southern Regional Council and some other agencies like that might have had a small part of what has gone into the Blanchard and Cardinal Spellman minority conflict, as well as many of the other propaganda expenditures which accentuate bitterness instead of reconciled differences.

We know all this, however, so we musn't get discouraged.

Cordially yours,

HWO

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:mhr

Odum

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS

SECOND CIRCUIT

Professor Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Sciences
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Professor Odum:

I have read with great interest the address you sent me, "The Mid-Century South: Looking Both Ways," as well as your review of Stuart Chase's book in the latest Saturday Review of Literature. You are certainly battling manfully for a fair and judicious approach to racial problems, and I only wish there were more like you throughout the south and the north as well. It may be that matters have progressed much further than many of us do realize, although the bitterness of every step seems to be so wasteful.

At any rate, you are to be congratulated for courage and judicious temperament and I hope you will be able to keep on your glorious battle for decency. From my side line seat I cheer for you.

Sincerely yours,

Charles E. Clark

Rundquist
ACL union

Geo

Excerpt from Professor Elliott E. Cheatham of the Association of American Law Schools with reference to "The Mid-Century South: Looking Both Ways."

May 11, 1951

"I am very grateful to you for your helpful letter, your fine stated program, and your exceptional address. I will bring them to the attention of the committee of the Association of American Law Schools when it meets next week. We regret you cannot meet with us.

You suggest that I offer comments on your address. My only comment is that its substance deserves the widest circulation. Since the address was written for sociologists, a wide circulation is possible, I think, only if you rewrite it. You might rewrite it on two levels, one for readers of the Atlantic Monthly, another for readers of the Sunday Supplement of the Atlanta Journal-Constitution. You may think I say this facetiously, but that is not so at all. You have ideas and suggestions which ought to be discussed at every level today."

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
DEC 3 1951
Southern Regional Council

December 1, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

I think the revised draft of the Statement of Policy and Aims to be quite satisfactory in every respect.

I am expecting to attend the Council meeting on the 11th and 12th, but it may be that I cannot get to Atlanta until about noon of the 11th as it now appears that I shall have to remain here for a meeting on the night of December 10.

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Dent
President

AWD:db

HF

Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
NOV 16 1951
Southern Regional Council

November 14, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I finally located the statement and wish to register, herewith, my approval.

I imagine there will be some touching up at the next meeting which I am planning to attend.

Hoping to see you soon, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:mbw

Policy Statement
& letters of comment

SRC = K

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

RECEIVED
NOV 7 1951
Southern Regional Council

November 5, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I won't be able to attend the meeting in Atlanta but I will appreciate it if you will take those two suggestions I made and incorporate them in the statement to be presented. You do not need to send revisions of them to me because I am entirely willing to take the final revision as it comes from the committee and go along with it.

The two points of added interest are:

1. Keeping everlasting at the "recruiting and discovery of promising mature young folks."

2. A planning agenda for genuine integration.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:eh

HCF

Dear George,

Excellent!

I've noted a matter under item #6. I think the same point can be made without raising any question on the tax status.

Morris Abram

REVISED DRAFT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL STATEMENT OF POLICY AND AIMS

1 Eight years ago, the Southern Regional Council was born out of the conscience and high resolve of a democratic nation at war. Today, in another period of international tension, we are faced with a renewed challenge to provide leadership and direction in a troubled region. It is essential that we assess clearly and wisely the role that the Southern Regional Council is to perform in this critical time.

2 We do not believe in the exclusive validity of any single approach or any single organization. There is not only room, but a desperate need for a wide variety of programs concerned with broadening democracy through legal, economic, legislative, religious, and educational means. Moreover, such programs are needed on all levels—national, regional, state, and local. Every group, like every individual, should chart its course with due regard for the special contribution it is fitted to make.

3 THE ROLE APPROPRIATE to the Southern Regional Council is evident in its origin and make-up. The Council's main asset is and has always been the people of the South, Negro and white, who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and who at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes. From such people is the Council's membership drawn. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages: It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern thought and conscience; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to agencies outside the region.

4 The Council seeks to be a practical organization, emphasizing working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. Indeed, that philosophy is basic to an organization which hopes to open closed minds and substitute reason for prejudice.

5 The Council, by its very nature, is not a "mass pressure" organization. The number of persons in the South who are able and willing to reject the taboos on interracial effort in their own communities is growing, but it has not yet reached mass proportions. Meanwhile, the Council's membership can function effectively as enlightened citizens acting through the civic life of their communities in behalf of our common principles. Their methods are the established ones of conference, fact-finding, and persuasion.

6 The Council takes no part in political activity. However, it can and does consult with public agencies and officials and makes available its ~~its influence~~ ~~full for~~ resources towards the end of truly representative government.

7 THE COUNCIL'S FUNCTIONS may be briefly summed up as follows:

To serve as a meeting ground for citizens of all races, occupations, and religious persuasions.

To present the facts about the region, and their implications, through newspapers, radio, magazines, pamphlets, and other public media.

To counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots, and hate organizations.

To provide a program adaptable to local need in both the relatively backward and the relatively advanced areas of the South.

To translate appropriate research findings from universities and other centers to the practical situations with which the action program will be concerned.

To give special emphasis to the development of leadership among promising young Southerners of both races.

To convene, by interest group, key persons in the various fields of Southern life, so that steps to genuine integration may be representatively agreed upon.

To stimulate local initiative to work for local solutions in full democracy, so that legislation and judicial rulings may be translated into justice for the individual in his everyday life.

8 The basic machinery necessary to enable the Council to work effectively at these tasks is: (1) trained, competent, professional persons of both races working in each Southern state as agents of improvement in public life; and (2) staff in a central office of the Council to direct and service the field people.

9 THE DECLARED PURPOSE of the Southern Regional Council is "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region." This objective has lost none of its timeliness since it was first adopted. Although the past eight years have brought notable progress in the South, the job remaining is a vast one, and the pressures of national and international events demand an even speedier advance. Many of our institutions continue to make unfair and unwarranted distinctions between citizens solely on the basis of race. Outmoded traditions, unjustified fears, and ancient prejudices continue to exact a heavy toll on the unity, productiveness, and integrity of our society.

10 It is the ultimate hope and aim of the Council that it may help in bringing solution to regional problems that transcend the question of race--problems economic, social, ethical, which affect impartially people of both races. But, for the present, the unique liability under which the South

labors arises out of an unreasoning racial disharmony. The first task of informed and conscientious Southerners is to strive to create here the atmosphere in which artificial distinctions and discriminations based upon race will no longer persist. Only when that goal has been attained will the energies of enlightened men be fully released for the great task of realizing all our potential resources, natural and human.

11 THE SOUTH OF THE FUTURE, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect.

12 Equal opportunity, truly defined, includes all this and more. We have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly. Nor do we imagine that the Southern Regional Council can play more than a modest but creditable part toward its achievement. Yet it is the ideal toward which we strive and, short of which, we have a duty to remain dissatisfied. For it is nothing less than the American ideal.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

RECEIVED
JAN 17 1952
Southern Regional Council

January 15, 1952

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I think the statement you sent out about Florida is excellent.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:eh

HCF from plans

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

July 8, 1954

COPY

Dr. John Maclachlan
Department of Sociology and
Anthropology
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear John:

I wonder whether I could have a copy or a proof of the MS of your treatise on Southern population, which I understand is to be published shortly in connection with the Southern Regional Council.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:mt

Copy for Jim before I come in
Atlanta

RECEIVED
JUL 12 1954
Southern Regional Council

Whereas Howard W. Odum, the profoundest student of Southern life and its most illuminating teacher, has been taken from us,

And whereas Dr. Odum was one of the principle organizers and the first President of the Southern Regional Council,

Now therefore we who continue in the Southern Regional Council resolve to follow with renewed vigor the broad humanitarian goals which were Howard Odum's goals for the South.